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ART. I. 1. *Article "Cotton Manufacture," in the Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica.*
2. *A Compendious History of the Cotton Manufacture.* By RICHARD GUEST. 4to. pp. 70. Manchester. 1823.
3. *History, Gazetteer, Directory, &c. of Lancashire.* By EDWARD BAINES. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 1404. Liverpool. 1825.

THE rapid growth and prodigious magnitude of the cotton manufacture of Great Britain, are, beyond all question, the most extraordinary phenomena in the history of industry. Our command of the finest wool, and of inexhaustible supplies of iron-ore and coal, naturally attracted our attention to the woollen manufacture, and paved the way for that superiority in it, to which we have long since attained. But when we undertook the cotton manufacture, we had comparatively few facilities for its prosecution, and had to struggle with the greatest difficulties. The raw material was produced at an immense distance from our shores; and in Hindostan and China, where the manufacture had been carried on from the remotest antiquity, the inhabitants had attained to such perfection in the arts of spinning and weaving, that the lightness and delicacy of their finest cloths emulated the web of the gossamer, and seemed to set competition at defiance. Such, however, has been the ascendancy we have derived from the stupendous discoveries and inventions of Hargraves, Arkwright, Crompton, Cartwright, and others, that we have overcome all these difficulties—that neither the extreme cheapness of labour in Hindostan, nor the perfection to which the natives had previously attained, has enabled them to withstand the competition

of those who buy their cotton, and who, after carrying it five thousand miles to be manufactured, carry back the goods to them. This is the greatest triumph of mechanical genius. And what, perhaps, is most extraordinary, our superiority is not the late result of a long series of successive discoveries and inventions. On the contrary, it has been accomplished in a very few years. Little more than half a century has elapsed since the British cotton manufacture was in its infancy: and it *now* forms the principal support and bulwark of the country, affording an advantageous field for the accumulation and employment of millions upon millions of capital, and of thousands upon thousands of workmen! The skill and genius by which these astonishing results have been achieved, have been one of the main sources of our power. They have contributed, in no common degree, to raise the British nation to the high and conspicuous place she now occupies. Nor is it too much to say that it was the wealth and energy derived from the cotton manufacture, that bore us triumphantly through the late dreadful contest; at the same time that it gives us strength to sustain burdens that would have crushed our fathers, and could not be supported by any other people.

Under these circumstances, it may justly excite our astonishment, that so few attempts have been made to trace the rise and progress of this great branch of industry—to mark the successive steps in its advancement, the solidity of the foundations on which it rests, and the influence which it has already had, and must continue to have, on the number and condition of the people. To enter fully into the discussion of these topics, would, we are aware, infinitely exceed the limits within which we must confine ourselves; but we hope to be excused for briefly touching on a few of those that seem most important.

The precise period when the cotton manufacture was introduced into England is not known; but it is most probable that it was sometime in the early part of the 17th century. The first authentic mention is made of it by Lewis Roberts, in his "Treasure of Traffic," published in 1641, where it is stated, "The town of Manchester, in Lancashire, must be also herein remembered, and worthily for their encouragement commended, who buy the yarne of the Irish in great quantity, and weaving it, returne the same again into Ireland to sell: Neither doth their industry rest here, for they buy cotton wool in London, that comes first from Cyprus and Smyrna, and at home worke the same, and perfect it into fustians, vermillions, dimities, and other such stuffes, and then return it to London, where the same is vented and sold, and not seldom sent into

forrain parts, who have means, at far easier termes, to provide themselves of the said first materials."—(Orig. Ed. p. 32.) It is true, indeed, that mention is frequently made by previous writers, and in acts of the legislature passed at a much earlier period,* of "Manchester cottons," "cotton velvets," "fustians," &c.; but it is certain that these articles were *wholly composed of wool*, and had most probably been denominated cottons, from their having been prepared in imitation of some of the cotton fabrics imported from India and Italy.

From the first introduction of the cotton manufacture into Great Britain, down to the comparatively late period of 1773, the weft, or transverse threads of the web, only were of cotton; the warp, or longitudinal threads, consisting wholly of linen yarn, principally imported from Germany and Ireland. In the first stage of the manufacture, the weavers, dispersed in cottages throughout the country, furnished themselves, as well as they could, with the warp and weft for their webs, and carried them to market when they were finished. But, about 1760, a new system was introduced. The Manchester merchants began about that time to send agents into the country, who employed weavers, whom they supplied with foreign or Irish linen yarn for warp, and with raw cotton, which was first to be carded and spun, by means of a common spindle or distaff, in the weaver's own family, and then used for weft. A system of domestic manufacture was thus established; the junior branches of the family being employed in the carding and spinning of the cotton, while its head was employed in weaving, or in converting the linen and cotton yarn into cloth. This system, by relieving the weaver from the necessity of providing himself with linen yarn for warp, and raw cotton for weft, and of seeking customers for his cloth when finished, and enabling him to prosecute his employment with greater regularity, was an obvious improvement on the system that had been previously followed. But it is at the same time clear, that the impossibility of making any considerable division among the different branches of a manufacture so conducted, or of prosecuting them on a large scale, added to the interruption given to the proper business of the weavers, by the necessity of attending to the cultivation of the patches of ground which

* In an Act of the 5th and 6th of Edward VI. (1552,) entitled, for the true making of WOOLLEN cloth, it is ordered, "*That all cottons called Manchester, Lancashire, and Cheshire cottons*, full wrought for sale, shall be in length," &c. This proves incontestably, that what were then called cottons, were made wholly of wool.

they generally occupied, opposed invincible obstacles to its progress, so long as it was conducted in this mode.

During the earlier part of last century, the weavers of cotton, as well as those of wool, &c. were accustomed to throw the shuttle containing the weft from hand to hand, through the meshes of the web; and when the cloth exceeded three feet in width, two men were required for one loom—one to throw the shuttle from right to left, and the other from left to right. But in 1738, a person of the name of John Kay, a native of Bury in Lancashire, invented a new method of casting the shuttle, by an extremely simple and effectual mechanical contrivance, technically denominated a *picking peg*. This contrivance enabled a weaver to perform, on an average, twice the quantity of work he had previously been accustomed to perform, even on the narrowest webs; at the same time that it enabled him to weave cloth of any width without any assistance. The picking peg was first introduced into the manufacture of woollens; and it was not till after a lapse of nearly twenty years that it was made use of in the cotton manufacture; the latter being, at the time when this admirable little instrument was invented, so limited in its extent as hardly to excite any attention. In 1760, Robert Kay of Bury, a son of John's, invented the *drop-box*, a contrivance by means of which a weaver can at pleasure use any one of three shuttles; and can thereby produce a fabric of various colours almost with the same facility that he can weave a common calico.

Previously to the year 1760, the cotton stuffs manufactured in England had been used wholly for home consumption. But about that period, the Manchester merchants began to export them, in considerable quantities, to Germany and the West Indies. There were, however, very serious obstacles to the extension of the trade. It was easy to import whatever supplies of linen-yarn might be required for warp; but no additional supplies of cotton-yarn could be procured for weft, except by the employment of an additional number of spinners at home. In consequence, the price of yarn rose with every extension of the manufacture; and this rise not only operated as a check to its farther increase, but tended to contract the limits to which it had already attained. Under such circumstances, it is next to certain, that, unless the processes of carding and spinning had been facilitated, the manufacture could never have made any considerable progress, but must have continued to languish in the state of insignificance in which it was at the period in question.

But, at this epoch, improvements began to be attempted in the process of carding. The first was made, as almost all the

improvements in the cotton manufacture have been, by a person in humble life.—James Hargraves, a carpenter at Blackburn in Lancashire. This illiterate, but most ingenious and inventive person, adapted the stock-cards used in the woollen manufacture to the carding of cotton, and greatly improved them. In consequence, a workman was enabled to execute about double the work, and with greater ease, than by means of hand cards—the only instrument previously in use. Hargraves' inventions were soon succeeded by the cylindrical cards, or carding engine. The inventor of this valuable machine is unknown, but it was first used by Mr Peel, the grandfather of the late Secretary for the Home Department. Mr Peel's carding engine was constructed, with the assistance of Hargraves, as early as 1762. Sir Richard Arkwright added, at a subsequent period, many improvements to the carding engine; and his apparatus for taking off the cotton from the cards, and giving continuity to the fleece, is the most perfect that can well be imagined.

But the tedious and expensive method of spinning by the hand, was the grand obstacle in the way of the extension and improvement of the manufacture. Insurmountable, however, as this obstacle must, at first sight, have appeared, it was completely overcome by the unparalleled ingenuity, talent, and perseverance of a few self-taught individuals. Hargraves, to whom we have already alluded, seems to have led the way in this career of discovery. In 1767, he had constructed a machine called a *spinning-jenny*, which enabled a spinner to spin *eight* threads with the same facility that one had been previously spun; and the machine was subsequently brought to such perfection as to enable a little girl to work no fewer than from *eighty* to *one hundred and twenty* spindles!

With the exception of Sir Richard Arkwright, perhaps, there is no individual to whom the manufactures of this country are so largely indebted as Hargraves. Never was the maxim—*c'est le premier pas qui coute*—more completely verified than on this occasion. It is true that his machine was of very inferior powers to those by which it was immediately followed. But it is not, perhaps, too much to say, that it was one great cause of their being introduced. No sooner had it been seen what a simple mechanical contrivance could effect, than the attention of the most ingenious individuals was immediately drawn to the subject; and the path was opened, by following which so many splendid inventions and discoveries have been made.

But however much Hargraves' inventions may have tended to enrich others, to himself they were productive only of bankruptcy and ruin. The moment the intelligence transpired that he had invented a machine by which the spinning of cot

ton was greatly facilitated, an ignorant and infuriated mob, composed chiefly of persons engaged in that employment, broke into his house, and destroyed his machine; and sometime after, when experience had completely demonstrated the superiority of the jenny, the mob again resorted to violence, and not only broke into Hargraves' house, but into the houses of most of those who had adopted his machines, which were everywhere proscribed. In consequence of this persecution, Hargraves removed to Nottingham, where he took out a patent for his invention. But he was not, even there, allowed to continue in the peaceable enjoyment of his rights. His patent was invaded, and he found it necessary to apply to the courts for redress. A numerous association was in consequence formed to defeat his efforts; and being, owing to a want of success in an attempt to establish himself in business, unable to contend against the wealth and influence of the powerful combination arrayed against him, he was obliged to give up the unequal contest, and to submit to see himself robbed of the fruits of his ingenuity. He soon after fell into a state of extreme poverty; and, to the indelible disgrace of his age and country, was permitted to end his days, even after the merit of his invention had been universally acknowledged, in the workhouse at Nottingham!*

The invention of the spinning-jenny has been ascribed by Mr Guest, in his very meagre, prejudiced, and superficial work on the History of the Cotton Manufacture,† to a person of the name of Highs, or Hayes, a reed-maker in Bolton. But he has not produced a tittle of evidence to show that Hargraves knew anything of Highs; and as he is admitted on all hands to have been the first who made the invention public, we do not see the shadow of a ground for attempting to deprive him of the honour of the discovery.

The jenny was applicable only to the spinning of cotton for weft, being unable to give to the yarn that degree of firmness and hardness which is required in the longitudinal threads or warp. But this deficiency was soon after supplied by the invention of the *spinning frame*—that wonderful piece of machinery which spins a vast number of threads of any degree of fineness and hardness,—leaving to man merely to feed the machine with cotton, and to join the threads when they happen to break. It is

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* See the Case of Richard Arkwright and Company, in 1782.

† Mr Baines has taken almost all his statements with respect to the history of the cotton manufacture from Guest—a circumstance that detracts considerably from the value of his work.

not difficult to understand the principle on which this machine is constructed, and the mode of its operation. It consists of two pairs of rollers, turned by means of machinery. The lower roller of each pair is furrowed, or fluted longitudinally, and the upper one is covered with leather, to make them take a hold of the cotton. If there were only one pair of rollers, it is clear that a carding of cotton, passed between them, would be drawn forward by the revolution of the rollers, but it would merely undergo a certain degree of compression from their action. No sooner, however, has the carding or *roving*, as it is technically termed, begun to pass through the first pair of rollers, than it is received by the second pair, which are made to revolve with (as the case may be) three, four, or five times the velocity of the first pair. By this admirable contrivance, the roving is drawn out into a thread of the desired degree of tenuity—a twist being given to it by the adaptation of the spindle and fly of the common flax-wheel to the machinery.

Such is the principle on which Sir Richard Arkwright constructed his famous spinning-frame. It is obvious that it is radically and completely different from the previous methods of spinning either by the common hand-wheel or distaff, or by the jenny, which is only a modification of the common wheel. Spinning by rollers was an entirely original idea; and it is difficult which to admire most—the profound and fortunate sagacity which led to so great a discovery, or the consummate skill and address by which it was so speedily perfected and reduced to practice.

The extraordinary individual to whom we are indebted for this great and signal invention, was born at Preston, in Lancashire, in 1732. He was the youngest of thirteen children, and was bred to the trade of a barber. But the *res angusta domi* could not repress the native vigour of his mind, or extinguish the desire he felt to emerge from his low situation. In the year 1760, he had established himself in Bolton-le-Moors, where he exchanged the trade of a barber for that of an itinerant hair merchant; and having discovered a valuable chemical process for dyeing hair, he was in consequence enabled to amass a little property. It is unfortunate that very little is known of the steps by which he was led to those inventions that raised him to affluence, and have immortalized his name. Residing in a district where a considerable manufacture of linen goods, and of linen and cotton mixed, was carried on, he had ample opportunities of becoming acquainted with the various processes that were then in use; and being endowed with a most original and inventive genius, and having sagacity to perceive what was likely to prove the most advantageous pursuit in which he could em-

bark, his attention was naturally drawn to the improvement of the method of spinning practised in his neighbourhood. He stated that he accidentally derived the first hint of his great invention from seeing a red-hot iron bar elongated, by being made to pass between rollers;* and though there is no mechanical analogy between that operation and his process of spinning, it is not difficult to imagine, that by reflecting upon it, and placing the subject in different points of view, it might lead him to his invention. The precise era of the discovery is not known; but it is most probable, that the felicitous idea of spinning by rollers had occurred to his mind as early as the period when Hargraves was engaged in the invention of the jenny, or almost immediately after. Not being himself a practical mechanic, Arkwright employed a person of the name of John Kay, a watchmaker at Warrington, to whom we shall afterwards have to refer, to assist him in the preparation of the parts of his machine. Having made some progress towards the completion of his inventions, he applied, in 1767, to Mr Atherton, of Liverpool, for pecuniary assistance, to enable him to carry them into effect; but this gentleman declined embarking his property in what appeared so hazardous a speculation, though he is said to have sent him some workmen to assist in the construction of his machine; the first model of which was set up in the parlour of the house belonging to the Free Grammar School at Preston.

His inventions being at length brought into a pretty advanced state, Arkwright, accompanied by Kay, and a Mr Smalley, of Preston, removed to Nottingham, in 1768, in order to avoid the attacks of the same lawless rabble, that had driven Hargraves out of Lancashire. Here his operations were at first greatly fettered by a want of capital. But Mr Strutt, of Derby, a gentleman of great mechanical skill, and largely engaged in the stocking manufacture,† having seen Arkwright's

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* See the account of the life of Sir Richard Arkwright, in the article Derbyshire, in the Beauties of England and Wales,—Vol. iii. p. 518. The statements in this account are of the highest authority, inasmuch as we have reason to believe it was furnished by Mr Strutt, the son of Sir Richard Arkwright's first partner.

† This was the justly-celebrated Mr Jedediah Strutt. He was the son of a farmer, and was born in 1726. His father paid little attention to his education; but, under every disadvantage, he acquired an extensive knowledge of science and literature. He was the first individual who succeeded in adapting the stocking-frame to the manufacture of *ribbed* stockings. The manufacture of these stockings, which he established at Derby, was conducted on a very large scale,—first by himself and his partner Mr Need, and subsequently by his sons, until about 1805, when they withdrew from this branch of business.

inventions, and satisfied himself of their extraordinary value, immediately entered, conjointly with his partner, Mr Need, into partnership with him. The command of the necessary funds being thus obtained, Sir Richard Arkwright erected his first mill, which was driven by horses, at Nottingham, and took out a patent for spinning by rollers, in 1769. But as the mode of working the machinery by horse-power was found too expensive, Sir Richard built a second factory, on a much larger scale, at Cromford, in Derbyshire, in 1771; the machinery of which was turned by a water wheel, after the manner of the famous silk mill erected by Sir Thomas Lombe. Having made several additional discoveries and improvements in the processes of carding, roving, and spinning, he took out a fresh patent for the whole in 1775;* and thus completed a series of machinery so various and complicated, yet so admirably combined, and well adapted to produce the intended effect, in its most perfect form, as to excite the astonishment and admiration of every one capable of appreciating the ingenuity displayed, and the difficulties overcome.

The vast importance of the discoveries, for which Sir Richard Arkwright had taken out patents, became very speedily known; and it is not surprising that every effort should have been made to have them set aside, and Sir Richard deprived of the profit and honour to be derived from them. But after a pretty attentive consideration of the various proceedings relative to this subject, we have no hesitation in saying, that we see no good grounds for crediting the statement made in the Court of King's Bench in 1785, and recently repeated by Mr Guest in his work on the Cotton Manufacture, which ascribes the invention of spinning by rollers to Highs or Hayes, from whom Arkwright is said to have learned it; and we shall now briefly state our reasons for holding this opinion.

Sir Richard Arkwright's *first* patent for spinning by rollers, which is by far the most important, or rather, indeed, the essential part of his inventions, was obtained, as we have previously stated, in 1769. The success which attended this method of spinning very soon excited the strongest desire, on the part of the Lancashire manufacturers, to participate in the advantages to be derived from so admirable an invention; and, in

* See the excellent article on the "Cotton Manufacture," in the Supplement to the Encyclopædia Britannica, (Vol. III. p. 393,) written by Mr Dugald Bannatyne, of Glasgow; the case of Richard Arkwright and Company, in 1782; the account of Sir Richard Arkwright in Aikin's Biographical Dictionary; the History, Gazetteer, &c. of Lancashire, by Edward Baines, Vol. II. p. 484, &c.

1772, they entered into a combination, and raised an action to have the patent set aside, on the ground that Sir Richard Arkwright was not the original inventor. But the evidence brought forward at the trial was quite insufficient to support this allegation. A verdict was accordingly given in Sir R. A.'s favour; and he retained, *without farther opposition of any sort*, the exclusive enjoyment of the patent, until the expiration of the fourteen years.

The *second* patent taken out by Sir Richard Arkwright, in 1775, for additional inventions in the carding and preparation of the cotton for spinning, was not attempted to be disturbed for about *six* years. In 1781, however, it was contested by a powerful combination, consisting chiefly of the same persons who had attacked his former patent, and a verdict was obtained against him, not on the ground of prior invention, but on the ground that he had not given a *sufficiently distinct description of the machinery in the specification.* Sir Richard admitted that he had purposely expressed himself with some obscurity, in the view of preventing foreigners from pirating his inventions. On any other principle, indeed, his conduct would be inexplicable; for, as his inventions were fully known to hundreds of workmen in his own employment, and as he had sold the privilege of using them to great numbers of individuals in different parts of the country, it is impossible to suppose that he could either have expected or intended to conceal his inventions after the expiration of his patent. In consequence of the result of this trial, Sir Richard Arkwright and his partners prepared a *Case*, setting forth the value of the inventions, and the circumstances which had led to the indistinctness complained of in the specification, which they at one time intended to lay before Parliament, as the foundation of an application for an act for their relief. But this intention was subsequently abandoned: and in a new trial, which took place in the Court of Common Pleas, on the 17th of February 1785, Lord Loughborough, the presiding judge, having expressed himself favourably with respect to the sufficiency of the specification, a verdict was given for Sir Richard Arkwright.

In consequence of these conflicting verdicts, the whole matter was brought, by a writ of *scire facias*, before the Court of King's Bench, to have the validity of the patent finally settled. It is of importance to observe, that, on the two previous trials, no objection had been made to the patent on the ground of priority of invention, but solely on the ground of want of distinctness in the specification. But on this third trial, which took place before Mr Justice Buller and a special jury, on the 25th of June 1785, the patent was contested on both grounds—on

that of prior invention, as well as on that of imperfect specification. In support of the former, Highs or Hayes, the reed-maker at Bolton, was, for the *first* time, brought forward. He stated, that he had invented a machine for spinning by rollers, previously to 1768; that he had employed the watchmaker, Kay, to whom we have already referred, to make a model of that machine; and Kay was brought forward to prove that he had communicated that model to Sir Richard Arkwright; and that that was the real source of all his pretended inventions. Having no idea that any attempt was to be made to overturn the patent on this new ground, Sir Richard's counsel were not prepared with evidence to repel this statement; but it was stated by Mr Sergeant Adair, on a motion for a new trial on the 10th of November of the same year, that he was furnished with affidavits contradicting, in the most pointed manner, the evidence that had been given by Kay and others, with respect to the originality of the invention. The Court, however, refused to grant a new trial, on the ground, that whatever might be the fact, as to the question of originality, the deficiency in the specification was enough to sustain the verdict.

But, independently altogether of the statements made on the motion for a new trial, the improbability of the story told by Highs and Kay seems glaring and obvious. Highs states in his evidence, that he had accused Arkwright of getting possession of his invention by means of Kay so early as 1769, or about that period. Where, then, it may be asked, was this Mr Highs in 1772, when the trial to set aside Sir Richard Arkwright's first patent took place? and where was he at the two trials in 1781, and in February 1785? Living in Lancashire, associating with manufacturers, and in the habit, as he declares in his evidence, of making machines for them, he could not fail to be speedily informed with respect to the vast importance and value of the invention Sir Richard Arkwright had purloined from him. It is impossible but he must have been acquainted with the efforts that were making by the Lancashire manufacturers to set aside the patents: And is it to be supposed that if he had really been the inventor, he would have remained for SIXTEEN years a passive spectator of what was going forward? that he would have allowed Sir Richard Arkwright to accumulate a princely fortune by means of *his* inventions, while he remained in a state of poverty? or that he would have withheld his evidence when the manufacturers attempted to wrest from Sir R. A. what he had so unjustly appropriated? A single hint from Highs or Kay would, had their story been well founded, have sufficed to force Sir Richard Arkwright to give them a share of his profits, or would have fur-

nished the manufacturers with the means they were so anxious to obtain, of procuring the immediate dissolution of the patents. But it has never been alleged that Sir Richard Arkwright took any sort of pains to conciliate these persons: on the contrary, he treated Highs with the most perfect indifference; and not only dismissed Kay from his service, but even threatened to prosecute him on a charge of felony! And can any one imagine for a moment that persons with so many and such overpowering temptations to speak out, and with no inducement of any sort to be silent, should have gone about for more than twice the period of a Pythagorean novitiate, with so important a secret closely pent up in their bosoms? We confess that such a supposition seems to us altogether absurd and incredible; and we believe our readers will agree with us in thinking that it is infinitely more consistent with probability to suppose that the story of Highs and Kay had been manufactured for the occasion, than that it was really true.

The improbability of the statements made on this subject by Guest, in his History of the Cotton Manufacture, appears still more obvious, from what has been already remarked, of his attributing to Highs the invention not only of the spinning frame, but also of the jenny, which had been universally ascribed to Hargraves. But no weight can be attached to such rash and ill-considered statements. It would be next to a miracle, had two methods of spinning, both very ingenious, but radically different in their first principles, been invented nearly at the same time by the same individual.

It appears from a communication from Mr Charles Wyatt to his brother, in the Repertory of Arts for 1817, and which has been reprinted by Mr Kennedy, in an interesting article on the Rise and Progress of the Cotton Trade in the Manchester Memoirs, (2d Series, vol. III. p. 135,) as well as from the distinct reference to them in the *Case* printed by Sir Richard Arkwright and Company in 1782, that attempts had been made in the early part of last century to spin cotton by means of machinery. But these attempts proved ruinous to the parties by whom they were made; and all knowledge of the machinery by which they attempted to effect their purpose, has been long since lost. Mr Kennedy says he had seen a specimen of yarn spun about 1741, by the late Mr Wyatt of Birmingham; but he expresses his opinion that no competent judge would say that it was spun by a similar machine to that of Sir Richard Arkwright. It was not indeed alleged at either of the trials that took place with respect to the validity of Sir Richard's patent, nor has it ever been alleged since, that he had borrowed anything whatever from these remote attempts. If he was really indebted for

anything to them, it must have been merely for the knowledge of the fact that such attempts had been made; and this might have stimulated him to turn his attention to the subject.

We have access to know that none of Sir Richard Arkwright's most intimate friends, and who were best acquainted with his character, ever had the slightest doubt with respect to the originality of his invention. Some of them indeed could speak to the circumstances from their own personal knowledge, and their testimony was uniform and consistent.—Such also seems to be the opinion now generally entertained among the principal manufacturers of Manchester. In proof of this, we may again refer to Mr Kennedy's valuable paper in the Manchester Memoirs. Mr K. is one of the most eminent and intelligent cotton manufacturers in the Empire; and it is of importance to remark, that, although he was resident in Manchester in 1785, when the last trial for setting aside Sir Richard's patent took place, and must, therefore, have been well acquainted with all the circumstances connected with it, he does not insinuate the smallest doubt as to his being the real inventor of the spinning frame, nor even so much as once alludes to Highs.

On their first introduction, Sir Richard Arkwright's machines were reckoned by the lower classes as even more adverse to their interests than those of Hargraves; and reiterated attacks were made on the factories built for them.* But how extraordinary soever it may appear, it was amongst the manufacturers that the greatest animosity existed against Sir Richard Arkwright; and it required all that prudence and sagacity for which he was so remarkable, to enable him to triumph over the powerful combination that was formed against him. After the Lancashire manufacturers had failed in their attempts to get his patent set aside in 1772, they unanimously refused to purchase his yarn; and when his partners, Messrs Strutt and Need, had commenced a

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* Dorning Rasbotham, Esq., a magistrate near Bolton, printed some time about the period referred to, a sensible address to the weavers and spinners, in which he endeavoured to convince them that it was for their interest to encourage inventions for abridging labour. The result has shown the soundness of Mr Rasbotham's opinion. It is doubtful whether 30,000 persons were employed in all the branches of the cotton manufacture in 1767; whereas, in consequence of those very inventions which the workmen endeavoured to destroy, there are now nearly 1,000,000 engaged in its different departments! There is, in fact, no idea so groundless and absurd, as that which supposes that an increased facility of production can under any circumstances be injurious to the labourers.

manufacture of calicoes, the manufacturers strenuously opposed a bill to exempt calicoes from a discriminating duty of 3d. a-yard laid on them, over and above the ordinary duty of 3d., by an old act of Parliament. Luckily, however, the manufacturers failed of their object; and in 1774, an act of Parliament was obtained (14. Geo. III. cap. 72.) for the encouragement of the cotton manufacture, in which fabrics made of cotton are declared to have been *lately* introduced, and are allowed to be used as "a lawful and laudable manufacture," the duty of 6d. the square yard on such cottons as are printed or stained being at the same time reduced to 3d. But this disgraceful spirit of animosity, which must, had it been successful, have proved as injurious to the interests of the manufacturers as to those of Sir Richard Arkwright, did not content itself with actions in the courts of law, or a factious opposition to useful measures in Parliament, but displayed itself in a still more striking and unjustifiable manner. For it is a fact, that a large factory, erected by Sir Richard Arkwright at Birkacre, near Chorley in Lancashire, was destroyed by a mob, collected from the adjacent country, in the presence of a powerful body of police and military, without any one of the civil authorities requiring them to interfere to prevent so scandalous an outrage!

Fortunately, however, not for himself only, but for his country and the world, every corner of which has been benefited by his inventions, Sir Richard Arkwright triumphed over every opposition. The same ingenuity, skill, and good sense which had originally enabled him to invent his machine and get it introduced, enabled him to overcome the various combinations and difficulties with which he had subsequently to contend.

Sir Richard Arkwright never enjoyed good health. During the whole of his splendid and ever memorable career of invention and discovery, he was labouring under a very severe asthmatic affection. A complication of disorders at length terminated his truly useful life, in 1792, at his works, at Cromford, in the sixtieth year of his age. He was high sheriff of Derbyshire in 1786; and having presented a congratulatory address to his Majesty on his escape from the attempt on his life, by Margaret Nicholson, received the honour of knighthood. No man ever better deserved his good fortune, or has a stronger claim on the respect and gratitude of posterity. His inventions have opened a new and boundless field of employment; and while they have conferred infinitely more real benefit on his native country than she could have derived from the absolute dominion of Mexico and Peru, they have been *universally* productive of wealth and enjoyments.

"The originality and comprehensiveness of Sir Richard Ark-

wright's mind," says Mr Bannatyne, "was perhaps marked by nothing more strongly than the judgment with which, although new to business, he conducted the great concerns his discovery gave rise to, and the systematic order and arrangement which he introduced into every department of his extensive works. His plans of management, which must have been entirely his own, as no establishment of a similar nature then existed, were universally adopted by others; and after long experience, they have not yet, in any material point, been altered or improved."*

The *mule jenny*, so called from its being a compound of the jenny and the spinning frame, was invented by Mr Samuel Crompton of Bolton-le-Moors, in 1775. It did not, however, come into general use until the dissolution of Sir Richard Arkwright's second patent, ten years afterwards. The yarn produced by the spinning frame, though well fitted for warp, was of too firm and hard a texture to render it suitable for weft, which was in consequence generally spun upon Hargraves' jenny. But the introduction of the mule almost entirely superseded Hargraves' invention, and forms an important era in the history of the cotton manufacture. All sorts of wefts, from the lowest to the highest numbers, are now spun by means of this machine; and as a specimen of the perfection to which spinning, by its means, was speedily carried, we may mention that Mr John Pollard of Manchester spun in 1792, on the mule, no fewer than 278 hanks of yarn, forming a thread of 233,520 yards, or upwards of 132 miles in length, from a single pound of raw cotton!

Mr Crompton did not take out any patent for his invention, which indeed he only perfected by slow degrees. In 1812, however, he was advised to apply to Parliament for a reward. His claim being entertained, a Committee of the House of Commons was appointed to investigate the matter, before whom evidence was brought to prove that there were upwards of *four millions* of spindles employed on Mr Crompton's principle; that two-thirds of the steam engines for spinning cotton turned mules; and that the value of the buildings, machinery, &c. employed on the same principle, amounted to from *three* to *four* millions sterling. In consequence of this report, the House of Commons, as a mark of the national gratitude to an individual whose inventions had so powerfully contributed to extend what had now become the principal manufacture of the country, voted Mr Crompton a reward of—£5000! To make any lengthened commentary on such a proceeding would be

* Supplement to Encyclopædia Britannica, vol. iii. p. 395.

superfluous. Had the House of Commons refused to recognise Mr Crompton's claim for remuneration, they would, whatever might otherwise have been thought of the proceeding, have at least acted consistently. But to admit the principle of the claim, to enter upon an elaborate investigation with respect to the merit and extensive application of the invention, and then to vote so contemptible a pittance to the inventor, are proceedings which evince the most extraordinary inconsistency, as well as the most inconceivable niggardliness, on the part of those who have never been particularly celebrated for their parsimonious disposition, towards individuals whose genius and inventions have alone enabled Parliament to meet the immense expenses the country has had to sustain.

The mule was originally wrought by the hand; but in 1792 Mr William Kelly of Glasgow discovered a mode of working it by machinery, for which he took out a patent.—But this patent was almost immediately invaded; and, though the undisputed inventor of the machine, Mr Kelly chose rather to submit to the invasion of his rights than to involve himself in the litigation that would have been necessary to secure them. Previously to Mr Kelly's invention, the mule contained only 144 spindles, but, with the assistance of the mechanism now in use, one individual is enabled to work at the same moment two mules containing each from 300 to 400 spindles!

From the period when Sir Richard Arkwright's second patent was cancelled, the progress of the cotton manufacture has been rapid beyond all precedent. The improvements made on the steam-engine by the genius of Watt, relieved the spinners from the necessity under which they had, in the first instance, been placed, of building factories in inconvenient situations merely for the sake of a waterfall; and enabled them to raise them in the centre of an industrious population, where all the processes necessary in the manufacture might be brought together and carried on, as it were, almost in the same workshop.

The *power-loom*, invented by the Rev. Mr Cartwright, a clergyman of Kent, is one of the most ingenious, efficient, and, we will add, supereminently useful machines that has ever been constructed. Mr Cartwright states, in a very interesting letter addressed by him to Mr Bannatyne of Glasgow, that the idea of constructing a power-loom was excited in his mind by being in company with some Manchester gentlemen at Matlock in 1784, who remarked that so many cotton-mills would be erected, and so much yarn spun, that it would be impossible to procure hands to weave it. Mr Cartwright replied that Mr

Arkwright must, in that case, set his wits to work to invent a weaving-mill. The Manchester gentlemen all declared that that was impracticable; but Mr C. denied that there could be any greater difficulty in inventing a machine to weave cotton than to spin it; and meditating afterwards on the subject of this conversation, he succeeded in constructing a loom, all the movements of which were performed by means of machinery! Mr C. took out a patent for his invention in 1787.

The progress of power-loom weaving was not at first so rapid as might have been expected. This arose partly from the imperfections that originally attached to the machine, but chiefly from the circumstance of its being necessary to dress the webs from time to time after they were put into the looms, which made it impossible for one person to do more than attend to one loom. But a beautiful machine, invented by Mr Thomas Johnson of Bradbury, for warping and dressing the yarn used as warps, has completely obviated this difficulty;* and, at this moment, a boy or girl, of from twelve to fourteen years of age, can with ease attend to two power-looms—and can, by their means, produce three times as much well-woven cloth as could be produced by the best hand-weaver! During the last ten years, the number of power-looms has increased with astonishing rapidity. According to Mr Baines, there were, in 1818, in Manchester, Stockport, and the immediate vicinity, about 2,000 power-looms; in 1821 they had increased to 5,732; and in July 1825, in the parish of Manchester alone, they amounted to upwards of 20,000!† There are now, probably, about 45,000 power-looms in Great Britain, employed in the weaving of cotton only, exclusive of those that are employed in the weaving of wool; and of these there are supposed to be about 8,000 in Scotland. We have not, indeed, the slightest doubt, that weaving by machinery is destined, and at no distant period, entirely to supersede weaving by the hand. There are no limits to the powers and resources of genius: the various processes carried on in the weaving mills will be constantly receiving new improvements; and the race of weavers—a race that has always been proverbial for poverty and want of forethought—will be changed to machine-makers, a business which requires

* This machine is now known by the name of Ratcliffe's Dressing Machine, from the exertions made by Mr Ratcliffe of Stockport to have it made effective.—But Mr R. has no claim to the invention.

† Baines's History, Gazetteer, &c. of Lancashire, vol. ii. p. 134.

a better education, and is, in many respects, better calculated to raise the character and improve the habits of those engaged in it.

It is justly observed by Mr Bannatyne, that though it is, in most cases, possible to point out, with tolerable precision, the period when any considerable improvement was introduced into the spinning or weaving of cotton, it is not possible to exhibit, in a similar manner, the constant progress that has been going on in the better construction of the different parts of the machinery, and in the skill and dexterity of the workmen. But the operation of this gradual progress is such that it has frequently been found, that the quantity of work performed by a machine that had been considered perfect, has, in a few years, been doubled or tripled. And as the same causes continue to operate, it is reasonable to suppose that a succession of improvements will follow for an indefinite period.

The effect of the different improvements that have been made in the spinning of cotton has been so great, that yarn of No. 100, which sold in 1786, after Sir Richard Arkwright's second patent had been cancelled, and when its price had already been greatly reduced, at 38s., has since fallen so low as 3s. or 4s.!* And these improvements in the process of spinning,† combined with those that have been made in the processes of weaving, bleaching, &c. by proportionally lowering the price of cotton goods, and extending the demand for them, in a degree that could hardly have been conceived possible, have been the real and only cause of the astonishing increase of the manufacture. It appears, from the custom-house returns, that the total quantity of cotton-wool annually imported into Great Britain, on an average of the *five* years ending with 1705, amounted to only 1,170,881 lbs. The accounts of the imports of cotton from 1720 to 1770 have not been preserved; but until the last two or three years of that period the manufacture increased very slowly, and was of very trifling amount. Dr Percival of Manchester, who had the best means of being accurately informed on such a subject, states, that the entire value of all the cotton goods manufactured in Great Britain, at the accession of his late Majesty in 1760, was estimated to amount to only L.200,000

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* Supplement to Encyclopædia Britannica, vol. iii. p. 398.

† "I may observe," says Mr Kennedy, speaking of these improvements, "that their united effects amount to this,—that the labour of *one* person, aided by them, can now (1817) produce as much yarn, in a given time, as 200 could have done fifty years ago!"—*Manchester Memoirs*, Second Series, vol. iii. p. 132.

a-year, and the number of persons employed was quite inconsiderable! But, after the invention of the jenny and the spinning-frame, the quantity of cotton imported, the value of the goods manufactured, and the number of persons employed, increased in a geometrical proportion. The imports from 1771 to 1775 amounted, on an average, to 4,764,589 lbs.; and from that period to the dissolution of Sir Richard Arkwright's second patent in 1785, the annual average imports had increased to 7,470,845 lbs. The subjoined *official* account of the quantity of cotton-wool imported and exported from 1781 to the present period, sets the progress of the manufacture in a very striking point of view:—

Cotton-Wool Imported and Exported from 1781 *to* 1825.

Years.	Imported.	Exported.	Years.	Imported.	Exported.
	lbs.	*lbs.*		*lbs.*	*lbs.*
1781	5,198,778	96,788	1804	61,867,329	503,171
1782	11,828,039	421,229	1805	59,682,406	804,243
1783	9,735,663	177,626	1806	58,176,283	651,867
1784	11,482,083	201,845	1807	74,925,306	2,176,943
1785	18,400,384	407,496	1808	43,605,982	1,644,867
1786	19,475,020	323,153	1809	92,812,282	4,351,105
1787	23,250,268	1,073,381	1810	132,488,935	8,787,109
1788	20,467,436	853,146	1811	91,576,535	1,266,867
1789	32,576,023	297,837	1812	63,025,936	1,740,912
1790	31,447,605	844,154	1813	50,966,000	
1791	28,706,675	363,442	1814	60,060,239	6,282,437
1792	34,907,497	1,485,465	1815	99,306,343	6,780,392
1793	19,040,929	1,171,566	1816	93,920,055	7,105,034
1794	24,358,567	1,349,950	1817	124,912,968	8,155,442
1795	26,401,340	1,193,737	1818	177,282,158	15,159,453
1796	32,126,357	694,962	1819	149,739,820	16,622,969
1797	23,354,371	609,058	1820	144,818,100	7,410,602
1798	31,880,641	601,139	1821	123,977,400	16,305,892
1799	43,379,278	844,671	1822	135,420,100	20,220,064
1800	56,010,732	4,416,610	1823	191,402,503	9,310,403
1801	56,004,305	1,860,872	1824	149,380,122	13,299,505
1802	60,345,600	3,730,480	1825	228,005,291	18,004,953*
1803	53,812,284	1,561,053			

It would be very desirable to be able to form a tolerably accurate estimate of the present value of the cotton manufacture, and of the number of persons employed in its different departments; but the data on which such estimates are founded being necessarily very loose, it is impossible to arrive at anything like precision. Perhaps, however, the following calculations are not very wide of the mark.

* The last three years include the imports into, and exports from, Ireland, which, however, are of comparatively trifling importance.

In 1817, Mr Kennedy, in his paper to which we have already referred, estimated the number of persons employed in the *spinning* of cotton in Great Britain at 110,763; the aid they derived from steam-engines as equal to the power of 20,768 horses; and the number of spindles in motion at 6,645,833. Mr Kennedy farther estimated the number of hanks of yarn annually produced at 3,987,500,000; and the quantity of coal consumed in their production at 500,479 tons. We subjoin Mr Kennedy's Statement for the year 1817:—

Raw Cotton converted into yarn in the United Kingdom, .	110,000,000lbs.	
Loss in spinning estimated at 1½oz. per lb.	10,312,500	
Quantity of yarn produced,	————————	99,687,500lbs.
Number of hanks, taking the average at 40 per lb.		3,987,500,000lbs.
Number of spindles employed, each spindle being supposed to produce two hanks per day, at 300 working days in the year, ...		6,645,833
Number of persons employed in spinning, supposing each to produce 120 hanks per day, .		110,763
Horse-power employed, equal in number to .		20,768

Four ounces and a-half of coal estimated to produce one hank of No. 40; and 180lbs. of coal per day, equal to one horse power.

But the cotton manufacture has increased since 1817, as evinced by the increased importation of the raw material, in the proportion of from 20 to 25 per cent. Mr Huskisson stated, in his place in the House of Commons, in March 1824, that he believed the total value of the cotton goods annually manufactured in Great Britain amounted to the prodigious sum of about *thirty-three and a-half* millions; and we shall certainly be within the mark if we estimate their present value at *thirty-six* millions!

The average annual quantity of cotton-wool imported, after deducting the exports, may be taken at about 140 millions of pounds weight. It is supposed, that of this quantity about ten millions of pounds are used in a raw or unmanufactured state, leaving a balance of 130 millions for the purposes of manufacturing, the cost of which may be taken, on an average, at 1s. 4½d. per lb. Deducting, therefore, from the total value of the manufactured goods, or 36 millions, the value of the raw material amounting to nine millions, there remains 27 millions; which, of course, forms the fund whence the wages of the persons employed in the various departments of the manufacture, the profits of the capitalists, the sums required to repair the wear and tear of buildings, machinery, &c., the expense of coals, &c. &c., must all be derived. If, then, we had any means of ascertain-

ing how this fund is distributed, we should be able, by averaging wages and profits, to form a pretty accurate estimate of the number of labourers, and the quantity of capital employed. But here, unfortunately, we have only probabilities and analogies to guide us. It may, however, be confidently assumed, in the first place, that in consequence of the extensive employment of highly-valuable machinery in all the departments of the cotton manufacture, the proportion which the profits of capital, and the sum to be set aside to replace its wear and tear, bears to the whole value of the manufacture, must be much larger than in any other department of industry. We have heard this proportion variously estimated, at from a fourth to a half of the total value of the manufactured goods, exclusive of the raw material; and as the weight of authority seems to be pretty much divided on the subject, we shall take an intermediate proportion. Assuming, therefore, that the profits of the capital employed in the cotton manufacture, the wages of superintendence, &c., the sum required to replace the wear and tear of machinery, buildings, &c., and to furnish coals, &c., amount together to *twelve twenty-sevenths* of the value of the manufactured goods, exclusive of the raw material, or to *twelve* millions; a sum of *fifteen* millions will remain as the wages of the spinners, weavers, bleachers, &c., &c., engaged in the manufacture; and taking, inasmuch as a large proportion of children under sixteen years of age are employed, the average rate of wages at only L.20 a-year, we shall have (dividing 15 millions by 20) 705,000 as the total number of persons directly employed in the different departments of the manufacture.

We should mistake, however, if we supposed that this number, great as it certainly is, comprised the whole number of persons to whom the cotton manufacture furnishes subsistence, exclusive of the capitalists. Of the sum of twelve millions set apart as the profit of the capitalists, and the sum required to furnish coals, and to replace the wear and tear of machinery, &c., a large proportion must annually be laid out in paying the wages of engineers, machine-makers, iron-founders, smiths, joiners, masons, bricklayers, &c. It is not easy to say what this proportion may amount to; but taking it at a *third*, or four millions, and supposing the rate of wages of each individual to average L.30 a-year, the total number employed in the various capacities alluded to will be (four millions divided by 30) 133,000; and a sum of *eight* millions sterling will remain to cover the profits of the capital employed in the various branches of the manufacture, the expense of purchasing materials to repair the different parts of the machinery and buildings as they wear out, coal, &c. The account will, therefore, stand as under:—

Total value of every description of cotton goods annually manufactured in Great Britain		£36,000,000
Raw material, 130,000,000lbs. at 1s. 4½d. per lb.	£9,000,000	
Wages of 705,000 weavers, spinners, bleachers, &c. at £20 a-year each	15,000,000	
Wages of 133,000 engineers, machine-makers, smiths, masons, joiners, &c. at £30 a-year each	4,000,000	
Profits of the manufacturers, wages of superintendence, sums to purchase the materials of machinery, coals, &c.	8,000,000	
		£36,000,000

The capital employed may be estimated as follows:—

Capital employed in the purchase of the raw material	£9,000,000
Capital employed in payment of wages	19,000,000
Capital invested in spinning-mills, power and hand-looms, workshops, warehouses, &c.	37,000,000
	£65,000,000

Now, this sum of 65 millions, supposing the interest of capital, inclusive of the wages of superintendence, &c. to amount to 10 per cent, will yield a sum of £6,500,000; which, being deducted from the 8 millions of profits, &c. leaves £1,500,000 to purchase materials to repair the waste of capital, the coals necessary in the employment of the steam-engines, to effect insurances, &c.

If we are nearly right in these estimates, it will follow—allowance being made for old and infirm persons, children, &c. dependent on those who are actually employed in the various departments of the cotton manufacture, and in the construction, repairs, &c. of the machinery and buildings required to carry it on—that it must furnish, on the most moderate computation, subsistence for from 1,000,000 to 1,100,000 persons! And for this new and most prolific source of wealth, we are indebted partly and principally, as we have already shown, to the extraordinary genius and talent of a few individuals; but, in a great degree, also, to that security of property and freedom of industry which give confidence and energy to all who embark in industrious undertakings, and to that universal diffusion of intelligence which enables those who carry on any work, to press every power of nature into their service, and to avail themselves of productive capacities of which a less instructed people would be wholly ignorant.

The effect that the sudden opening of so vast and profitable a field for the employment of capital and labour, has had on the population of the different towns of Lancashire and Lanarkshire, the districts where the cotton manufacture is principally carried on, has been most striking. In 1774, for example, the

parish of Manchester is estimated to have contained 41,032 inhabitants—a number which was swelled in 1821 to 133,788, having more than tripled in the space of 47 years! The population of Preston, in 1780, is said not to have exceeded 6,000, but it is stated by Mr Baines to have amounted to 30,000 in 1825. In like manner, the population of Blackburn has increased from 11,980 in 1801, to 21,940 in 1821; that of Bolton has increased in the same period, from 17,416 to 39,616; that of Wigan, from 10,989 to 17,716, &c. But the progress of Liverpool is the most extraordinary, and can be matched only by the progress of one or two cities in the United States. Liverpool is not properly one of the seats of the cotton manufacture; but it is, notwithstanding, mainly indebted to it for the unparalleled rapidity of its growth. It is the grand emporium of the cotton district—the port where almost all the raw cotton, and the various foreign articles required for the employment and subsistence of the persons engaged in the manufacture, are imported, and from whence the finished goods are exported to other countries. It has, therefore, become a place of vast trade, and is now, in that respect, second only to London. In 1700, according to the best accounts that can be obtained, the population of Liverpool amounted to only 5,145; in 1750 it had increased to 18,450; in 1770 it amounted to 34,050. The cotton manufacture now began rapidly to extend, and, in consequence, the population of Liverpool had increased in 1801 to 77,653, and in 1821 it amounted to 118,972. The progress of population in Lanarkshire and Renfrewshire has been equally striking. In 1780, the city of Glasgow contained only 42,832 inhabitants; in 1801, that number had increased to 83,769; and, in 1821, it amounted to 147,043. The growth of Paisley is similar. In 1782, it contained, inclusive of the Abbey Parish, only 17,700 inhabitants; in 1801 it contained 31,179; and in 1821 it contained about 46,000.

Since the repeal of the absurd system of Irish protecting duties in 1823, the cotton manufacture has begun to make a very considerable progress in Ireland. This is proved by a statement, laid before the House of Commons, which shows that the number of *yards* of cotton goods, manufactured chiefly from yarn sent from England, exported from Ireland to Great Britain, in 1822, amounted to 406,687; in 1823, to 556,646; in 1824, to 3,840,699; and in 1825, it amounted to no less than 6,418,645;—having increased in a nearly *twelvefold* proportion in two years, by the abolition of duties that were intended to *protect* the industry of Ireland!

For a very long period the woollen manufacture was the great

staple of the country. But the progress of improvement in the spinning and manufacturing of cotton since 1770, being so much more rapid than any that has taken place in the woollen manufacture, the value of the former is now vastly greater than that of the latter. It appears, from the accounts of the declared or real values of the different sorts of exported commodities obtained by the Custom-house, that the exports of cotton goods, including yarn, amount, on an average, to about seventeen millions sterling, or to nearly half the value of the whole manufacture; and form of themselves about *two-thirds* of the total value of all the wove fabrics exported from the empire. We subjoin a statement, compiled from papers printed by order of the House of Commons:—

Statement of the Official, and the Declared or Real, Values of the Cotton Manufactured Goods, Cotton Yarn, Woollen, and Silk Manufactures, and the Totals of all other articles of British Produce and Manufactures, Exported from Great Britain to all parts of the World (except Ireland) in each of the Thirteen Years 1814—1826:—

	Years.	Cotton Manufactures.	Cotton Yarn.	Manufactures.			Total of Wove Fabrics.	Total of all Other Articles.
				Woollen.	Linen.	Silk.		
		L.	L.	L.	L.	L.	L.	L.
Official Values.	1814	16,690,365	1,119,850	4,931,670	1,524,457	173,348	24,439,684	8,760,896
	15	21,699,505	808,853	7,122,570	1,590,074	224,873	31,445,876	10,266,126
	16	16,335,124	1,380,486	5,586,364	1,559,367	161,874	25,023,215	9,751,305
	17	20,357,147	1,125,257	5,676,920	1,943,194	152,734	29,255,253	9,980,144
	18	21,627,936	1,296,776	6,344,100	2,153,309	167,559	31,589,683	10,373,844
	19	16,876,206	1,585,753	4,602,270	1,547,352	126,809	24,738,390	8,185,185
	1820	20,704,600	2,022,153	4,363,973	1,935,186	118,370	29,144,283	8,673,753
	1	21,630,493	1,898,695	5,500,922	2,303,443	136,402	31,478,955	8,715,938
	2	24,566,920	2,353,217	5,943,612	2,594,78[illegible]	141,007	35,599,539	7,958,950
	3	24,117,549	2,425,419	5,539,789	2,654,098	141,320	34,878,175	8,266,291
	4	27,170,107	2,984,329	6,136,092	3,283,403	159,648	39,733,579	8,296,457
	5	26,597,574	2,897,706	5,929,342	2,709,772	150,8[illegible]5	38,285,209	8,167,812
	6	21,445,565	3,748,526	5,041,585	2,056,760	106,738	32,399,174	7,932,830
Declared Values.	1814	17,393,796	2,791,249	6,372,494	1,701,384	530,020	28,788,940	14,658,432
	15	19,124,069	1,674,022	9,338,142	1,777,563	622,120	32,535,905	17,117,340
	16	13,072,757	2,628,448	7,844,855	1,452,667	480,522	25,479,252	14,849,690
	17	14,178,022	2,014,182	7,163,472	1,703,632	408,523	25,467,827	14,869,292
	18	16,643,579	2,385,305	8,143,193	1,949,815	499,175	29,621,067	15,567,182
	19	12,388,833	2,516,783	5,986,807	1,391,245	376,798	22,660,467	11,588,029
	1820	13,843,569	2,826,643	5,583,439	1,653,804	374,114	24,278,570	11,290,109
	1	13,786,957	2,307,830	6,461,567	1,981,465	373,938	24,911,759	10,914,223
	2	14,534,253	2,700,437	6,488,523	2,192,772	381,455	26,297,429	9,879,468
	3	13,751,415	2,625,947	5,634,137	2,095,574	350,880	24,457,952	10,233,172
	4	15,240,006	3,135,496	6,011,534	2,442,440	442,582	27,272,059	10,301,359
	5	15,034,138	3,206,729	6,193,775	2,130,705	296,677	26,862,024	11,221,749
	6	10,522,357	3,491,268	4,982,898	1,489,647	168,453	20,652,623	10,195,015

Previously to 1790, the supply of raw cotton for the British manufacture was principally derived from the West Indies and the Levant. But, after the termination of the American war, cotton began to be cultivated in Carolina and Georgia, and has succeeded so well that it now forms one of the most valuable productions of the United States. American cotton is generally known by the names of *Sea Island* and *Upland.* The former is the finest cotton imported into Britain. It grows on small sandy islands contiguous to the shore, and on the low grounds bordering on the sea. The *Upland* grows at a distance from the coast, and is so very difficult to separate from the seed, that it was for a considerable period not worth cultivating. But the genius of a Mr Whitney, who invented a machine which separates the wool from the seed with the utmost facility, has done for the planters of Carolina and Georgia what the genius of Arkwright did for the manufacturers of Lancashire. Before Mr Whitney's invention, in 1793, very little upland cotton was cultivated, and not a single pound was exported from the United States. No sooner, however, had Mr Whitney's machine been constructed, than the cultivation of this species of cotton became the principal object of the agriculturists of Carolina and Georgia; and the quantity exported has increased to upwards of 100 millions of pounds weight! Mr Whitney took out a patent for his invention, and sold the right to use it to the state of South Carolina for 50,000 dollars. In Georgia, and some of the other states, he had to struggle with a powerful combination, who endeavoured to deprive him of the profits to be derived from his invention; and a considerable period elapsed before he succeeded in making his patent effectual.

Having finished this brief, and necessarily very imperfect sketch of the rise, progress, and present magnitude of the cotton manufacture, we shall now take leave to submit a few observations with respect to the probability of our preserving our ascendency in it, and its influence on the condition and morals of the people.

It is obvious, that a great deal of conjecture must always insinuate itself into our reasonings with respect to the future state of any branch of manufacturing industry. They are all liable to be affected by so many contingent and unforeseen circumstances, that it is impossible to predicate, with anything like certainty, what may be their condition a few years hence. But abstracting from the effect of national struggles and commotions, which can neither be foreseen nor calculated, we do not think that there is anything in our state, or in that of the dif-

ferent commercial and manufacturing countries of the world, that should lead us to anticipate that the gloomy forebodings of those who contend that the cotton manufacture of England has reached its zenith, and that it must now begin to decline, will be realized. The natural capabilities we possess for carrying on the business of manufacturing, are, all things considered, decidedly superior to those of any other people. But the superiority to which we have already arrived is perhaps the greatest advantage in our favour. Our master manufacturers, engineers, and artisans, are more intelligent, skilful, and enterprising, than those of any other country; and the extraordinary inventions they have already made, and their familiarity with all the principles and details of the business, will not only enable them to perfect the processes already in use, but can hardly fail to lead to the discovery of others. Our establishments for spinning, weaving, printing, bleaching, &c. are infinitely more complete and perfect than any that exist elsewhere; the division of labour in them is carried to an incomparably greater extent; the workmen are trained from infancy to industrious habits, and have attained that peculiar dexterity and sleight of hand in the performance of their separate tasks, that can only be acquired by long and unremitting application to the same employment. Why, then, having all these advantages on our side, should we not keep the start we have already gained? Every other people that attempts to set up manufactures, must obviously labour under the greatest difficulties as compared with us. Their establishments cannot, at first, be sufficiently large to enable the division of employments to be carried to any considerable extent, at the sametime that expertness in manipulation, and in the details of the various processes, can only be attained by slow degrees. It appears, therefore, reasonable to conclude, that such new beginners having to stand the competition of those who have already arrived at a very high degree of perfection in the art, must be immediately driven out of every market equally accessible to both parties; and that nothing but the aid derived from restrictive regulations and prohibitions will be effectual to prevent the total destruction of their establishments in the countries where they are set up.

But it is said, that great as these advantages certainly are, they are counterbalanced by still greater drawbacks; that the advantage of obtaining the raw material of the manufacture from their own citizens, and without having to pay the expense of conveying it to a distant country, will, in the end, enable the nascent manufactures of America to obtain an ascendency over ours; and that the high price of provisions in this country, and

our high taxes, by raising the wages we pay to our workmen considerably above the level of those of the Continental states, lay us under a disadvantage with which neither our great capital, nor the superior skill and intelligence of our artisans, can enable us permanently to contend.

In so far, however, as respects America, we do not think that there is the smallest probability of her ever becoming a dangerous rival of ours in manufacturing industry, or that the fact of her being possessed of the raw material, is a circumstance of any importance. The Americans are possessed of such vast tracts of fertile, and hitherto unoccupied land, that agricultural employments must continue, for a very long period, to form decidedly the most beneficial mode in which they can employ their capital and industry: and it may be supposed, that, according as a knowledge of the sound principles of public economy is more generally diffused, the people and their rulers will see the folly of attempting to force the premature establishment of manufactures; and will become more and more disposed to follow the just and liberal policy of allowing every individual to prosecute his own interest in his own way. But, assuming that the Americans should persevere in the erroneous policy, on which they have latterly been acting, of forcing the establishment of manufactures, what is the amount of the advantage they will gain from the possession of the raw material? It is clear, that if manufactures are ever to be successfully carried on in America, it can only be in the Northern States; for no one can imagine that manufactured goods produced by slave labour will ever be able to come successfully into competition with similar goods produced by free labour: And if cotton has to be exported from Georgia and Carolina to a distant part of the Union, the difference between the cost of its conveyance to Massachusetts, or Connecticut, and Great Britain, must be altogether inappreciable, as compared with the ultimate cost of the manufactured goods. We, therefore, entertain no fears whatever of the competition of America. There are insuperable obstacles to her becoming a manufacturing nation for a very long series of years; and when she does become one, the advantage she will derive from possessing the raw material, will be hardly worth mentioning, and will go but a very short way indeed, to balance the peculiar sources of our superiority.

But it is on the competition of our Continental neighbours, assisted by our high wages and taxes, that those who anticipate the decline of our manufacturing and commercial prosperity, lay the greatest stress. It is idle, it is said, for us to deceive ourselves, by trusting to the superior magnitude of our capital, and

the greater proficiency to which we have already attained in the manufacture. These advantages, it is admitted, may insure our ascendency for a while; but it is affirmed that they are not of a description that can be monopolized; that the French, and other Continental nations, have already made, and are continuing to make, considerable progress in the manufacture; and that our comparatively high wages and taxes must ultimately give them a superiority over us. As these statements have been repeatedly advanced, and have made a considerable impression, we shall examine them a little minutely.

In the *first* place, then, we have to observe, that we very much doubt whether wages are really higher in England than in France. That wages, estimated *by the day*, are higher in the former, is, we believe, true; but the question really at issue, is not, whether the wages paid to workmen employed for a given period are higher in France than in England, but,—whether the wages or sums paid for executing a *particular piece of work* are higher? Now, this is obviously a radically different question from the former. A very competent judge of such matters, the late Arthur Young, gave it as his opinion, that an Essex labourer, at 2s. 6d. a-day, was decidedly cheaper than a Tipperary labourer at 5d.! And, upon the same principle, though a French manufacturer were able to hire his workmen, by the day or the week, for some 20 or 30 per cent less than an English manufacturer pays to his, yet, as the British labourers, from their better training, the greater subdivision of employments amongst them, and their industrious habits, are able to execute a decidedly greater quantity of work in a given space of time than the French labourers, the wages or price of *labour* may really be lower in this country than in France. We do not, however, pretend to form an accurate estimate of the comparative price of labour in the two countries; but we have been assured, by gentlemen of great experience, and intimately acquainted with the state of industry in both countries, that although the French workmen may equal, or even surpass the English in jewellery, and in the manufacture of fancy articles and trinkets, and, generally, in all those departments in which labour is light, and into which machinery has not been largely introduced, they are very inferior to them in others; and that the English cotton, woollen, and hardware manufacturers, and machine makers, get any quantity of work cheaper, and at the same time incomparably better executed than it could be done in France.

It is not, therefore, from loose and ill-digested statements about the low rate of wages in France, as compared with their rate in England, that any accurate estimate can be formed of

the real *price of labour* in the two countries. But admitting, for the sake of illustration, for we believe the fact to be otherwise, that labour is really cheaper in France than in England, it will not require any very elaborate argument to show that this circumstance cannot, of itself, lay our cotton manufacturers under any disadvantage as compared with those of France or any other country.

We admit that it seems at first sight sufficiently paradoxical to affirm, that an increase of wages has a tendency to reduce the price of all that class of commodities, which, like cottons, and many other species of manufactured goods, are produced chiefly by the aid of machinery. But the paradox is only in appearance; and a very small degree of attention will serve to convince any one at all familiar with such investigations, that the proposition is as undeniable as it is important.

Some commodities are almost entirely the produce of manual labour, while others, as cotton twist, for example, are almost entirely the produce of the labour of fixed capital, or machinery; and it is, therefore, plain, that nearly the whole of the first class, or their value, must go to the labourer as his wages, and that of the second to the manufacturer, as his profits. Suppose, to illustrate what has now been stated, that a manufacturer has a machine worth L.10,000, calculated to last for a considerable number of years, and which can manufacture goods with the assistance of but little manual labour. In this case, it is quite clear that the goods produced by the machine really form the profit of the capital expended in its construction; and their value, or price rated in money, must, therefore, vary with every variation in the rate of profit. If profits are 10 per cent, then the goods annually produced by the machine must, supposing the value of money not to alter, sell for L.1,000, exclusive of a small additional sum to replace the wear and tear of the engine. Should profits rise to 15 per cent, the price of the goods produced by the machine must rise to L.1,500, for otherwise the manufacturer would not obtain the common and average rate of profit. And if, on the other hand, profits should fall to 5 per cent, the price of the goods must, for the same reason, fall to L.500. If, therefore, it can be shown that a rise of wages reduces the rate of profits, it necessarily follows that it must also reduce the value and price of all such commodities as are chiefly produced by the aid of fixed capital or machinery.

But it is clear that every rise of wages, which is not accompanied by an increased productiveness of industry, must proportionally lower the rate of profit. Profits and wages,

though most commonly paid, or estimated in money, are parts of, and really make up between them, all that portion of the produce of industry that remains after rent is deducted or set aside;—and it is as clear as the sun at noon-day, that when the portion of the produce of industry, or its value, going to the labourer is increased, the portion remaining to the capitalist, or its value, must be diminished. The introduction of money obscures, but it does not in the slightest degree affect, the relation of profits and wages. So long as the productiveness of industry remains the same, the one must always vary inversely as the other,—that is, profits must fall when wages rise, and rise when wages fall.

This principle shows conclusively, that, instead of our high wages laying our cotton manufacturers under any disadvantage as compared with foreigners, their effect must be distinctly and completely the reverse. High wages cause *low* profits; and as the principal part of the value of cottons and other commodities chiefly produced by the agency of machinery, consists of profits, it must be comparatively low when wages are high. Suppose, for example, that two pretty durable machines, of equal power and goodness, and which can perform their work with but little manual labour, are erected, the one in France and the other in England; and suppose, farther, that the machines cost L.20,000 each, and that the common and average rate of nett profit in France is *six*, and in England only *five* per cent: it is plain that the goods produced, or the work performed by the French machine will have to sell for, or be worth, L.1,200, whereas the goods produced, or the work performed by the English machine, will only sell for, or be worth, L.1,000; for such are the sums which will yield the proprietors of these machines the customary rate of profit accruing to those who carry on industrious undertakings in the countries to which they respectively belong,—a regard to their own interest not allowing them to take less than this rate, and the competition of their neighbours not allowing them to obtain more.

Nor is this the only advantage, in point of cheapness, that would be enjoyed by the English manufacturers. For, inasmuch as one description of machinery is, for the most part, largely employed in the production of another, it is most probable that, in the event of one of the machines being made in England and the other in France, the English one would not cost so much as L.20,000, and that its produce might, on that account, be sold for even less than L.1,000.

The effect of a rise of wages on the price of those commodities that are chiefly produced by means of manual labour, is

different. It raises their value, or price, proportionally to the extent to which the rise of wages exceeds the fall of profit on the capital employed in their production. And hence it follows, that a country where wages are high and profits low, has a decided advantage over a country where wages are low and profits high, in the cheaper rate at which she can afford to sell all those articles that are chiefly produced by means of machinery; while the latter has an equal advantage over the former, in the cheaper rate at which she can afford to sell the articles chiefly produced by the immediate labour of the hand. And such, in point of fact, is the exact relative condition of Great Britain and the Continental States. The bulk of our exports consists of cotton and woollen stuffs and yarn, hardware, and other articles, in the production of which machinery is very largely employed; whereas the bulk of the exports of France, Germany, &c. consists of the products of their soil, jewellery, fancy articles, and coarse manufactured goods, principally the product of manual labour. The idea that high wages can ever be injurious to the commerce of a country, is, therefore, quite imaginary. They tend, indeed, to give its industry a peculiar bias and direction, but that is all. If, on the one hand, they raise the value of certain descriptions of commodities, and check their exportation, on the other hand they proportionally lower the value of other descriptions, and fit them the better for the foreign market.

Our manufacturers may, therefore, be of good cheer. The advantages they enjoy over the manufacturers of the Continent, in the possession of the various natural and acquired facilities for conducting the business of manufacturing already enumerated, would, supposing other things to be equal, give them a decided superiority in all equally accessible markets: and if it be really true that the price of labour in Great Britain is higher than on the Continent, that circumstance must, by lowering the rate of profit, lower the price, and consequently increase the demand for cotton and other articles principally produced by the agency of machinery.*

The taxes imposed on manufactured goods being commonly drawn back on exportation, have no direct influence on the price of such of them as are destined for a foreign market: And, ex-

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* See, for a farther illustration of this principle, Mr Ricardo's Principles of Political Economy and Taxation, p. 34, 1st edit., and Mr M'Culloch's Principles of Political Economy, p. 320.

cept in so far as taxes may affect the rate of wages, their indirect operation on manufacturing industry is unimportant.

There is one way, indeed, in which it is but too probable that high taxes, and high wages caused by them, will be deeply injurious,—that is, by reducing the rate of profit, and tempting capitalists to transfer their stocks to other countries. This, however, cannot, under any circumstances, affect the cotton manufacturers more than it must affect the agriculturists, and all who are engaged in industrious undertakings; while, from the superior facilities which we enjoy for the prosecution of the cotton manufacture, it is probable that it will be less affected by an efflux of capital, should it ever take place to an injurious extent, than most other businesses.

Although, therefore, we do not pretend to cast the horoscope of the cotton manufacture, we are happy to say that we see no good grounds for supposing that it is built on an insecure foundation, or that it is destined progressively to languish and decline. At the same time, however, it is most certainly true, that nothing should be omitted on our part, that may in any degree serve to give it additional stability and vigour. And we are quite sure, that nothing can be so effectual for that purpose as the establishment of a perfectly liberal commercial system. By excluding the equivalents which foreigners have to give in exchange for our products, we hinder them from becoming our customers, and consequently force them to manufacture for themselves. The adoption of an exclusive system is, in all cases, injurious; but it is pre-eminently so in the case of a country which has greatly outstripped its neighbours in the career of manufacturing industry. Great Britain ought to open her ports, under moderate duties, imposed for the *sake of revenue only*, to all the products of all the countries of the world. It would be a contradiction and an absurdity to suppose, that the freest competition could have any injurious operation on those branches of industry in which we have a superiority. On the contrary, our sales of domestic produce must necessarily be extended, precisely as we extend our purchases of that which is foreign; while, by acting on a system thus productive of mutual advantage, we should take from foreigners all motive to endeavour to rival us in those branches in which we have a superiority, and would teach them to exert their efforts to perfect themselves in those in which the advantage is already on their side.

Besides the idea of insecurity, a variety of pernicious consequences have been supposed to flow from the extension of the manufacturing system. The golden age of England is said to

have been that which preceded the invention of the jenny and the spinning frame. Manufactures were then dispersed over the country, and were carried on in single families, who, in addition to their other sources of emolument, generally possessed a small patch of ground, sufficient to keep a cow, and serve as a garden. It is unnecessary, we are told, to endeavour to prove by argument, how incomparably more favourable such a state of things must be to the health and morals of the people than the present system, where crowds of children, and of persons of both sexes, are perpetually immured in the contagious atmosphere of cotton mills, and are early initiated into every species of vice!

But in general there is a very wide difference between conclusions drawn from appearances only, and those which are deduced from a careful examination of facts. And, however extraordinary it may appear to those who have learned to judge of the condition of the population from the "Deserted Village," or the equally philosophical, though less poetical, diatribes of the Laureate, we scruple not to affirm, that the Health, Morals, and Intelligence of the population have all gained by the establishment of the present manufacturing system.

With respect, in the *first* place, to the question of Health: it is proved, by the returns made under the population acts, that the average mortality in England and Wales, in 1780, was one in every 40 of the population: But notwithstanding the extraordinary increase, in the intermediate period, of what we have been in the habit of considering unhealthy employments, the average mortality in 1810 amounted to only one in every 52, and, in 1820, to only one in every 58 of the entire population. This diminution of mortality has been going on gradually since 1750, and has been owing to a variety of causes;—partly to the greater prevalence of cleanliness and sobriety among the poor, and the improvements that have been made in their diet, dress, and houses,—partly to the drainage of bogs and marshes, —and partly, and since 1800 chiefly perhaps, to the discoveries in medical science, and the extirpation of the small-pox. But to whatever causes the increase of healthiness that has taken place may have been owing, there is abundant evidence to show, that it has not been in any degree counteracted, but that, on the contrary, it has been greatly promoted, by the extension of manufactures. Had their extension been unfavourable to health, the improvement must have been decidedly less in the towns where manufactures are principally carried on, than in the country? But the very reverse is the case. It appears, from an elaborate and valuable paper of Dr Percival, an

intelligent physician, who resided long in Manchester, that the proportion of deaths to the whole population of the town, in 1770, amounted to about one in every 28. But though the population of the town has been nearly quadrupled since 1770, and myriads of cotton mills been erected, the average rate of mortality is now reduced to about one in every 45! In 1750, the entire population of Lancashire amounted to only 297,040; in 1801, it had increased to 672,565, and the deaths that year amounted to 19,363, being rather more than one in every 34; but as 1801 was, owing to the scarcity of that year, a season of unusual mortality, let us compare the population with the deaths in 1802, amounting to 16,570, and we shall have one in every 40 as the proportion of deaths to the entire population. But in 1820, when the population had increased to the prodigious amount of 1,052,859, and when what are called unhealthy employments had been multiplied to an almost inconceivable extent, the deaths only amounted to one in every 55 of the entire population!

These facts are decisive with respect to the credit to be attached to the statements so often rung in our ears, as to the unhealthiness of manufactures. But the same thing may be set in a still clearer point of view, by comparing Lancashire and Westmoreland together. The former may be said, almost without a metaphor, to be one immense workshop; for it contains, besides an infinity of populous villages, the large manufacturing and commercial towns of Manchester, Liverpool, Bolton, Preston, Blackburn, Bury, Warrington, Wigan, &c.; whereas the latter is almost exclusively an agricultural county, and besides being entirely destitute of large towns and great manufacturing establishments, it is chiefly occupied by a class of small proprietors, who, it is said, preserve, in a pre-eminent degree, all the simplicity and purity of the old English manners. But, notwithstanding this vast difference in the circumstances of the two counties, the proportion of deaths to the whole population in Westmoreland is only about FIVE per cent less than in Lancashire! The baptisms are in Westmoreland, to the whole population, as one to 35, the deaths as one to 58, and the marriages as one to 154; while, in Lancashire, the baptisms are, to the whole population, as one to 32, the deaths as one to 55, and the marriages as one to 126.*

Amidst a vast deal of exaggeration, there certainly was some foundation for the complaints with respect to the privations

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* Baines' History, Gazetteer, &c. of Lancashire, vol. i. p. 141.

imposed on children under sixteen years of age employed in cotton mills. And though we are decidedly adverse to all interference on the part of government as to the terms of the contract between workmen and their employers, still we think that the legislature acted right in interfering to limit the number of hours during which children should be kept at work. It is for the public advantage that those who are unable, from their immature years, to protect themselves, should be protected by the legislature. But no farther interference ought, on any account, to be either attempted or tolerated. If any particular business or process be peculiarly noxious, no one who has attained to the years of discretion will engage in it, unless he obtains comparatively high wages. And this circumstance will always prevent such employments from being carried to a greater extent than is required for the general advantage of society.

With respect, in the *second* place, to the state of Morals in the manufacturing districts; this is a point as to which it is much more difficult to obtain accurate information, than as to the state of health. We have no doubt, however, were the means of making a correct estimate equally accessible in both cases, that it would be found that the morals of the people have been as much improved, during the last 50 years, as their health. It is admitted on all hands, that crimes of violence have greatly diminished since the accession of his late Majesty; and the increased sobriety and cleanliness of the people—habits which cannot easily be strengthened without improving morality, are invariably assigned as prominent causes of the late increase of healthiness. There is, to say the least, as much moral restraint evinced in the intercourse between the sexes in Lancashire, as in most agricultural districts of England. The latter, indeed, would be but an indifferent standard of comparison, if we suppose that the morality of other districts bears any considerable resemblance to that of a purely agricultural district in Norfolk, where, we are told by the Reverend Mr Brereton, there were 77 births in a given period, of which 23 only were legitimate!* No such picture of profligacy, or anything approaching to it, can be exhibited in any quarter of Lancashire.

In comparing the state of morals in the manufacturing districts, as Lancashire in England, and Lanarkshire in Scotland, with their state in the agricultural districts, it must not be forgotten that the former are exposed to a most prolific source

* Brereton on the Administration of the Poor Laws, p. 50.

of crime and demoralization, from which the latter are comparatively exempted—we allude to the excessive influx of Irish labourers that has taken place of late years. These miserable creatures, without property, without connexions, and most frequently ignorant in the extreme, are in all respects decidedly more profligate and immoral than the native inhabitants—And the only thing to be wondered at is, that, notwithstanding the vast influx of Irish poor into Manchester and Glasgow, the morals and habits of the people should have been so greatly improved. We are satisfied, that had it not been for this influx, the inhabitants of these cities would have had but little to fear, in comparing themselves with those of any agricultural district in the empire, with respect to health, and nothing with respect to morality.

With respect, in the *third* place, to the Intelligence of the manufacturing population: we apprehend our readers would deem it a mere waste of labour were we to set about making any lengthened statements to prove their infinite superiority in this respect over the peasantry of the country. This, indeed, is only what every unprejudiced inquirer would *a priori* have anticipated would be the case. The elementary instruction of the lower classes in towns and villages is, generally speaking, preferable to the elementary instruction of the same classes in the country. But it is in after-life that the superior advantages of the former, for acquiring a greater extent of information, are chiefly observable. The peasantry dispersed over a wide extent of country, are without the means of assembling, except on some rare occasions, for the purposes either of amusement or instruction. But, by working together, the workmen in manufacturing establishments have, what the agriculturists almost uniformly want, constant opportunities of discussing all topics of interest and importance. They are thus gradually trained to habits of thinking and reflection; their intellects are sharpened by the collision of conflicting opinions; and a small contribution from each individual enables them to establish lectureships and libraries, and to obtain a large supply of the cheaper class of periodical publications. But whatever difference of opinion may exist as to the *cause*, there can be no doubt of the *fact*, that the intelligence of the workmen employed in manufactures has increased according as their numbers have increased, and as their employments have been more and more subdivided—And this circumstance would of itself go far to account for the more rapid increase of healthiness and of better morals amongst them. Nine-tenths of the evils that afflict the mass of society have their source in ignorance; and when it has been shown that the intelligence of any class

of people has increased, it is next to certain that their condition in other respects must at the same time have improved.

It has sometimes been objected to manufactures, that when anything occurs to give them a check, or to throw the immense population dependent on them out of employment, or when, owing to a scarcity, a sudden rise takes place in the price of provisions, the public tranquillity, and the security of property, are apt to be endangered. It is said that demagogues, and those mock orators so frequently to be met with in the manufacturing districts, take advantage of the feverish excitement generated in the public mind by these circumstances, to vilify the institutions of the country; and represent the public distress as proceeding, not from accidental and uncontrollable causes, but from measures adopted by government, or the master manufacturers, on purpose to advance their own interests at the expense of the workmen, and thus occasion outrages which can only be repressed by the employment of a large military force, and by the adoption of measures that are not always very consistent with the principles of a free government. Now, we do not mean to say, that, though exaggerated, there is not a great deal of truth in this statement. At the same time, however, we think it would not be difficult to show that, even in a political point of view, the establishment of manufactures, on a great scale, is most decidedly advantageous. That the population dependent on them is most commonly turbulent, inflammable, and apt to be misled, is true; but, on the other hand, men seldom entertain a just sense of their own importance, or acquire a knowledge of their rights, or are able to defend them with courage and effect, until they have been congregated into masses. An agricultural population, thinly distributed over the surface of a country, and without any point of reunion, rarely opposes any vigorous resistance to the most oppressive and arbitrary measures. But such is not the case with the population of towns. Their inhabitants are all actuated by the same spirit; they derive courage from their numbers and union; the bold animate the timid; the resolute confirm the wavering; the redress of an injury done to a single citizen, becomes, in some measure, the business of the whole body; they take their measures in common, and prosecute them with a vigour and resolution that generally makes the boldest minister pause in an unpopular career.* Where, in point of fact, has private independence and public freedom been best

* For some rather striking remarks on this subject, see Miller on the Government of England, vol. iv. p. 133.

secured, and most vigilantly protected? Is it in agricultural France, Spain, or Poland, or in manufacturing and commercial England, Holland, and the United States? There is no struggle to be compared, either for duration, for the sacrifices it imposed on the weaker party, or for its beneficial consequences, to the struggle made by the Hollanders to emancipate themselves from the blind and brutal despotism of Old Spain. And it was mainly to the efforts of our manufacturers and merchants—for the agricultural population sided almost entirely with the House of Stuart—to *their* wealth, patriotism, and zeal, that we are indebted for our free constitution, and consequently for the high and conspicuous place we now hold among the nations of the earth.

It should also be remembered, that the violent and unjustifiable proceedings of which the manufacturing population have occasionally been guilty, may be expected to disappear, according as they become more intelligent. Hitherto, the higher classes have been strangely indifferent to the effect that might be produced by the better education of their inferiors. Latterly, indeed, considerable efforts have been made, and with the best success, to instruct workmen in the principles of mechanical philosophy, and in a knowledge of the arts. But this, though an important, is not by any means the most important class of subjects, with respect to which they stand in need of instruction. We do not object to giving them lectures on Hydraulics and Hydrodynamics; but we see no reason why such subjects should be taught, to the exclusion of others. If we would really improve the condition of the lower classes—if we would give them better habits, as well as make them more expert workmen—we ought to endeavour to make them acquainted with the principles that must determine their condition in life. The poor ought to be taught, that they are in a great measure the architects of their own fortune; that what others can do for them is trifling indeed, compared with what they can do for themselves; that they are infinitely more interested in the preservation of the public tranquillity than any other class of society; that mechanical inventions and discoveries are always supremely advantageous to them; and that their real interests can only be effectually promoted by their displaying greater prudence and forethought. Such subjects ought to form a prominent part of every well digested system of public instruction. And if they were clearly explained, and enforced with that earnestness which their vast importance requires, we should have the best attainable security for the maintenance of the public tranquillity, and the well-being and comfort of the community.

But we must hasten to a close. The remarks we have now made are, we hope, sufficient to prove that the charges brought against manufactures are quite untenable; and that, consequently, they are in everyway worthy of, and ought in all cases to receive, equal favour and protection as agriculture. No doubt, there are disadvantages incident to them, as there are to every pursuit in which man can engage. But the good of which they are productive infinitely outweighs these disadvantages. "They infuse," to use the words of Mr Malthus, whose leanings, it ought to be observed, are all on the side of agriculture, "fresh life and activity into all classes of the state, afford opportunities to the inferior orders to rise by personal merit and exertion, and stimulate the higher orders to depend for distinction upon other grounds than mere rank and riches. They excite invention, encourage science and the useful arts, spread intelligence and spirit, inspire a taste for conveniences and comforts among the labouring classes, and, above all, give a new and happier structure to society, by increasing the proportion of the *middle classes*—that body on which the liberty, public spirit, and good government of every country must always mainly depend."

ART. II. *Memoirs of Zehir-ed-din Muhammed Baber, Emperor of Hindustan, written by himself, in the Jaghatai Turki, and translated, partly by the late* JOHN LEYDEN, Esq. M.D. *partly by* WILLIAM ERSKINE, Esq. *With Notes and a Geographical and Historical Introduction: Together with a Map of the Countries between the Oxus and Jaxartes, and a Memoir regarding its Construction, by* CHARLES WADDINGTON, Esq. of the East India Company's Engineers. London, 1826.

THIS is a very curious, and admirably edited work. But the strongest impression which the perusal of it has left on our minds is the boundlessness of authentic history, and, if we might venture to say it, the uselessness of all history which does not relate to our own fraternity of nations, or even bear, in some way or other, on our own present or future condition.

We have here a distinct and faithful account of some hundreds of battles, sieges, and great military expeditions, and a character of a prodigious number of eminent individuals,—men famous in their day, over wide regions, for genius or fortune—

poets, conquerors, martyrs—founders of cities and dynasties—authors of immortal works—ravagers of vast districts abounding in wealth and population. Of all these great personages and events, nobody in Europe, if we except a score or two of studious Orientalists, has ever heard before; and it would not, we imagine, be very easy to show that we are any better for hearing of them now. A few curious traits, that happen to be strikingly in contrast with our own manners and habits, may remain on the memory of a reflecting reader—with a general confused recollection of the dark and gorgeous phantasmagoria. But no one, we may fairly say, will think it worth while to digest or develope the history, or be at the pains to become acquainted with the leading individuals, and fix in his memory the series and connexion of events. Yet the effusion of human blood was as copious—the display of talent and courage as imposing—the perversion of high moral qualities, and the waste of the means of enjoyment as unsparing, as in other long-past battles and intrigues and revolutions, over the details of which we still pore with the most unwearied attention; and to verify the dates or minute details of which, is still regarded as a great exploit in historical research, and among the noblest employments of human learning and sagacity.

It is not perhaps very easy to account for the eagerness with which we still follow the fortunes of Miltiades, Alexander, or Cæsar—of the Bruce and the Black Prince, and the interest which yet belongs to the fields of Marathon and Pharsalia, of Crecy and Bannockburn, compared with the indifference, or rather reluctance, with which we listen to the details of Asiatic warfare—the conquests that transferred to the Moguls the vast sovereignties of India, or raised a dynasty of Manchew Tartars to the Celestial Empire of China. It will not do to say, that we want something nobler in character, and more exalted in intellect, than is to be met with among those murderous Orientals—that there is nothing to interest in the contentions of mere force and violence; and that it requires no very fine-drawn reasoning to explain why we should turn with disgust from the story, if it had been preserved, of the savage affrays which have drenched the sands of Africa or the rocks of New Zealand—through long generations of murder—with the blood of their brutish population. This may be true enough of Madagascar or Dahomy; but it does not apply to the case before us. The nations of Asia generally—at least those of its great states—were undoubtedly more polished than those of Europe, during all the period that preceded their recent connexion. Their warriors were as brave in the field, their statesmen more subtle

and politic in the cabinet—in the arts of luxury, and all the elegancies of civil life, they were immeasurably superior; in ingenuity of speculation—in literature—in social politeness—the comparison is still in their favour.

It has often occurred to us, indeed, to consider what the effect would have been on the fate and fortunes of the world, if, in the fifteenth century, when the germs of their present civilization were first disclosed, the nations of Europe had been introduced to an intimate and friendly acquaintance with the great polished communities of the East, and had been thus led to take *them* for their masters in intellectual cultivation, and their models in all the higher pursuits of genius, polity, and art. The difference in our social and moral condition, it could not perhaps be easy to estimate; but one result, we conceive, would unquestionably have been, to make us take the same deep interest in their ancient story, which we now feel, for similar reasons, in that of the sterner barbarians of early Rome, or the more imaginative clans and colonies of immortal Greece. The experiment, however, though there seemed oftener than once to be some openings for it, was not made. Our Crusading ancestors were too rude themselves to estimate or to feel the value of the refinement which presented itself to their passing gaze, and too entirely occupied with war and bigotry, to reflect on its causes or effects; and the first naval adventurers who opened up India to our commerce, were both too few and too far off to communicate to their brethren at home any taste for the splendours which might have excited their own admiration. By the time that our intercourse with those regions was enlarged, our own career of improvement had been prosperously begun; and our superiority in the art, or at least the discipline, of war, having given us a signal advantage in the conflicts to which that extending intercourse immediately led, naturally increased the aversion and disdain with which almost all races of men are apt to regard strangers to their blood and dissenters from their creed. Since that time, the genius of Europe has been steadily progressive, whilst that of Asia has been at least stationary, and most probably retrograde; and the descendants of the feudal and predatory warriors of the West have at last attained a decided predominancy over those of their elder brothers in the East, to whom, at that period, they were unquestionably inferior in elegance and ingenuity, and whose hostilities were then conducted on the same system with our own. *They*, in short, have remained nearly where they were; while *we*, beginning with the improvement of our governments and military discipline, have gradually outstripped them in all the lesser and

more ornamental attainments in which they originally excelled.

This extraordinary fact of the stationary or degenerate condition of the two oldest and greatest families of mankind—those of Asia and Africa, has always appeared to us a sad obstacle in the way of those who believe in the general progress of the race, and its constant advancement towards a state of perfection. Two or three thousand years ago, those vast communities were certainly in a happier and more prosperous state than they are now; and in many of them we know that their most powerful and flourishing societies have been corrupted and dissolved, not by any accidental or extrinsic disaster, like foreign conquest, pestilence, or elemental devastation, but by what appeared to be the natural consequences of that very greatness and refinement which had marked and rewarded their earlier exertions. In Europe, hitherto, the case has certainly been different: For though darkness did fall upon its nations also, after the lights of Roman civilization were extinguished, it is to be remembered that they did not burn out of themselves, but were trampled down by hosts of invading barbarians, and that they blazed out anew, with increased splendour and power, when the dulness of that superincumbent mass was at length vivified by their contact, and animated by the fermentation of that leaven which had all along been secretly working in its recesses. In Europe certainly there has been a progress: And the more polished of its present inhabitants have not only regained the place which was held of old by their illustrious masters of Greece and Rome, but have plainly outgone them in the most substantial and exalted of their improvements. Far more humane and refined than the Romans—far less giddy and turbulent and treacherous than the Greeks, they have given a security to life and property that was unknown to the earlier ages of the world—exalted the arts of peace to a dignity with which they were never before invested; and, by the abolition of domestic servitude, for the first time extended to the bulk of the population those higher capacities and enjoyments which were formerly engrossed by a few. By the invention of printing, they have made all knowledge, not only accessible, but imperishable; and by their improvements in the art of war, have effectually secured themselves against the overwhelming calamity of barbarous invasion—the risk of subjugation by mere numerical or animal force; whilst the alternations of conquest and defeat amongst civilized communities, who alone can now be formidable to each other, though productive of great local and temporary evils, may be regarded on the whole as one of the

means of promoting and equalising the general civilization. Rome polished and enlightened all the barbarous nations she subdued—and was herself polished and enlightened by her conquest of elegant Greece. If the European parts of Russia had been subjected to the dominion of France, there can be no doubt that the loss of national independence would have been compensated by rapid advances both in liberality and refinement; and if, by a still more disastrous, though less improbable contingency, the Moscovite hordes were ever to overrun the fair countries to the south-west of them, it is equally certain that the invaders would speedily be softened and informed by the union, and be infected more certainly than by any other sort of contact, with the arts and the knowledge of the vanquished.

All these great advantages, however—this apparently irrepressible impulse to improvement—this security against backsliding and decay, seems peculiar to Europe,* and not capable of being communicated, even by her, to the prevailing races of the ancient world; and it is really extremely difficult to explain, upon what are called philosophical principles, the causes of this superiority. We should be very glad to ascribe it to our greater political freedom:—and no doubt, as a secondary cause, this is among the most powerful; as it is to the maintenance of that freedom that we are indebted for the self-estimation, the feeling of honour, the general equity of the laws, and the substantial security both from sudden revolution and from capricious oppression, which distinguish our quarter of the globe. But we cannot bring ourselves to regard this freedom as a mere accident in our history, that is not itself to be accounted for, as well as its consequences: And when it is said that our greater stability and prosperity is owing to our greater freedom, we are immediately tempted to ask, by what that freedom has itself been produced? In the same way we might ascribe the superior mildness and humanity of our manners, the abated ferocity of our wars, and generally our respect for human life, to the influence of a religion which teaches that all men are equal in the sight of God, and inculcates peace and

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* When we speak of Europe, it will be understood that we speak, not of the land, but of the people—and include, therefore, all the settlements and colonies of that favoured race, in whatever quarter of the globe they may now be established. Some situations seem more, and some less, favourable to the preservation of the original character. The Spaniards certainly degenerated in Peru—the Dutch perhaps in Batavia;—but the English remain, we trust, unimpaired in America.

charity as the first of our duties. But, besides the startling contrast between the profligacy, treachery, and cruelty of the Eastern Empire after its conversion to the true faith, and the simple and heroic virtues of the heathen republic, it would still occur to enquire, how it has happened that the nations of European descent have alone embraced the sublime truths, and adopted into their practice the mild precepts, of Christianity, while the people of the East have uniformly rejected and disclaimed them, as alien to their character and habits—in spite of all the efforts of the apostles, fathers, and martyrs, in the primitive and most effective periods of their preaching? How, in short, it has happened that the sensual and sanguinary creed of Mahomet has superseded the pure and pacific doctrines of Christianity in most of those very regions where it was first revealed to mankind, and first established by the greatest of existing governments? The Christian revelation is no doubt the most precious of all Heaven's gifts to the benighted world. But it is plain, that there was a greater aptitude to embrace and to profit by it in the European than in the Asiatic race. A free government, in like manner, is unquestionably the most valuable of all human inventions—the great safeguard of all other temporal blessings, and the mainspring of all intellectual and moral improvement:—But such a government is not the result of a lucky thought or happy casualty; and could only be established among men who had previously learned both to relish the benefits it secures, and to understand the connexion between the means it employs and the end at which it aims.

We come then, though a little reluctantly, to the conclusion, that there is a natural and inherent difference in the character and temperament of the European and the Asiatic races—consisting, perhaps, chiefly in a superior capacity of patient and persevering thought in the former—and displaying itself, for the most part, in a more sober and robust understanding, and a more reasonable, principled, and inflexible morality. It is this which has led us, at once to temper our political institutions with prospective checks and suspicious provisions against abuses, and, in our different orders and degrees, to submit without impatience to those checks and restrictions—to extend our reasonings by repeated observation and experiment, to larger and larger conclusions—and thus gradually to discover the paramount importance of discipline and unity of purpose in war, and of absolute security to person and property in all peaceful pursuits—the folly of all passionate and vindictive assertion of supposed rights and pretensions, and the certain

recoil of long-continued injustice on the heads of its authors—the substantial advantages of honesty and fair dealing over the most ingenious systems of trickery and fraud;—and even—though this is the last and hardest, as well as the most precious, of all the lessons of reason and experience—that the toleration even of religious errors is not only prudent and merciful in itself, and most becoming a fallible and erring being, but is the surest and speediest way to compose religious differences, and to extinguish that most formidable bigotry, and those most pernicious errors, which are fed and nourished by persecution. It is the want of this knowledge, or rather of the capacity for attaining it, that constitutes the palpable inferiority of the Eastern races; and, in spite of their fancy, ingenuity, and restless activity, condemns them, it would appear irretrievably, to vices and sufferings, from which nations in a far ruder condition are comparatively free. But we are wandering too far from the magnificent Baber and his commentators,—and must now leave these vague and general speculations for the facts and details that lie before us.

Zehir-ed-din Muhammed, surnamed Baber, or the Tiger, was one of the descendants of Zengiskhan and of Tamerlane; and though inheriting only the small kingdom of Ferghana in Bucharia, ultimately extended his dominions by conquest to Delhi and the greater part of Hindostan; and transmitted to his famous descendants, Akber and Aurengzebe, the magnificent empire of the Moguls. He was born in 1482, and died in 1530. Though passing the greater part of his time in desperate military expeditions, he was an educated and accomplished man; an elegant poet; a minute and fastidious critic in all the niceties and elegances of diction; a curious and exact observer of the statistical phenomena of every region he entered; a great admirer of beautiful prospects and fine flowers; and, though a devoted Mahometan in his way, a very resolute and jovial drinker of wine. Good-humoured, brave, munificent, sagacious, and frank in his character, he might have been a Henry IV. if his training had been in Europe;—and even as he is, is less stained, perhaps, by the Asiatic vices of cruelty and perfidy than any other in the list of her conquerors. The work before us is a faithful translation of his own account of his life and transactions, written, with some considerable blanks, up to the year 1508, in the form of a narrative—and continued afterwards, as a journal, till 1529. It is here illustrated by the most intelligent, learned, and least pedantic notes we have ever seen annexed to such a performance; and by two or three introductory dissertations, more clear, masterly, and full of instruction

than any it has ever been our lot to peruse on the history or geography of the East. The translation was begun by the late very learned and enterprising Dr Leyden. It has been completed, and the whole of the valuable commentary added by Mr W. Erskine, on the solicitation of the Hon. Mountstewart Elphinstone and Sir John Malcolm, the two individuals in the world best qualified to judge of the value or execution of such a work. The greater part of the translation was finished and transmitted to this country in 1817, but was only committed to the press in the course of last year.

The preface contains a learned account of the Turki language, (in which these memoirs were written,) the prevailing tongue of Central Asia, and of which the Constantinopolitan Turkish is one of the most corrupted dialects,—some valuable corrections of Sir William Jones's notices of the Institutes of Taimūr,—and a very clear explanation of the method employed in the translation, and the various helps by which the great difficulties of the task were relieved. The first Introduction, however, contains much more valuable matters: It is devoted to an account of the great Tartar tribes, who, under the denomination of the Turki, the Moghul, and the Mandshur races, may be said to occupy the whole vast extent of Asia, north of Hindostan and part of Persia, and westward from China. Of these, the Mandshurs, who have long been the sovereigns of China, possess the countries immediately to the north and east of that ancient empire—the Turki, the regions immediately to the north and westward of India and Persia Proper, stretching round the Caspian, and advancing, by the Constantinopolitan tribes, considerably to the south-east of Europe. The Moghuls lie principally between the other two. These three tribes speak, it would appear, totally different languages—the name of Tartar or Tatar, by which they are generally designated in Europe, not being acknowledged by any of them, and appearing to have been appropriated only to a small clan of Moghuls. The Huns, who desolated the declining empire under Attila,* are thought by Mr Erskine to have been of the Moghul race; and Zengiskhan, the mighty conqueror of the

* The learned translator conceives that the supposed name of this famous barbarian was truly only the denomination of his office. It is known that he succeeded his uncle in the government, though there were children of his alive. It is probable, therefore, that he originally assumed authority in the character of their guardian; and the word *Atalik*, in Tartar, signifies guardian, or *quasi parens*.

thirteenth century, was certainly of that family. Their princes, however, were afterwards blended, by family alliances, with those of the Turki; and several of them, reigning exclusively over conquered tribes of that descent, came gradually, though of proper Moghul ancestry, to reckon themselves as Turki sovereigns. Of this description was Taimur Beg, or Tamerlane, whose family, though descended from Zengis, had long been settled in the Turki kingdom of Samarkand; and from him the illustrious Baber, the hero of the work before us, a decided Turki in language, character, and prejudices, was lineally sprung. The relative condition of these enterprising nations, and their more peaceful brethren in the south, cannot be more clearly or accurately described than in the words of Mr Erskine:—

"The whole of Asia may be considered as divided into two parts by the great chain of mountains which runs from China and the Birman Empire on the east, to the Black Sea and the Mediterranean on the west. From the eastward, where it is of great breadth, it keeps a north-westerly course, rising in height as it advances, and forming the hill countries of Assâm, Bootân, Nepâl, Sirinagar, Tibet, and Ladâk. It encloses the valley of Kashmîr, near which it seems to have gained its greatest height, and thence proceeds westward, passing to the north of Peshâwer and Kâbul, after which it appears to break into a variety of smaller ranges of hills that proceed in a westerly and south-westerly direction, generally terminating in the province of Khorasân. Near Herât, in that province, the mountains sink away; but the range appears to rise again near Meshhed, and is by some considered as resuming its course, running to the south of the Caspian and bounding Mazenderân, whence it proceeds on through Armenia, and thence into Asia Minor, finding its termination in the mountains of ancient Lycia. This immense range, which some consider as terminating at Herât, while it divides Bengal, Hindustân, the Penjâb, Afghanistân, Persia, and part of the Turkish territory, from the country of the Moghul and Tûrki tribes, which, with few exceptions, occupy the whole extent of country from the borders of China to the sea of Azof, may also be considered as separating, in its whole course, nations of comparative civilization, from uncivilized tribes. To the South of this range, if we perhaps except some part of the Afghân territory, which, indeed, may rather be held as part of the range itself than as south of it, there is no nation which, at some period or other of its history, has not been the seat of a powerful empire, and of all those arts and refinements of life which attend a numerous and wealthy population, when protected by a government that permits the fancies and energies of the human mind to follow their natural bias. The degrees of civilization and of happiness possessed in these various regions may have been extremely different; but many of the comforts of wealth and abundance, and no small share of the higher treasures of cultivated judgment and imagination, must have been enjoyed by nations

that could produce the various system of Indian philosophy and science, a drama so polished as the Sakontala, a poet like Ferdousi, or a moralist like Sadi. While to the south of this range we everywhere see flourishing cities, cultivated fields, and all the forms of a regular government and policy, to the north of it, if we except China and the countries to the south of the Sirr or Jaxartes, and along its banks, we find tribes who, down to the present day, wander over their extensive regions as their forefathers did, little if at all more refined than they appear to have been at the very dawn of history. Their flocks are still their wealth, their camp their city, and the same government exists of separate chiefs, who are not much exalted in luxury or information above the commonest of their subjects around them."

These general remarks are followed up by an exact and most luminous geographical enumeration of all the branches of this great northern family,—accompanied with historical notices, and very interesting elucidations of various passages both in ancient and modern writers. The following observations are of more extensive application :—

" The general state of society which prevailed in the age of Baber, within the countries that have been described, will be much better understood from a perusal of the following Memoirs, than from any prefatory observations that could be offered. It is evident, that, in consequence of the protection which had been afforded to the people of Mâweralnaher by their regular governments, a considerable degree of comfort, and perhaps still more of elegance and civility, prevailed in the towns. The whole age of Baber, however, was one of great confusion. Nothing contributed so much to produce the constant wars, and eventual devastation of the country, which the Memoirs exhibit, as the want of *some fixed rule of Succession to the Throne.* The ideas of regal descent, according to primogeniture, were very indistinct, as is the case in all Oriental, and, in general, in all purely despotic kingdoms. When the succession to the crown, like everything else, is subject to the will of the prince, on his death it necessarily becomes the subject of contention ;—since the will of a dead king is of much less consequence than the intrigues of an able minister, or the sword of a successful commander. It is the privilege of liberty and of law alone to bestow equal security on the rights of the monarch and of the people. The death of the ablest sovereign was only the signal for a general war. The different parties at court, or in the haram of the prince, espoused the cause of different competitors, and every neighbouring potentate believed himself to be perfectly justified in marching to seize his portion of the spoil. In the course of the Memoirs, we shall find that the grandees of the court, while they take their place by the side of the candidate of their choice, do not appear to believe that fidelity to him is any very necessary virtue. The nobility, unable to predict the events of one twelvemonth, degenerate into a set of selfish, calculating, though perhaps brave partizans. Rank, and wealth, and present enjoyment, become their idols.

The prince feels the influence of the general want of stability, and is himself educated in the loose principles of an adventurer. In all about him he sees merely the instruments of his power. The subject, seeing the prince consult only his pleasures, learns on his part to consult only his private convenience. In such societies, the steadiness of principle that flows from the love of right and of our country can have no place. It may be questioned whether the prevalence of the Mahommedan religion, by swallowing up civil in religious distinctions, has not a tendency to increase this indifference to country, wherever it is established."

"That the fashions of the East are unchanged, is, in general, certainly true; because the climate and the despotism, from the one or other of which a very large proportion of them arises, have continued the same. Yet one who observes the way in which a Musulman of rank spends his day, will be led to suspect that the maxim has sometimes been adopted with too little limitation. Take the example of his Pipe and his Coffee. The Kalliûn, or Hûkka, is seldom out of his hand; while the coffee-cup makes its appearance every hour, as if it contained a necessary of life. Perhaps there are no enjoyments the loss of which he would feel more severely; or which, were we to judge only by the frequency of the call for them, we should suppose to have entered from a more remote period into the system of Asiatic life. Yet we know that the one (which has indeed become a necessary of life to every class of Musulmans) could not have been enjoyed before the discovery of America; and there is every reason to believe, that the other was not introduced into Arabia from Africa, where coffee is indigenous, previously to the sixteenth century;* and what marks the circumstance more strongly, both of these habits have forced their way, in spite of the remonstrances of the rigorists in religion. Perhaps it would have been fortunate for Baber had they prevailed in his age, as they might have diverted him from the immoderate use first of wine, and afterwards of deleterious drugs, which ruined his constitution, and hastened on his end."

The *Yâsi*, or institution of Chengîz, are often mentioned.

"They seem," says Mr Erskine, "to have been a collection of the old usages of the Moghul tribes, comprehending some rules of state and ceremony, and some injunctions for the punishment of particular crimes. The punishments were only two—death and the bastinado;† the number of blows extending from seven to seven hundred. There is something very Chinese in the whole of the Moghul system of punishment, even princes advanced in years, and in command of large armies, being punished by bastinado with a stick, by their father's orders.‡ Whether they received their usage in this respect from the

* La Roque, Traité Historique de l'Origine et du Progrés du Café, &c. Paris, 1716, 12mo.

† D'Herbelot, Biblioth. Orient. Art. Turk.

‡ Hist. de Timur Bec, vol. iii. pp. 227, 263, 326, &c.

Chinese, or communicated it to them, is not very certain. As the whole body of their laws or customs was formed before the introduction of the Musulman religion, and was probably in many respects inconsistent with the Koran, as, for instance, in allowing the use of the blood of animals, and in the extent of toleration granted to other religions, it gradually fell into decay."

The present Moghul tribes, it is added, punish most offences by fines of cattle. The art of war in the days of Baber had not been very greatly matured; and though matchlocks and unwieldy cannon had been recently introduced from the West, the arms chiefly relied on were still the bow and the spear, the sabre and the battle-axe. Mining was practised in sieges, and cavalry seems to have formed the least considerable part of the army.

There is a second Introduction, containing a clear and brief abstract of the history of those regions from the time of Tamerlane to that of Baber,—together with an excellent Memoir on the annexed map, and an account of the hills and rivers of Bokara, of which it would be idle to attempt any abstract.

As to the Memoirs themselves, we have already said that we think it in vain to recommend them as a portion of History with which our readers should be acquainted,—or consequently to aim at presenting them with anything in the nature of an abstract, or connected account of the events they so minutely detail. All that we propose to do, therefore, is, to extract a few of the traits which appear to us the most striking and characteristic, and to endeavour, in a very short compass, to give an idea of whatever curiosity or interest the work possesses. The most remarkable thing about it, or at least that which first strikes us, is the simplicity of the style, and the good sense, varied knowledge, and reasonable industry of the royal author. It is difficult, indeed, to believe that it is the work of an Asiatic and a sovereign. Though copiously, and rather diffusely written, it is perfectly free from the ornamental verbosity, the eternal metaphor, and puerile exaggerations of most Oriental compositions; and though savouring so far of royalty as to abound in descriptions of dresses and ceremonies, is yet occupied in the main with concerns greatly too rational and humble to be much in favour with monarchs. As a specimen of the adventurous life of the chieftains of those days, and of Baber's manner of describing it, we may pass at once to his account of his being besieged in Samarkand, and the particulars of his flight after he was obliged to abandon it:—

"During the continuance of the siege, the rounds of the rampart were regularly gone, once every night, sometimes by Kâsim Beg, and sometimes by other Begs and captains. From the Firozeh gate

to the Sheikh-Zâdeh gate, we were able to go along the ramparts on horseback; everywhere else we were obliged to go on foot. Setting out in the beginning of the night, it was morning before we had completed our rounds.

"One day Sheibâni Khan made an attack between the Iron gate and that of the Sheikh-Zâdeh. As I was with the reverse, I immediately led them to the quarter that was attacked, without attending to the Washing-green gate or the Needlemakers' gate. That same day, from the top of the Sheikh-Zâdeh's gateway, I struck a palish white-coloured horse an excellent shot with my cross-bow: it fell dead the moment my arrow touched it: but in the meanwhile they had made such a vigorous attack, near the Camel's-Neck, that they effected a lodgment close under the rampart. Being hotly engaged in repelling the enemy where I was, I had entertained no apprehensions of danger on the other side, where they had prepared and brought with them twenty-five or twenty-six scaling-ladders, each of them so broad, that two and three men could mount a-breast. He had placed in ambush, opposite to the city-wall, seven or eight hundred chosen men with these ladders, between the Ironsmiths' and Needlemakers' gates, while he himself moved to the other side, and made a false attack. Our attention was entirely drawn off to this attack; and the men in ambush no sooner saw the works opposite to them empty of defenders, by the watch having left them, than they rose from the place where they had lain in ambush, advanced with extreme speed, and applied their scaling-ladders all at once between the two gates that have been mentioned, exactly opposite to Muhammed Mazîd Terkhan's house. The Begs who were on guard had only two or three of their servants and attendants about them.—Nevertheless Kuch Beg, Muhammed Kûli Kochin, Shah Sûfi and another brave cavalier, boldly assailed them, and displayed signal heroism. Some of the enemy had already mounted the wall, and several others were in the act of scaling it, when the four persons who have been mentioned arrived on the spot, fell upon them sword in hand, with the greatest bravery, and dealing out furious blows around them, drove the assailants back over the wall, and put them to flight. Kuch Beg distinguished himself above all the rest; and this was an exploit for ever to be cited to his honour. He twice during this siege performed excellent service by his valour.

"It was now the season of the ripening of the grain, and nobody had brought in any new corn. As the siege had drawn out to great length, the inhabitants were reduced to extreme distress, and things came to such a pass, that the poor and meaner sort were forced to feed on dogs' and asses' flesh. Grain for the horses becoming scarce, they were obliged to be fed on the leaves of trees; and it was ascertained from experience, that the leaves of the mulberry and black-wood* answered best. Many used the shavings and raspings of

* Kara-ighaj.

wood, which they soaked in water, and gave to their horses. For three or four months Sheibâni Khan did not approach the fortress, but blockaded it at some distance on all sides, changing his ground from time to time.

"The ancients have said, that in order to maintain a fortress, a head, two hands, and two feet are necessary. The head is a captain, the two hands are two friendly forces that must advance from opposite sides; the two feet are water and stores of provision within the fort. I looked for aid and assistance from the princes my neighbours; but each of them had his attention fixed on some other object. For example, Sultan Hûssain Mirza was undoubtedly a brave and experienced monarch, yet neither did he give me assistance, nor even send an ambassador to encourage me."

He is obliged, in consequence, to evacuate the city, and moves off privately in the night. The following account of his flight, we think, is extremely picturesque and interesting:—

"Having entangled ourselves among the great branches of the canals of the Soghd, during the darkness of the night, we lost our way, and after encountering many difficulties, we passed Khwâjeh Dîdâr about dawn. By the time of early morning prayers, we arrived at the hillock of Karbogh, and passing it on the north below the village of Kherdek, we made for Ilân-ûtî. On the road, I had a race with Kamber Ali and Kâsim Beg. My horse got the lead. As I turned round on my seat to see how far I had left them behind, my saddle-girth being slack, the saddle turned round, and I came to the ground right on my head. Although I immediately sprang up and mounted, yet I did not recover the full possession of my faculties till the evening, and the world, and all that occurred at the time, passed before my eyes and apprehension like a dream, or a phantasy, and disappeared. The time of afternoon prayers was passed ere we reached Ilân-ûtî, where we alighted, and having killed a horse, cut him up, and dressed slices of his flesh; we stayed a little time to rest our horses, then mounting again, before day-break we alighted at the village of Khalileh. From Khalileh we proceeded to Dizak. At that time Tâher Dûldai, the son of Hâfez Muhammed Beg Dûldai, was governor of Dizak. Here we found nice fat flesh, bread of fine flour well baked, sweet melons, and excellent grapes in great abundance; thus passing from the extreme of famine to plenty, and from an estate of danger and calamity to peace and ease.

"In my whole life, I never enjoyed myself so much, nor at any period of it felt so sensibly the pleasures of peace and plenty. Enjoyment after suffering, abundance after want, come with increased relish, and afford more exquisite delight. I have four or five times, in the course of my life, passed in a similar manner from distress to ease, and from a state of suffering to enjoyment: but this was the first time that I had ever been delivered from the injuries of my enemy, and the pressure of hunger, and passed from them to the ease of security, and the pleasures of plenty. Having rested and enjoy-

ed ourselves two or three days in Dizak, we proceeded on to Uratippa.

"Dekhat is one of the hill-districts of Uratippa. It lies on the skirts of a very high mountain, immediately on passing which, you come on the country of Masîkha. The inhabitants, though Sarts, have large flocks of sheep, and herds of mares, like the Tûrks. The sheep belonging to Dekhat may amount to forty thousand. We took up our lodgings in the peasants' houses. I lived at the house of one of the head men of the place. He was an aged man, seventy or eighty years old. His mother was still alive, and had attained an extreme old age, being at this time a hundred and eleven years old. One of this lady's relations had accompanied the army of Taimur Beg, when it invaded Hindûstân. The circumstances remained fresh in her memory, and she often told us stories on that subject. In the district of Dekhat alone, there still were of this lady's children, grandchildren, great-grandchildren, and great-great-grandchildren, to the number of ninety-six persons; and including those deceased, the whole amounted to two hundred. One of her great-grandchildren was at this time a young man of twenty-five or twenty-six years of age, with a fine black beard. While I remained in Dekhat, I was accustomed to walk on foot all about the hills in the neighbourhood. I generally went out barefoot, and, from this habit of walking barefoot, I soon found that our feet became so hardened that we did not mind rock or stone in the least. In one of these walks, between afternoon and evening prayers, we met a man who was going with a cow in a narrow road. I asked him the way. He answered, Keep your eye fixed on the cow; and do not lose sight of her till you come to the issue of the road, when you will know your ground. Khwâjeh Asedûlla, who was with me, enjoyed the joke, observing, What would become of us wise men, were the cow to lose her way?

"It was wonderfully cold, and the wind of Hâderwîsh had here lost none of its violence, and blew keen. So excessive was the cold, that in the course of two or three days we lost two or three persons from its severity. I required to bathe on account of my religious purifications, and went down for that purpose to a rivulet, which was frozen on the banks, but not in the middle, from the rapidity of the current. I plunged myself into the water, and dived sixteen times. The extreme chillness of the water quite penetrated me."

"It was now spring, and intelligence was brought that Sheibâni Khan was advancing against Uratippa. As Dekhat was in the low country, I passed by Abbûrden and Amâni, and came to the hill-country of Masîkha. Abbûrden is a village which lies at the foot of Masîkha. Beneath Abbûrden is a spring, and close by the spring is a tomb. From this spring, towards the upland, the country belongs to Masîkha, but downwards from the spring it depends on Yelghar. On a stone which is on the brink of this spring, on one of its sides, I caused the following verses* to be inscribed:—

* From the Boslan of Sadi.—*Leyden.*

> I have heard that the exalted Jemshid
> Inscribed on a stone beside a fountain,
> 'Many a man like us has rested by this fountain,
> And disappeared in the twinkling of an eye.
> Should we conquer the whole world by our manhood and strength,
> Yet could we not carry it with us to the grave.'

In this hill-country, the practice of cutting verses and other inscriptions on the rocks is extremely common."

After this, he contrives partly to retrieve his affairs, by uniting himself with a warlike Khan of his family, and takes the field with a considerable force against Tambol. The following account of a night skirmish reminds us of the chivalrous doings of the heroes of Froissart :—

"Just before the dawn, while our men were still enjoying themselves in sleep, Kamber Ali Beg galloped up, exclaiming, 'The enemy are upon us—rouse up!' Having spoken these words, without halting a moment, he passed on. I had gone to sleep, as was my custom even in times of security, without taking off my *jâmâ*, or frock, and instantly arose, girt on my sabre and quiver, and mounted my horse. My standard-bearer seized the standard, but without having time to tie on the horse-tail and colours; but, taking the banner-staff in his hand just as it was, leaped on horseback, and we proceeded towards the quarter in which the enemy were advancing. When I first mounted, there were ten or fifteen men with me. By the time I had advanced a bowshot, we fell in with the enemy's skirmishers. At this moment there might be about ten men with me. Riding quick up to them, and giving a discharge of our arrows, we came upon the most advanced of them, attacked and drove them back, and continued to advance, pursuing them for the distance of another bowshot, when we fell in with the main body of the enemy. Sultan Ahmed Tambol was standing, with about a hundred men. Tambol was speaking with another person in front of the line, and in the act of saying, 'Smite them! Smite them!' but his men were sideling in a hesitating way, as if saying, 'Shall we flee? Let us flee!' but yet standing still. At this instant there were left with me only three persons: one of these was Dost Nâsir, another Mirza Kûli Gokultâsh, and Kerîmdad Khodâidâd, the Turkoman, the third. One arrow, which was then on the notch, I discharged on the helmet of Tambol, and again applied my hand to my quiver, and brought out a green-tipped barbed arrow, which my uncle, the Khan, had given me. Unwilling to throw it away, I returned it to the quiver, and thus lost as much time as would have allowed of shooting two arrows. I then placed another arrow on the string, and advanced, while the other three lagged a little behind me. Two persons came on right to meet me; one of them was Tambol, who preceded the other. There was a highway between us. He mounting on one side of it as I mounted on the other, we encountered on it in such a manner, that my right hand was towards my enemy, and Tambol's right hand towards me. Except the mail for his horse, Tambol had

all his armour and accoutrements complete. I had only my sabre and bow and arrows. I drew up to my ear, and sent right for him the arrow which I had in my hand. At that very moment, an arrow of the kind called Sheibah struck me on the right thigh, and pierced through and through. I had a steel cap on my head. Tambol, rushing on, smote me such a blow on it with his sword as to stun me; though not a thread of the cap was penetrated, yet my head was severely wounded. I had neglected to clean my sword, so that it was rusty, and I lost time in drawing it. I was alone and single in the midst of a multitude of enemies. It was no season for standing still; so I turned my bridle round, receiving another sabre stroke on the arrows in my quiver. I had gone back seven or eight paces, when three foot soldiers came up and joined us. Tambol now attacked Dost Nâsir sword in hand. They followed us about a bowshot. Arigh-Jakân-shah is a large and deep stream, which is not fordable everywhere; but God directed us right, so that we came exactly upon one of the fords of the river. Immediately on crossing the river, the horse of Dost Nâsir fell from weakness. We halted to remount him, and, passing among the hillocks that are between Khirabûk and Feraghîneh, and going from one hillock to another, we proceeded by bye-roads towards Ush."

We shall conclude our warlike extracts with the following graphic and lively account of the author's repulse in an attack on Akhsi, and his subsequent disastrous flight from the pursuing victors:—

"Sheikh Bayezîd had just been released, and was entering the gate, when I met him. I immediately drew to the head the arrow which was on my notch, and discharged it full at him. It only grazed his neck, but it was a fine shot. The moment he had entered the gate, he turned short to the right, and fled by a narrow street in great perturbation. I pursued him. Mirza Kuli Gokultâsh struck down one foot-soldier with his mace, and had passed another, when the fellow aimed an arrow at Ibrâhim Beg, who startled him by exclaiming, Hai! Hai! and went forward; after which the man, being about as far off as the porch of a house is from the hall, let fly at me an arrow, which struck me under the arm. I had on a Kalmuk mail; two plates of it were pierced and broken from the blow. After shooting the arrow, he fled, and I discharged an arrow after him. At that very moment a foot-soldier happened to be flying along the rampart, and my arrow pinned his cap to the wall, where it remained shot through and through, and dangling from the parapet. He took his turban, which he twisted round his arm, and ran away. A man on horseback passed close by me, fleeing up the narrow lane by which Sheikh Bayezîd had escaped. I struck him such a blow on the temples with the point of my sword, that he bent over as if ready to fall from his horse, but supporting himself on the wall of the lane, he did not lose his seat, but escaped with the utmost hazard. Having dispersed all the horse and foot that were at the gate, we took pos-

session of it. There was now no reasonable chance of success; for they had two or three thousand well-armed men in the citadel, while I had only a hundred, or two hundred at most, in the outer stone fort: and, besides, Jehangîr Mirza, about as long before as milk takes to boil, had been beaten and driven out, and half of my men were with him."

"A sort of path leads up the river amidst broken glens, remote from the beaten road. By this unfrequented and retired path we proceeded up the river, till, leaving the river on the right, we struck into another narrow path. It was about afternoon prayers when we emerged from the broken grounds into the level country. A blackness was discernible afar off in the plain. Having placed my men under cover, I myself, on foot, ascended an eminence to spy what it might be; when suddenly a number of horsemen galloped up the hillock behind us. We could not ascertain precisely how many or how few they were, but took to our horses and continued our flight. The horsemen who followed us were not in all above twenty, or twenty-five; and we were eight, as has been mentioned. Had we but known their number when they first came up, we should have given them warm play; but we imagined that they were certainly followed by a detachment sent in pursuit of the fugitives. Impressed with this notion, we continued our flight.

"The horse on which I was mounted began to lag. Jân Kuli dismounted and gave me his horse. I leaped from my own and mounted his, while he mounted mine. At this very instant Shahîm Nâsir, with Abdal Kadûs Sîdî Kara, who had fallen behind, were dismounted by the enemy. Jân Kuli also fell behind; but it was no season for trying to shield or assist him. We, therefore, pushed our horses to their utmost speed, but they gradually flagged and fell off. The horse of Dost Beg too began to flag, and fell behind; and the horse which I rode likewise began to be worn out. Kamber Ali dismounting, gave me his own horse. He mounted mine, and presently dropped behind. Khâwjeh Hûssaini, who was lame, turned off towards the heights. I now remained alone with Mirza Kuli Gokultâsh. Mirza Kuli also fell behind, and I was left alone. Two of the enemy were in sight; the name of the one was Baba Seirâmi, and that of the other Bandeh Ali; they gained upon me; my horse began to flag. There was a hill about a kos off, and I came up to a heap of stones. I reflected with myself that my horse was knocked up, and the hill still a considerable way off. What was to be done? I had about twenty arrows left in my quiver. Should I dismount at this heap of stones, and keep my ground as long as my arrows lasted? But it occurred to me again, that perhaps I might be able to gain the hill, and that if I did, I might stick a few arrows in my belt, and succeed in climbing it. I had great reliance on my own nimbleness. Impelled by this idea, I kept on my course. My horse was unable to make any speed, and my pursuers got within arrow's reach of me; I was sparing of my arrows, however, and did not shoot. They

also were somewhat chary, and did not come nearer than a bowshot, but kept on tracking me."

By and by, he enters into a parley with some of his pursuers, who end by swearing fealty to him, and affect to conduct him to a place of safety and concealment.

"It was about noon, when, as far off as the sight could reach, we perceived something that glittered on a horse. For some time we could not distinguish what it was. It was, in truth, Muhammed Bâkir Beg. He had been in Akhsi along with me; and in the dispersion that followed our leaving the place, when every one was scattered here and there, Muhammed Bâkir Beg had come in this direction, and was now wandering about and concealing himself. Bandeh Ali and Baba Seirâmi said, 'For two days past our horses have had neither grain nor fodder. Let us go down into the valley, and suffer them to graze.' We accordingly mounted, and, having descended into the valley, set them a-grazing. It was about the time of afternoon prayers, when we descried a horseman passing along over the very height on which we had been hiding. I recognised him to be Kâdir Berdi, the head-man of Ghiva. I said to them, 'Let us call Kâdir Berdi.' We called him, and he came and joined us. Having greeted him, asked him some questions, spoken obligingly and with kindness to him, made him promises, and disposed him favourably towards me by every means in my power, I sent him to bring a rope, a grass-hook, an axe, apparatus for crossing a river, provender for the horses, and food for ourselves, and, if possible, a horse likewise; and we made an appointment to meet him on this same spot at bed-time prayers.

"Bandeh Ali said, 'There are many retired gardens among the suburbs of Karnân, where nobody will suspect us of lurking. Let us go thither, and send a person to conduct Kâdir Berdi to us.' With this intention, we mounted, and proceeded to the suburbs of Karnân. It was winter, and excessively cold. They brought me an old mantle of year-old lambskin, with the wool on the inside, and of coarse woven cloth without, which I put on. They also procured and brought me a dish of pottage of boiled millet-flour, which I eat, and found wonderfully comfortable. I asked Bandeh Ali, 'Have you sent anybody to Kâdir Berdi?' He answered, 'Yes, I have.' These unlucky perfidious clowns had in reality met Kâdir Berdi, and had dispatched him to Tambol at Akhsi.

"Having gone into a house that had stone walls, and kindled a fire, I closed my eyes for a moment in sleep. These crafty fellows, pretending an extreme anxiety to serve me, 'We must not stir from this neighbourhood,' said they, 'till we have news of Kâdir Berdi. The house where we are, however, is in the very middle of the suburbs. There is a place in the outskirts of the suburbs where we might be quite unsuspected, could we but reach it.' We mounted our horses, therefore, about midnight, and proceeded to a garden on the outskirts of the suburbs. Baba Seirâmi watched on the terrace-roof of the house, keeping a sharp look-out in every direction. It

was near noon when he came down from the terrace, and said to me, 'Here comes Yûsef, the Darogha.' I was seized with prodigious alarm, and said, 'Learn if he comes in consequence of knowing that I am here.' Baba went out, and, after some conversation, returned and said——"

At this critical moment there is an unlucky *hiatus* in all the manuscripts of the Memoirs, so that it is to this day unknown by what means the heroic prince escaped from his treacherous associates, only that we find him, the year after, warring prosperously against a new set of enemies. Of his military exploits and adventures, however, we think we have now given a sufficient specimen.

In these we have said he resembles the paladins of Europe, in her days of chivalric enterprise. But we doubt greatly whether any of her knightly adventurers could have given so exact an account of the qualities and productions of the countries they visited as the Asiatic Sovereign has here put on record. Of Kabûl, for example, after describing its boundaries, rivers, and mountains, he says—

"This country lies between Hindustân and Khorasân. It is an excellent and profitable market for commodities. Were the merchants to carry their goods as far as Khitâ or Rûm,* they would scarcely get the same profit on them. Every year, seven, eight, or ten thousand horses arrive in Kâbul. From Hindustân, every year, fifteen or twenty thousand pieces of cloth are brought by caravans. The commodities of Hindustân are slaves, white cloths, sugar-candy, refined and common sugar, drugs, and spices. There are many merchants that are not satisfied with getting thirty or forty for ten.† The productions of Khorasân, Rûm, Irâk, and Chîn,‡ may all be found in Kâbul, which is the very emporium of Hindustân. Its warm and cold districts are close by each other. From Kâbul you may in a single day go to a place where snow never falls, and in the space of two astronomical hours, you may reach a spot where snow lies always, except now and then when the summer happens to be peculiarly hot. In the districts dependant on Kâbul, there is great abundance of the fruits both of hot and cold climates, and they are found in its immediate vicinity. The fruits of the cold districts in Kâbul are grapes, pomegranates, apricots, peaches, pears, apples, quinces, jujubes, damsons, almonds, and walnuts; all of which are found in great abundance. I caused the sour-cherry-tree § to be brought here and planted; it produced excellent fruit, and continues thriving. The

* Khitâ is Northern China, and its dependent provinces. Rûm is Turkey, particularly the provinces about Trebizond.

† Three or four hundred per cent. ‡ Chîn is all China.

§ Alubâla.

fruits it possesses peculiar to a warm climate, are the orange, citron,* the amlûk, and sugar-cane, which are brought from the Lamghanât. I caused the sugar-cane to be brought, and planted it here. They bring the Jelghûzek† from Nijrow. They have numbers of bee-hives, but honey is brought only from the hill-country on the west. The rawâsh‡ of Kâbul is of excellent quality; its quinces and damask plums are excellent, as well as its bâdrengs.§ There is a species of grape which they call the water-grape, that is very delicious; its wines are strong and intoxicating. That produced on the skirt of the mountain of Khwâjeh Khan-Saaîd is celebrated for its potency, though I describe it only from what I have heard:

The drinker knows the flavour of the wine; how should the sober know it?

"Kâbul is not fertile in grain; a return of four or five to one is reckoned favourable. The melons too are not good, but those raised from seed brought from Khorasân are tolerable. The climate is extremely delightful, and in this respect there is no such place in the known world. In the nights of summer you cannot sleep without a postîn (or lambskin-cloak.) Though the snow falls very deep in the winter, yet the cold is never excessively intense. Samarkand and Tabrîz are celebrated for their fine climate, but the cold there is extreme beyond measure."

"Opposite to the fort of Adînahpûr,|| to the south, on a rising ground, I formed a charbagh (or great garden), in the year nine hundred and fourteen (1508). It is called Baghe Vafâ (the Garden of Fidelity). It overlooks the river, which flows between the fort and the palace. In the year in which I defeated Behâr Khan and conquered Lahore and Dibâlpûr, I brought plantains and planted them here. They grew and thrived. The year before I had also planted the sugar-cane in it, which throve remarkably well. I sent some of them to Badakhshân and Bokhâra. It is on an elevated site, enjoys running water, and the climate in the winter season is temperate. In the garden there is a small hillock, from which a stream of water, sufficient to drive a mill, incessantly flows into the garden below. The four-fold field-plot of this garden is situated on this eminence. On the south-west part of this garden is a reservoir of water ten gez

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* A berry like the karinda.

† The jelghûzek is the seed of a kind of pine, the cones of which are as big as a man's two fists.

‡ The rawâsh is described as a root something like beet-root, but much larger—white and red in colour, with large leaves, that rise little from the ground. It has a pleasant mixture of sweet and acid. It may be the rhubard, râweid.

§ The bâdreng is a large green fruit, in shape somewhat like a citron. The name is also applied to a large sort of cucumber.

|| The fort of Adînahpûr is to the south of the Kâbul river.

square, which is wholly planted round with orange trees; there are likewise pomegranates. All around the piece of water the ground is quite covered with clover. This spot is the very eye of the beauty of the garden. At the time when the orange becomes yellow, the prospect is delightful. Indeed the garden is charmingly laid out. To the south of this garden lies the Koh-e-Sefîd (the White Mountain) of Nangenhâr, which separates Bangash from Nangenhâr. There is no road by which one can pass it on horseback. Nine streams descend from this mountain. The snow on its summit never diminishes, whence probably comes the name of Koh-e-Sefîd* (the White Mountain). No snow ever falls in the dales at its foot."

"The wine of Dereh-Nûr is famous all over Lamghanât. It is of two kinds, which they term *areh-tâshi* (the stone-saw), and *suhân-tashi* (the stone-file). The stone-saw is of a yellowish colour; the stone-file, of a fine red. The stone-saw, however, is the better wine of the two, though neither of them equals their reputation. Higher up, at the head of the glens, in this mountain, there are some apes to be met with. Apes are found lower down towards Hindustân, but none higher up than this hill. The inhabitants used formerly to keep hogs,† but in my time they have renounced the practice."

His account of the productions of his paternal kingdom of Ferghana is still more minute—telling us even the number of apple-trees in a particular district, and making mention of an excellent way of drying apricots, with almonds put in instead of the stones, and of a wood with a fine red bark, of admirable use for making whip-handles and birds' cages! The most remarkable piece of statistics, however, with which he has furnished us, is in his account of Hindustân, which he first entered as a conqueror in 1525. It occupies twenty-five closely-printed quarto pages; and contains, not only an exact account of its boundaries, population, resources, revenues, and divisions, but a full enumeration of all its useful fruits, trees, birds, beasts, and fishes, with such a minute description of their several habitudes and peculiarities as would make no contemptible figure in a modern work of natural history—carefully distinguishing the facts which rest on his own observation from those which he gives only on the testimony of others, and making many suggestions as to the means of improving, or transferring them from one region to another. From the detailed botanical and zoological descriptions, we can afford of course to make no extracts. What follows is more general:—

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* The Koh-e-Sefîd is a remarkable position in the geography of Afghanistân. It is seen from Peshâwer.

† This practice Baber viewed with disgust, the hog being an impure animal in the Muhammedan law.

"Hindustân is situated in the first, second, and third climates. No part of it is in the fourth. It is a remarkably fine country. It is quite a different world, compared with our countries. Its hills and rivers, its forests and plains, its animals and plants, its inhabitants and their languages, its winds and rains, are all of a different nature. Although the Germsîls (or hot districts), in the territory of Kâbul, bear, in many respects, some resemblance to Hindustân, while in other particulars they differ, yet you have no sooner passed the river Sind than the country, the trees, the stones, the wandering tribes,* the manners and customs of the people, are all entirely those of Hindustân. The northern range of hills has been mentioned. Immediately on crossing the river Sind, we come upon several countries in this range of mountains, connected with Kashmîr, such as Pekheli and Shemeng. Most of them, though now independent of Kashmîr, were formerly included in its territories. After leaving Kashmîr, these hills contain innumerable tribes and states, pergannahs and countries, and extend all the way to Bengal and the shores of the Great Ocean. About these hills are other tribes of men."

"The country and towns of Hindustân are extremely ugly. All its towns and lands have an uniform look; its gardens have no walls; the greater part of it is a level plain. The banks of its rivers and streams, in consequence of the rushing of the torrents that descend during the rainy season, are worn deep into the channel, which makes it generally difficult and troublesome to cross them. In many places, the plain is covered by a thorny brush-wood, to such a degree that the people of the Pergannas, relying on these forests, take shelter in them, and, trusting to their inaccessible situation, often continue in a state of revolt, refusing to pay their taxes. In Hindustân, if you except the rivers, there is little running water.† Now and then some standing water is to be met with. All these cities and countries derive their water from wells or tanks, in which it is collected during the rainy season. In Hindustân, the populousness and decay, or total destruction of villages, nay of cities, is almost instantaneous. Large cities that have been inhabited for a series of years (if, on an alarm, the inhabitants take to flight), in a single day, or a day and a half, are so completely abandoned, that you can scarcely discover a trace or mark of population."‡

"* The Ils and Ulûses."

† In Persia there are few rivers, but numbers of artificial canals or water-runs for irrigation, and for the supply of water to towns and villages. The same is the case in the valley of Soghd, and the richer parts of Mâweralnaher.

"‡ This is the *wulsa* or *walsa*, so well described by Colonel Wilks in his Historical Sketches, vol. I. p. 309, note: 'On the approach of an hostile army, the unfortunate inhabitants of India bury under ground their most cumbrous effects, and each individual, man, woman, and child above six years of age, (the infant children being car-

The prejudices of the more active and energetic inhabitant of the hill country are still more visible in the following passage :—

"Hindustân is a country that has few pleasures to recommend it.* The people are not handsome. They have no idea of the charms of friendly society, of frankly mixing together, or of familiar intercourse. They have no genius, no comprehension of mind, no politeness of manner, no kindness or fellow-feeling, no ingenuity or mechanical invention in planning or executing their handicraft works, no skill or knowledge in design or architecture; they have no good horses, no good flesh, no grapes or musk-melons,† no good fruits, no ice or cold water, no good food or bread in their bazars, no baths or colleges, no candles, no torches, not a candlestick."

"The chief excellency of Hindustân is, that it is a large country, and has abundance of gold and silver. The climate during the rains is very pleasant. On some days it rains ten, fifteen, and even twenty times. During the rainy season, inundations come pouring down all at once, and form rivers, even in places where, at other times, there is no water. While the rains continue on the ground, the air is singularly delightful—insomuch, that nothing can surpass its soft and agreeable temperature. Its defect is, that the air is rather moist and damp. During the rainy season, you cannot shoot, even with the bow of our country, and it becomes quite useless. Nor is it the bow alone that becomes useless; the coats of mail, books, clothes, and furniture, all feel the bad effects of the moisture. Their houses, too, suffer from not being substantially built. There is pleasant enough weather in the winter and summer, as well as in the rainy season; but then the north wind always blows, and there is an excessive quantity of earth and dust flying about. When the rains are at hand, this wind blows five or six times with excessive violence, and such a quantity of dust

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ried by their mothers), with a load of grain proportioned to their strength, issue from their beloved homes, and take the direction of a country (if such can be found) exempt from the miseries of war; sometimes of a strong fortress, but more generally of the most unfrequented hills and woods, where they prolong a miserable existence until the departure of the enemy; and if this should be protracted beyond the time for which they have provided food, a large portion necessarily dies of hunger.' See the note itself. The Historical Sketches should be read by every one who desires to have an accurate idea of the South of India. It is to be regretted that we do not possess the history of any other part of India, written with the same knowledge or research."

* Baber's opinions regarding India, are nearly the same with those of most Europeans of the upper class, even at the present day.

† Grapes and musk-melons, particularly the latter, are now common all over India.

flies about that you cannot see one another. They call this an Andhi.* It gets warm during Taurus and Gemini, but not so warm as to become intolerable. The heat cannot be compared to the heats of Balkh and Kandahâr. It is not above half so warm as in these places. Another convenience of Hindustân is, that the workmen of every profession and trade are innumerable and without end. For any work, or any employment, there is always a set ready, to whom the same employment and trade have descended from father to son for ages. In the Zefer-Nâmeh of Mûlla Sherîf-ed-dîn Ali Yezdi, it is mentioned as a surprising fact, that when Taimur Beg was building the Sangîn (or stone) mosque, there were stone-cutters of Azerbaejan, Fârs, Hindustân, and other countries, to the number of two hundred, working every day on the mosque. In Agra alone, and of stone-cutters belonging to that place only, I every day employed on my palaces six hundred and eighty persons; and in Agra, Sîkri, Biâna, Dhulpûr, Guâliâr, and Koel, there were every day employed on my works one thousand four hundred and ninety-one stone-cutters. In the same way, men of every trade and occupation are numberless and without stint in Hindustân.

"The countries from Behreh to Behâr, which are now under my dominion, yield a revenue of fifty-two krors,† as will appear from the particular and detailed statement.‡ Of this amount, Pergannas to the value of eight or nine krors|| are in the possession of some Rais and Rajas, who from old times have been submissive, and have received these Pergannas for the purpose of confirming them in their obedience."

These memoirs contain many hundred characters and portraits of individuals; and it would not be fair not to give our readers one or two specimens of the royal author's minute style of execution on such subjects. We may begin with that of Omer-Sheikh Mirza, his grandfather, and immediate predecessor in the throne of Ferghâna:—

"Omer-Sheikh Mirza was of low stature, had a short bushy beard, brownish hair, and was very corpulent. He used to wear his tunic extremely tight; insomuch, that as he was wont to contract his belly while he tied the strings, when he let himself out again the strings often burst. He was not curious in either his food or dress. He tied his turban in the fashion called *Destâr-pêch* (or plaited turban.) At that time, all turbans were worn in the *char-pêch* (or four-plait) style. He wore his without folds, and allowed the end to hang down. During the heats, when out of the Divân, he generally wore the Moghul cap.

* This is still the Hindustâni term for a storm, or tempest.

† About a million and a half sterling, or rather £1,300,000.

‡ This statement unfortunately has not been preserved.

|| About £225,000 sterling.

"He read elegantly: his general reading was the Khamsahs,* the Mesnevis,† and books of history; and he was in particular fond of reading the Shahnâmeh.‡ Though he had a turn for poetry, he did not cultivate it. He was so strictly just, that when the caravan from Khita|| had once reached the hill country to the east of Andejân, and the snow fell so deep as to bury it; so that of the whole, only two persons escaped: he no sooner received information of the occurrence, than he dispatched overseers to collect and take charge of all the property and effects of the people of the caravan; and, wherever the heirs were not at hand, though himself in great want, his resources being exhausted, he placed the property under sequestration, and preserved it untouched; till, in the course of one or two years, the heirs, coming from Khorasân and Samarkand, in consequence of the intimation which they received, he delivered back the goods safe and uninjured into their hands.§ His generosity was large, and so was his whole soul; he was of an excellent temper, affable, eloquent and sweet in his conversation, yet brave withal, and manly. On two occasions he advanced in front of the troops, and exhibited distinguished prowess; once, at the gates of Akhsi, and once at the gates of Shahrokhîa. He was a middling shot with the bow; he had uncommon force in his fists, and never hit a man whom he did not knock down. From his excessive ambition for conquest, he often exchanged peace for war, and friendship for hostility. In the earlier part of his life he was greatly addicted to drinking bûzeh and talar¶. Latterly, once or twice in the week, he indulged in a drinking party. He was a pleasant companion, and in the course of conversation used often to cite, with great felicity, appropriate verses from the poets. In his latter days he was much addicted to the use of Maajûn,** while under

* Several Persian poets wrote *Khamsahs*, or poems, on five different given subjects. The most celebrated is Nezâmi.

† The most celebrated of these Mesnevis is the mystical poem of Moulavi Jilâleddin Muhammed. The Sufis consider it as equal to the Koran.

‡ The *Shahnâmeh*, or Book of Kings, is the famous poem of the great Persian poet Ferdausi, and contains the romantic history of ancient Persia.

|| North China, but often applied to the whole country from China to Terfân, and now even west to the Ala-tagh Mountains.

§ This anecdote is erroneously related of Baber himself by Ferishta and others.—*See Dow's Hist. of Hindostan*, vol. ii. p. 218.

¶ Bûzeh is a sort of intoxicating liquor somewhat resembling beer, made from millet. *Talar* I do not know, but understand it to be a preparation from the poppy. There is, however, nothing about bûzeh or talar in the Persian, which only specifies *sherâb*, wine or strong drink.

** Any medical mixture is called a maajun; but in common speech, the term is chiefly applied to intoxicating comfits, and especially those prepared with *bang*.

the influence of which, he was subject to a feverish irritability. He was a humane man. He played a great deal at backgammon, and sometimes at games of chance with the dice."

The following is the memorial of Hussain Mirza, king of Khorasân, who died in 1506 :

"He had straight narrow eyes, his body was robust and firm; from the waist downwards he was of a slenderer make. Although he was advanced in years, and had a white beard, he dressed in gay-coloured red and green woollen clothes. He usually wore a cap of black lamb's skin, or a kilpak. Now and then, on festival days, he put on a small turban tied in three folds, broad and showy, and having placed a plume nodding over it, went in this style to prayers.

"On first mounting the throne, he took it into his head that he would cause the names of the twelve Imams to be recited in the Khûtbeh. Many used their endeavours to prevent him. Finally, however, he directed and arranged everything according to the orthodox Sunni faith. From a disorder in his joints, he was unable to perform his prayers, nor could he observe the stated fasts. He was a lively, pleasant man. His temper was rather hasty, and his language took after his temper. In many instances he displayed a profound reverence for the faith; on one occasion, one of his sons having slain a man, he delivered him up to the avengers of blood to be carried before the judgment-seat of the Kazi. For about six or seven years after he first ascended the throne, he was very guarded in abstaining from such things as were forbidden by the law; afterwards he became addicted to drinking wine. During nearly forty years that he was King of Khorasân, not a day passed in which he did not drink after mid-day prayers; but he never drank wine in the morning. His sons, the whole of the soldiery, and the town's-people, followed his example in this respect, and seemed to vie with each other in debauchery and lasciviousness. He was a brave and valiant man. He often engaged sword in hand in fight, nay, frequently distinguished his prowess hand to hand several times in the course of the same fight. No person of the race of Taimur Beg ever equalled Sultan Hussain Mirza in the use of the scymitar. He had a turn for poetry, and composed a Diwân. He wrote in the Tûrki. His poetical name was Hussaini. Many of his verses are far from being bad, but the whole of the Mirza's Diwân is in the same measure. Although a prince of dignity, both as to years and extent of territory, he was as fond as a child of keeping butting rams, and of amusing himself with flying pigeons and cock-fighting."

We can afford only one other portrait---that of Sultan Abusaîd, in 1499.

"He was tall, of a ruddy complexion, and corpulent. He had a beard on the fore-part of the chin, but none on the lower part of the cheek. He was a man of extremely pleasant manners. He wore his turban, according to the fashion of the time, in what was termed *Chârmâk* (the four-plaited), with the tie or hem brought forward over the eyebrows.

" He was strictly attached to the Hanifah sect, and was a true and orthodox believer. He unfailingly observed the five stated daily prayers, and did not neglect them even when engaged in drinking parties. He was attached to Khwâjeh Abîd-ûlla, who was his religious instructor and guide. He was polite and ceremonious at all times, but particularly in his intercourse with the Khwâjeh; insomuch that they say, that, while in company with him, however long they sat, he never changed the position of his knees, by shifting the one over the other, except in one instance, when, contrary to his usual practice, he rested the one knee on the other. After the Mirza rose, the Khwâjeh desired them to examine what there was particular in the place in which the Mirza had been seated, when they found a bone lying there.

" He had never read any, and, though brought up in the city, was illiterate and unrefined. He was a plain honest Tûrk, but not favoured by genius. He was, however, a just man; and as he always consulted the reverend Khwâjeh in affairs of importance, he generally acted in conformity to the law. He was true to his promises, and faithful to his compacts or treaties, from which he never swerved. He was brave; and though he never happened to be engaged hand to hand in close combat, yet they say that in several actions he showed proofs of courage. He excelled in archery. He was a good marksman. With his arrows and forked arrows he generally hit the mark; and in riding from one side of the exercise ground to the other, he used to hit the brazen basin several times. Latterly, when he became very corpulent, he took to bringing down pheasants and quails with the goshawks, and seldom failed. He was fond of hawking, and was particularly skilled in flying the hawk, an amusement which he frequently practised. If you except Ulugh Beg Mirza, there was no other king who equalled him in field sports. He was singularly observant of decorum, insomuch that it is said that, even in private, before his own people and nearest relations, he never uncovered his feet. Whenever he took to drinking wine, he would drink without intermission for twenty or thirty days at a stretch, and then he would not taste wine for the next twenty or thirty days. In his social parties he would sometimes sit day and night, and drink profusely; on the days when he did not drink, he ate pungent substances. He was naturally of a penurious disposition, was a simple man, of few words, and entirely guided by his Begs."

One of the most striking passages in the work is the royal author's account of the magnificence of the court and city of Herat, when he visited it in 1506; and especially his imposing catalogue of the illustrious authors, artists, and men of genius, by whom it was then adorned.

" The age of Sultan Hussain Mirza was certainly a wonderful age, and Khorasân, particularly the city of Heri, abounded with eminent men of unrivalled acquirements, each of whom made it his aim and ambition to carry to the highest perfection the art to which he de-

voted himself. Among these was the Moulâna Abdal Rahman Jâmi, * to whom there was no person of that period who could be compared, whether in respect to profane or sacred science. His poems are well known. The merits of the Mûlla are of too exalted a nature to admit of being described by me; but I have been anxious to bring the mention of his name, and an allusion to his excellencies, into these humble pages, for a good omen and a blessing."

He then proceeds to enumerate the names of between thirty and forty distinguished persons; ranking first the sages and theologians, to the number of eight or nine; next the poets, about fifteen; then two or three painters; and five or six performers and composers of music;—of one of these he gives the following instructive anecdote:—

" Another was Hussain Udi (the lutanist), who played with great taste on the lute, and composed elegantly. He could play, *using only one string* of his lute at a time. He *had the fault* of giving himself many airs when desired to play. On one occasion Sheibâni Khan desired him to play. After giving much trouble he played very ill, and besides, did not bring his own instrument, but one that was good for nothing. Sheibâni Khan, on learning how matters stood, directed that, at that very party, he should receive a *certain number of blows on the neck.* This was one good deed that Sheibâni Khan did in his day; and indeed the affectation of such people deserves even more severe animadversion."

In the seductions of this luxurious court, Baber's orthodox abhorrence to wine was first assailed with temptation:—and there is something very *naïve*, we think, in his account of his reasonings and feelings on the occasion.

" As we were guests at Mozeffer Mirza's house, Mozeffer Mirza placed me above himself, and having filled up a glass of welcome, the cupbearers in waiting began to supply all who were of the party with pure wine, which they quaffed as if it had been the water of life. The party waxed warm, and the spirit mounted up to their heads. They took a fancy to make me drink too, and bring me into the same circle with themselves. Although, till that time, I had never been guilty of drinking wine, and from never having fallen into the practice, was ignorant of the sensations it produced, yet I had a strong lurking inclination to wander in this desert, and my heart was much disposed to pass the stream. In my boyhood I had no wish for it, and did not know its pleasures or pains. When my father at any time asked me to drink wine, I excused myself, and abstained. After my father's death, by the guardian care of Khwâjeh

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* " No moral poet ever had a higher reputation than Jâmi. His poems are written with great beauty of language and versification, in a captivating strain of religious and philosophic mysticism. He is not merely admired for his sublimity as a poet, but venerated as a saint."

Kazi, I remained pure and undefiled. I abstained even from forbidden foods; how then was I likely to indulge in wine? Afterwards when, from the force of youthful imagination and constitutional impulse, I got a desire for wine, I had nobody about my person to invite me to gratify my wishes; nay, there was not one who even suspected my secret longing for it. Though I had the appetite, therefore, it was difficult for me, unsolicited as I was, to indulge such unlawful desires. It now came into my head, that, as they urged me so much, and as, besides, I had come into a refined city like Heri, in which every means of heightening pleasure and gaiety was possessed in perfection; in which all the incentives and apparatus of enjoyment were combined with an invitation to indulgence, if I did not seize the present moment, I never could expect such another. I therefore resolved to drink wine! But it struck me, that as Badîa-ez-zemân Mirza was the eldest brother, and as I had declined receiving it from his hand, and in his house, he might now take offence. I therefore mentioned this difficulty which had occurred to me. My excuse was approved of, and I was not pressed any more, at this party, to drink. It was settled, however, that the next time we met at Badîa-ez-zemân Mirza's, I should drink when pressed by the two Mirzas."

By some providential accident, however, the conscientious prince escaped from this meditated lapse; and it was not till some years after, that he gave way to the long-cherished and resisted propensity. At what particular occasion he first fell into the snare, unfortunately is not recorded—as there is a blank of several years in the Memoirs previous to 1519. In that year, however, we find him a confirmed toper; and nothing, indeed, can be more ludicrous than the accuracy and apparent truth with which he continues to chronicle all his subsequent and very frequent excesses. The Eastern votary of intoxication has a pleasant way of varying his enjoyments, which was never taken in the West. When the fluid elements of drunkenness begin to fail, he betakes him to what is learnedly called a *maajûn*, being a sort of electuary or confection, made up with pleasant spices, and rendered potent by a large admixture of opium, bang, and other narcotic ingredients, producing a solid intoxication of a very delightful and desirable description. One of the first drinking matches that is described makes honourable mention of this variety:

"The maajûn-takers and spirit-drinkers, as they have different tastes, are very apt to take offence with each other. I said, 'Don't spoil the cordiality of the party; whoever wishes to drink spirits, let him drink spirits; and let him that prefers maajûn, take maajûn; and let not the one party give any idle or provoking language to the other.' Some sat down to spirits, some to maajûn. The party went on for some time tolerably well. Bâba Jân Kabûzi had not been

in the boat; we had sent for him when we reached the royal tents. He chose to drink spirits. Terdi Muhammed Kipchâk, too, was sent for, and joined the spirit-drinkers. As the spirit-drinkers and maajûn-takers never can agree in one party, the spirit-bibing party began to indulge in foolish and idle conversation, and to make provoking remarks on maajûn and maajûn-takers. Bâba Jân, too, getting drunk, talked very absurdly. The tipplers, filling up glass after glass for Terdi Muhammed, made him drink them off, so that in a very short time he was mad drunk. Whatever exertions I could make to preserve peace, were all unavailing; there was much uproar and wrangling. The party became quite burdensome and unpleasant, and soon broke up."

The second day after, we find the royal bacchanal still more grievously overtaken:

"We continued drinking spirits in the boat till bed-time prayers, when, being completely drunk, we mounted, and taking torches in our hands came at full gallop back to the camp from the river-side, falling sometimes on one side of the horse, and sometimes on the other. I was miserably drunk, and next morning, when they told me of our having galloped into the camp with lighted torches in our hands, I had not the slightest recollection of the circumstance. After coming home, I vomited plentifully."

Even in the middle of a harassing and desultory campaign, there is no intermission of this excessive jollity, though it sometimes puts the parties into jeopardy,—for example:—

"We continued at this place drinking till the sun was on the decline, when we set out. Those who had been of the party were completely drunk. Syed Kâsim was so drunk, that two of his servants were obliged to put him on horseback, and brought him to the camp with great difficulty. Dost Muhammid Bâkir was so far gone, that Amîn Muhammed Terkhân, Masti Chehreh, and those who were along with him, were unable, with all their exertions, to get him on horseback. They poured a great quantity of water over him, but all to no purpose. At this moment a body of Afghâns appeared in sight. Amîn Muhammed Terkhân, being very drunk, gravely gave it as his opinion, that rather than leave him, in the condition in which he was, to fall into the hands of the enemy, it was better at once to cut off his head, and carry it away. Making another exertion, however, with much difficulty, they contrived to throw him upon a horse, which they led along, and so brought him off."

On some occasions they contrive to be drunk four times in twenty-four hours. The gallant prince contents himself with a strong *maajûn* one day; but

"Next morning we had a drinking party in the same tent. We continued drinking till night. On the following morning we again had an early cup, and, getting intoxicated, went to sleep. About noon-day prayers, we left Istâlif, and I took a maajûn on the road. It was about afternoon prayers before I reached Behzâdi. The crops were extremely good. While I was riding round the harvest-fields,

such of my companions as were fond of wine began to contrive another drinking-bout. Although I had taken a maajûn, yet, as the crops were uncommonly fine, we sat down under some trees that had yielded a plentiful load of fruit, and began to drink. We kept up the party in the same place till bed-time prayers. Mûll Mahmud Khalîfeh having arrived, we invited him to join us. Abdalla, who had got very drunk, made an observation which affected Khalîfeh. Without recollecting that Mûlla Mahmud was present, he repeated the verse,

(*Persian.*) Examine whom you will, you will find him suffering from the same wound.

Mûlla Mahmud, who did not drink, reproved Abdalla for repeating this verse with levity.* Abdalla, recovering his judgment, was in terrible perturbation, and conversed in a wonderfully smooth and sweet strain all the rest of the evening."

In a year or two after this, when he seems to be in a course of unusual indulgence, we meet with the following edifying remark: "As I intend, when forty years old, to abstain from wine; and as I now want somewhat less than one year of being forty, *I drink wine most copiously!*" When forty comes, however, we hear nothing of this sage resolution—but have a regular record of the wine and maajûn parties as before, up to the year 1527. In that year, however, he is seized with rather a sudden fit of penitence, and has the resolution to begin a course of rigorous reform. There is something rather picturesque in his very solemn and remarkable account of this great revolution in his habits:

"On Monday the 23d of the first Jemâdi, I had mounted to survey my posts, and, in the course of my ride, was seriously struck with the reflection that I had always resolved, one time or another, to make an effectual repentance, and that some traces of a hankering after the renunciation of forbidden works had ever remained in my heart. Having sent for the gold and silver goblets and cups, with all the other utensils used for drinking parties, I directed them to be broken, and renounced the use of wine, purifying my mind. The fragments of the goblets, and other utensils of gold and silver, I directed to be divided among Derwîshes and the poor. The first person who followed me in my repentance was Asas, who also accompanied me in my resolution of ceasing to cut the beard, and of allowing it to grow.† That night and the following, numbers of Amîrs and courtiers, soldiers

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* "This verse, I presume, is from a religious poem, and has a mystical meaning. The profane application of it is the ground of offence."

† "This vow was sometimes made by persons who set out on a war against the Infidels. They did not trim the beard till they returned victorious. Some vows of a similar nature may be found in Scripture."

and persons not in the service, to the number of nearly three hundred men, made vows of reformation. The wine which we had with us we poured on the ground! I ordered that the wine brought by Bâba Dost should have salt thrown into it, that it might be made into vinegar. On the spot where the wine had been poured out, I directed a wâîn to be sunk and built of stone, and close by the wâîn an alms-house to be erected."

He then issued a magnificent Firman, announcing his reformation, and recommending its example to all his subjects. But he still persists, we find, in the use of a mild maajûn. We are sorry to be obliged to add, that though he had the firmness to persevere to the last in his abstinence from wine, the sacrifice seems to have cost him very dear; and he continued to the very end of his life to hanker after his broken wine-cups, and to look back with fond regret to the delights he had abjured for ever. There is something absolutely pathetic, as well as amiable, in the following candid avowal in a letter written the very year before his death, to one of his old drinking companions:—

"In a letter which I wrote to Abdalla, I mentioned that I had much difficulty in reconciling myself to the desert of penitence; but that I had resolution enough to persevere,—

(*Turki verse.*) I am distressed since I renounced wine;
I am confounded and unfit for business,—
Regret leads me to penitence,
Penitence leads me to regret.

Indeed, last year, my desire and longing for wine and social parties were beyond measure excessive. It even came to such a length that I have found myself shedding tears from vexation and disappointment. In the present year, praise be to God, these troubles are over, and I ascribe them chiefly to the occupation afforded to my mind by a poetical translation, on which I have employed myself. Let me advise you too, to adopt a life of abstinence. Social parties and wine are pleasant, in company with our jolly friends and old boon companions. But with whom can you enjoy the social cup? With whom can you indulge in the pleasures of wine? If you have only Shîr Ahmed, and Haîder Kûli, for the companions of your gay hours and jovial goblet, you can surely find no great difficulty in consenting to the sacrifice. I conclude with every good wish."

We have mentioned already that Baber appears to have been of a frank and generous character—and there are throughout the memoirs, various traits of singular clemency and tenderness of heart, for an Eastern monarch and professional warrior. He weeps ten whole days for the loss of a friend who fell over a precipice after one of their drinking parties, and spares the lives, and even restores the domains of various chieftains, who had betrayed his confidence, and afterwards fallen into his power. Yet there are traces of Asiatic ferocity, and of a hard-

hearted wastefulness of life, which remind us that we are beyond the pale of European gallantry and Christian compassion. In his wars in Afghân and India, the prisoners are commonly butchered in cold blood after the action—and pretty uniformly a triumphal pyramid is erected of their skulls. These horrible executions, too, are performed with much solemnity before the royal pavilion; and on one occasion, it is incidentally recorded, that such was the number of prisoners brought forward for this infamous butchery, that the sovereign's tent had three times to be removed to a different station—the ground before it being so drenched with blood and encumbered with quivering carcases! On one occasion, and on one only, an attempt was made to poison him—the mother of one of the sovereigns whom he had dethroned having bribed his cooks and tasters to mix death in his repast. Upon the detection of the plot, the taster was cut in pieces, the cook flayed alive, and the scullions trampled to death by elephants. Such, however, was the respect paid to rank, or the indulgence to maternal resentment, that the prime mover of the whole conspiracy, the queen dowager, is merely put under restraint, and has a contribution levied on her private fortune. The following brief anecdote speaks volumes as to the difference of European and Asiatic manners and tempers:—

"Another of his wives was Katak Begum, who was the foster-sister of this same Terkhân Begum. Sultan Ahmed Mirza married her for love. He was prodigiously attached to her, and she governed him with absolute sway. She drank wine. During her life, the Sultan durst not venture to frequent any other of his ladies. At last, however, *he put her to death,* and delivered himself from his reproach."

In several of the passages we have cited, there are indications of this ambitious warrior's ardent love for fine flowers, beautiful gardens, and bright waters. But the work abounds with traits of this amiable and apparently ill-sorted propensity. In one place he says—

"In the warm season they are covered with the *chekîn-taleh* grass in a very beautiful manner, and the Aimâks and Tûrks resort to them. In the skirts of these mountains the ground is richly diversified by various kinds of tulips. I once directed them to be counted, and they brought in thirty-two or thirty-three different sorts of tulips. There is one species which has a scent in some degree like the rose, and which I termed *laleh-gul-bûi* (the rose-scented tulip). This species is found only in the Desht-e-Sheikh (the Sheikh's plain), in a small spot of ground, and nowhere else. In the skirts of the same hills, below Perwân, is produced the *laleh-sed-berg* (or hundred-leaved tulip), which is likewise found only in one narrow spot of ground, as we emerge from the straits of Ghûrbend."

And a little after—

"Few quarters possess a district that can rival Istâlif. A large river runs through it, and on either side of it are gardens, green, gay, and beautiful. Its water is so cold, that there is no need of icing it; and it is particularly pure. In this district is a garden, called Bagh-e-Kilân (or the Great Garden), which Ulugh Beg Mirza seized upon. I paid the price of the garden to the proprietors, and received from them a grant of it. On the outside of the garden are large and beautiful spreading plane trees, under the shade of which there are agreeable spots finely sheltered. A perennial stream, large enough to turn a mill, runs through the garden; and on its banks are planted planes and other trees. Formerly this stream flowed in a winding and crooked course, but I ordered its course to be altered according to a regular plan, which added greatly to the beauty of the place. Lower down than these villages, and about a koss or a koss and a half above the level plain, on the lower skirts of the hills, is a fountain, named *Khwâjeh-seh-yârân* (Kwâjeh three friends), around which there are three species of trees; above the fountain are many beautiful plane-trees, which yield a pleasant shade. On the two sides of the fountain, on small eminences at the bottom of the hills, there are a number of oak-trees; except on these two spots where there are groves of oak, there is not an oak to be met with on the hills to the west of Kâbul. In front of this fountain, towards the plain, there are many spots covered with the flowery Arghwân* tree, and besides these Arghwân plots, there are none else in the whole country."

We shall add but one other notice of this elegant taste—though on the occasion there mentioned, the flowers were aided by a less delicate sort of excitement.

"This day I eat a maajûn. While under its influence, I visited some beautiful gardens. In different beds, the ground was covered with purple and yellow Arghwân flowers. On one hand were beds of yellow flowers, in bloom; on the other hand, red flowers were in blossom. In many places they sprung up in the same bed, mingled together as if they had been flung and scattered abroad. I took my seat on a rising ground near the camp, to enjoy the view of all the flower-plots. On the six sides of this eminence they were formed as into regular beds. On one side were yellow flowers; on another the purple, laid out in triangular beds. On two other sides, there were fewer flowers; but, as far as the eye could reach, there were flower-gardens of a similar kind. In the neighbourhood of Pershâwer, during the spring, the flower-plots are exquisitely beautiful."

We have now enabled our readers, we think, to judge pretty fairly of the nature of this very curious volume; and shall only present them with a few passages from two letters written

* "The name Arghwân is generally applied to the anemone; but in Afghanistân it is given to a beautiful flowering shrub, which grows nearly to the size of a tree."

by the valiant author in the last year of his life. The first is addressed to his favourite son and successor Hûmâiûn, whom he had settled in the government of Samarcand, and who was at this time a sovereign of approved valour and prudence. There is a very diverting mixture of sound political counsel and minute criticism on writing and composition, in this paternal effusion. We can give but a small part of it.

"In many of your letters you complain of separation from your friends. It is wrong for a prince to indulge in such a complaint.

"There is no greater bondage than that in which a king is placed; but it ill becomes him to complain of inevitable separation.

"In compliance with my wishes, you have indeed written me letters, but you certainly never read them over; for had you attempted to read them, you must have found it absolutely impossible, and would then undoubtedly have put them by. I contrived indeed to decipher and comprehend the meaning of your last letter, but with much difficulty. It is excessively confused and crabbed. Who ever saw a Moâmma (a riddle or a charade) in prose? Your spelling is not bad, yet not quite correct. You have written *iltafat* with a *toe* (instead of a *te*), and *kuling* with a *be* (instead of a *kaf*). Your letter may indeed be read; but in consequence of the far-fetched words you have employed, the meaning is by no means very intelligible. You certainly do not excel in letter-writing, and fail chiefly because you have too great a desire to show your acquirements. For the future, you should write unaffectedly, with clearness, using plain words, which would cost less trouble both to the writer and reader."

The other letter is to one of his old companions in arms;—and considering that it is written by an ardent and ambitious conqueror, from the capital of his new empire of Hindustan, it seems to us a very striking proof, not only of the nothingness of high fortune, but of the native simplicity and amiableness of this Eastern highlander.

"My solicitude to visit my western dominions is boundless, and great beyond expression. The affairs of Hindustan have at length, however, been reduced into a certain degree of order; and I trust in Almighty God that the time is near at hand, when, through the grace of the Most High, everything will be completely settled in this country. As soon as matters are brought into that state, I shall, God willing, set out for your quarter, without losing a moment's time. How is it possible that the delights of those lands should ever be erased from the heart? Above all, how is it possible for one like me, who have made a vow of abstinence from wine, and of purity of life, to forget the delicious melons and grapes of that pleasant region? They very recently brought me a single musk-melon. While cutting it up, I felt myself affected with *a strong feeling of loneliness, and a sense of my exile from my native country;* and I could not help shedding tears while I was eating it!"

On the whole, we cannot help having a liking for "the Tiger"—and the romantic, though somewhat apocryphal account

that is given of his death, has no tendency to diminish our partiality. It is recorded by Abulfazi and other native historians, that in the year after these Memoirs cease, Hûmâiûn, the beloved son of Baber, was brought to Agra in a state of the most miserable health:

"When all hopes from medicine were over, and while several men of skill were talking to the emperor of the melancholy situation of his son, Abul Baka, a personage highly venerated for his knowledge and piety, remarked to Baber, that in such a case the Almighty had sometimes vouchsafed to receive the most valuable thing possessed by one friend, as an offering in exchange for the life of another. Baber, exclaiming that, of all things, his life was dearest to Hûmâiûn, as Hûmâiûn's was to him, and that, next to the life of Hûmâiûn, his own was what he most valued, devoted his life to Heaven as a sacrifice for his son's! The noblemen around him entreated him to retract the rash vow, and, in place of his first offering, to give the diamond taken at Agra, and reckoned the most valuable on earth: that the ancient sages had said, that it was the dearest of our worldly possessions alone that was to be offered to Heaven. But he persisted in his resolution, declaring that no stone, of whatever value, could be put in competition with his life. He three times walked round the dying prince, a solemnity similar to that used in sacrifices and heave-offerings, and retiring, prayed earnestly to God. After some time he was heard to exclaim, 'I have borne it away! I have borne it away!' The Musulman historians assure us, that Hûmâiûn almost immediately began to recover, and that, in proportion as he recovered, the health and strength of Baber visibly decayed. Baber communicated his dying instructions to Khwâjeh Khalîfeh, Kamber Ali Beg, Terdi Beg, and Hindu Beg, who were then at Court, commending Hûmâiûn to their protection. With that unvarying affection for his family, which he showed in all the circumstances of his life, he strongly besought Hûmâiûn to be kind and forgiving to his brothers. Hûmâiûn promised, and, what in such circumstances is rare, kept his promise."

ART. III. *Memorie Venete* di GIOVANNI GALLICIOLI, prete, per la nuova Collegione di documenti per servire alla Storia Veneziana. *Venezia*, 1826.

As the new collection of materials for the history of Venice, which is here announced, has not yet been completely published, we know not how much of Gallicioli's work it will comprise. We happen to have in our possession, however, a complete copy of that elaborate work; and are strongly tempted to introduce it to the knowledge of our readers, as it is, we believe,

in very few hands, and we do not think it probable that they will meet with any account of it elsewhere. So little indeed is it known, that even M. Daru, whose laborious researches, perhaps, no other documents have escaped, neither refers to it in the body of his work, nor names it in the list of the books he consulted. The author was long Greek professor in Venice; and published his voluminous work on the antiquities of that city in 1795-6; soon after which he died at an advanced age.

His researches are neither directed by a spirit of philosophy, nor pursued with a view to support any political system or party. Neither the character of his mind, indeed, nor his habits or taste in composition, seem to have fitted him for any higher task than that of investigating and compiling the most minute, and apparently the most insignificant matters of fact. In the discharge of this task, however, he is indefatigable and exact. He takes care to inform us, for instance, how many hundred candles were burnt round the coffin of a citizen in the year 958; what description of stuffs the daughter of another brought her husband as a dower in the year 867, and what was the nature and course of the nuptial festivities; what was the ordinary diet of the people; what variety of the Venetian dialect was at that time current among them, and what again was the style afterwards adopted by Marco Polo and those merchants who gratified the curiosity, and awakened the wonder of their fellow citizens, by the relation of their adventures in Arabia and Persia. He quotes and expounds the remains of monumental inscriptions still existing in the churches of Venice, and transcribes marriage-articles registered by ancient notaries, and fragments of the account-books and ledgers of the earliest merchants of Venice. His great merit, however, is, that he was not deterred by the profound obscurity which covered the history of Venice for nearly ten centuries; but plunged without fear, and laboured without disgust, in an abyss in which he had no professed guide, and but few accidental assistants.

The earliest of her annalists is not older than the end of the thirteenth, or beginning of the fourteenth centuries: But the minute facts, of an anterior date, which Gallicioli has rescued from oblivion, are like lamps, which, though dim and feeble, yet enable us, by their number and arrangement, to find our way through the thick darkness which surrounds us. Thus, the magnificent obsequies of a private citizen afford some indication of the general wealth of the republic: The marriage ceremonies and festivities illustrate the domestic and national manners; while the account-books throw a still stronger and

steadier light, both on the state of the language in this most ancient of Italian cities, and on the extent of her commerce, and the character of her citizens, in an age when they were at once merchants and soldiers, travellers and conquerors. From these materials, trivial as they at first sight appear, we derive most valuable information for determining our judgment of that proud and singular Democracy, which, with progressive modifications, and through sanguinary vicissitudes, subsisted in the republic for nearly a thousand years.

We shall now endeavour to lay before our readers a rapid survey of this constitution, from its origin, in the beginning of the fourth century, to its subversion by the Aristocracy, at the beginning of the fourteenth.

An accurate knowledge of these memorable institutions, of the circumstances in which they originated, and the corruptions into which they passed, must appear the more desirable and curious, when it is considered, that as this remarkable state arose before the empire of Rome was swept away, endured through the barbarism of the northern irruptions, and was finally extinguished within our own times, its history forms a connecting chain—we believe the only one that can now be traced—between the Europe of the Romans, of the middle ages, and of modern history! It is as if we were questioning the sole survivor of these great and overwhelming revolutions, and inquiring into the habits and constitution of a yet living antediluvian.

But, independently of this consideration, the mere fact that this state preserved its independence for fourteen hundred years, would offer ample inducements to investigate the cause of a political longevity without a parallel in the annals of human society: And the curiosity which this phenomenon is calculated to excite, is further increased by the recollection, that Venice owed its existence to a handful of fugitives, who sought shelter among the rocks and marshes of the Adriatic; that her power rose to a formidable height with astonishing rapidity, while her commercial prosperity kept pace with her power, and soon reached a pitch unknown to the greatest states of antiquity; and that this double power, maintained almost without interruption for nearly eleven centuries, declined at last, not from any principle or accident of internal decay, but through the unavoidable influence of extrinsic events, which surrounded her with formidable rivals, or raised up against her new and irresistible enemies. The invasion of her possessions and colonies in the Levant and the Mediterranean by the new-sprung power of the Turks; the maritime expeditions of the Portuguese, and their consequent trade with India—the discovery of America—the powerful military

establishments set on foot by all the monarchs of Europe, and the occupation of a great part of Italy by one or other of them, all combined to rob Venice of her supremacy, and to beset her with growing dangers.

But however unlooked for were these events, and however irresistible their nearly simultaneous operation, though they unavoidably abridged the power and undermined the greatness of the Republic, they were not necessarily inconsistent with the maintenance of her independence. They coincided, however, in point of time, with the gradual subversion of her Popular institutions—the mainspring of her internal prosperity, and of her former influence in Europe. The pomp and splendour, however, of her latter days still remained unimpaired; and for more than three centuries after these events, her new constitution underwent no change; and after being so long stationary in appearance, though in fact verging to decay, the last seventy years of her political existence were passed in profound peace.

This state of things would doubtless have continued, had not the mighty shocks of that revolution which has agitated nations and overthrown monarchies of much greater strength, combined with her own decrepitude to hasten her dissolution. In that mighty convulsion, she fell—unresisting, and almost unnoticed.

What were the peculiarities of the government and the people, who could thus maintain their independence and substantial prosperity for a period so much beyond the ordinary duration of separate and especially small nations, has never been very satisfactorily explained. Her history has been attempted, with various degrees of fidelity and talent, by many native and some foreign authors; but the documents most essential to the inquiry were, by the very laws of the Republic, long concealed among the mysteries of the State Inquisition; and we may form some notion of the difficulty of obtaining any accurate knowledge of her internal affairs, when we recollect that even Cardinal Bembo, though a patrician of Venice, a zealous champion of her fame, and the most distinguished writer of his time, could not overcome the jealousy excited by his connexion with the Court of Rome. His native city, indeed, appointed him her historiographer, but denied him access to her archives.* His work is

* We learn this fact from a writer who was at once Doge and historian of the literature of the Republic:

" Se la storia del Bembo paresse a taluno un po' troppo asciutta, e vi desiderasse ricercati più a fondo i nascosti pensieri de' Principi, è da sapere che per essere il Bembo uomo di Chiesa, e però non partecipe del Governo, gli fu chiuso l'adito ai pubblici archivi; onde penuriò di

consequently without spirit or authority, and remarkable rather for an ostentatious display of a classical style, than for the clear statements and fearless devotion to truth which should characterise a historian. Accordingly, it is not read,—and, in fact, is not readable.

The archives, containing the more important secrets of the state, were, for the first time, disclosed, at the fall of the Republic, by the French; when, among those who eagerly explored that chaos of interminable documents, no one laboured with so much zeal and discernment as M. Daru. His history, accordingly, possesses very high merits, though combined with many defects, some of which we shall now endeavour to supply. In particular, he does not appear to have perceived that the State Inquisition insinuated itself into the very vitals of a constitution previously free, and resting on the two great principles of hatred to monarchy, and jealousy of all political dependence upon, or even close connexion with, any other people. In this point of view, the history of the ten centuries of the Venetian Democracy acquires a new and most important interest for the philosopher as well as for the statesman. If we should ever continue our dissertations beyond that epoch, M. Daru shall certainly be our historical leader, as his industry, learning, and sagacity, well entitle him to be. But with regard to this earlier period, and the first rudiments of that State Inquisition, which gives its character to all later transactions, we cannot adopt him as our guide.

That the seeds of this all-powerful and most despotical tribunal were sown in the very foundations of the Venetian constitution, and were striking their roots, deeply, though in secret, for the first ten centuries of its existence, had long been our impression and belief, though resting upon little else than the general character of the people and the course of the government. Recent discoveries, however, have turned these impressions into certainty; and the facts and documents now brought to light have sufficiently cleared up this important part of its story.

Detestation of the government of one man, and an inflexible determination to remain a separate and distinct people, were, as we have already said, the two principles by which the Venetians were guided from their birth as a nation, and upon which they

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notizie, e fu costretto a cercarle alla meglio da memorie private. Di che molto si duole egli medesimo, particolarimente in una lettera a Giambattista Rannusio, Segretario del Consiglio di Dieci."—Foscarini, Litteratura Venezia, lib. 3.

continued to act with the steadiness and success of a natural instinct. This will appear in the first concoction of her government—in the gradual development of her institutions—and in all their oscillations, up to the period when they acquired a stability, which resisted all farther shocks and alterations. In submitting to the common necessity, of obeying one leader in war, and having a supreme magistrate to guard their laws, maintain their religion, and preside over the ordinary tribunals, the Venetians never for a moment relinquished their right of conferring these powers by election; they continually asserted their power to degrade their possessor from the throne to which they had raised him, nor did they deem any means for the attainment of this end unlawful: they gradually limited his authority, till at length they subjected him to the control of an Aristocracy, which derived its constitutional claim to represent the people, from the natural influence of wealth, and the respect derived from a long line of renowned ancestors. To vest the substantial power in an oligarchy like this, arising from the very nature of civil society, it is only necessary that its members should act with some degree of concert; but the Venetian Few at last matured this concert into an artful and organised conspiracy; and, by carefully preserving the republican forms, together with the inveterate hatred of monarchy, and the national independence, continued to increase their power without awakening suspicion; while, as a means of accommodating the primitive laws of the land to their own exclusive interest, they seized eagerly on every opportunity of enforcing, and bringing into operation, such arbitrary expedients as, in former ages, had only been resorted to in cases of extraordinary emergency. The authority and number of these unconstitutional precedents thus gradually increased, until they came to be regarded as practical parts of the constitution, and, in fact, furnished the elements out of which the State Inquisition was eventually formed.

To illustrate what we have now said, we shall proceed to lay before our readers such a series of facts, in the first ten centuries of Venetian history, as we think will exhibit a comprehensive view of the stages by which Democracy gradually dwindled into hereditary Aristocracy; and that, in its turn, into a mysterious and unrelenting Oligarchy.

The small band of fugitives, who, escaping from the devastations of the Goths, first peopled the lagunes of the Adriatic Gulf, (A. D. 420,) were governed by magistrates sent from Padua. The names and posterity of some of these men are not yet extinct. Antonio *Calvo*, Alberto *Faliero*, Tomaso *Candiano*,

Albino *Moro*, Hugo *Fosco*, Cesare *Danlo*.* From the four first sprang the patrician families of *the Calvi*, *Candiani*, *Moro*, and *Falieri*, which were in existence up to the time of the destruction of the republic. From the fifth, the *Foscolo*, *Foscari*, and *Foscarini* derived their origin; and *Danlo* is thought to have been the parent stem of the house of *Dandolo*.

In the lagunes, which are navigable at high water, but are left partially dry in the ebb, the fugitives found numerous spots amid the rocks and little islands, sufficiently extensive to admit of cultivation. Their natural produce and aliment was, however, fish; and their only marketable commodities, the salt which they collected in their lagunes, and the fish which they cured with it. Their occupations consisted in building and navigating small boats for their neighbours. Such was their first acquaintance with that element which was afterwards to bear the proud fleets of their daring navigators, victorious warriors, and enterprising merchants. The greater number of the islands were marshes. The most elevated of them, called Rialto, was situated nearly in the middle. In progress of time, several of them were united by bridges, and formed the site of the city of Venice.

Meanwhile, Padua was still the metropolis; but having been shortly after devastated by the incursions of barbarians, (A. D. 450—60,) her little colonies were emancipated from her guardianship, and left to maintain as they could their feeble independence. From that time, each island elected a tribune; and it appears that the assembly of these magistrates constituted a national council. But as the necessity of carrying on offensive and defensive wars with their neighbours increased, the executive power, not very precisely separated, indeed, from the legislative and judicial, was vested in a single tribune. (A. D. 503.) Though, however, this functionary was elective, and bound in most things by the deliberations and decrees of the other tribunes, his authority was too extensive to be viewed without jealousy and apprehension; and was soon distributed among ten, and afterwards among twelve—though occasionally this number was diminished to seven. They were chosen annually, and were bound to govern the republic with the concurrence of a popular assembly, and the assistance of a council of forty persons, *both chosen by the people*, and who also performed the functions of judges.

This extremely pure Democracy lasted for more than two centuries and a half; when, as wealth and population increased, the

* Daru, Hist. de Venice, Pièces Justif. section 6, vol. vii. p. 1.

offices of the magistracy naturally devolved upon those who possessed the influence of property in the highest degree; and as these were, of course, comparatively few in number, the abuse of power became less difficult. Hence arose dissensions among those who aspired to govern, intrigues in the annual elections, licentiousness among the people, and all the symptoms of impending civil war, at the very time when their struggles with external enemies imperiously demanded union and co-operation. In this emergency, they elected, for the first time, a chief Magistrate, called a Doge, who was to hold his office for life. (A. D. 697.) This title, which is a corruption of Dux, while it excluded the idea of Sovereignty, more peculiarly indicated the office of leader of the national armies. He was an object, however, of constant jealousy and vigilance to the existing magistrates, and especially to the council of forty, in which the seeds of the state inquisition, though yet imperceptible on the surface, had taken firm root. Having thus provided a conductor of their wars abroad, and combined vigour in the government with security to popular rights at home, their determination never to yield even the shadow of their political independence acquired new strength.

There was not at that time a single prince in Europe, whether hereditary or elective, who could emancipate himself from vassalage to the Emperor, either of the East or of the West, or perhaps to both. Yet, at that very moment, Venice regarded the concessions made to her by both empires as rewards for her co-operation in their commercial and maritime expeditions, but never acknowledged them to be held at the pleasure of either emperor as feudal chief. All *her* historians treat this as a fundamental axiom of the law of nations; while foreign writers have denied it, and have contended that the right of the emperors to make or to recall grants is inalienable.

Charlemagne, indeed, affected to consider the Venetians as his feudal dependents; but either he wanted their assistance, or felt that he had not power to withhold what they demanded; for it is unquestionable, that he declared them independent.* Immediately after the establishment of his family on the throne of Italy, Pepin found a pretext for charging the Venetians with ingratitude, or disobedience to the emperor, and attacked them with all his forces, and with the determination entirely to subdue them: but they repulsed his fleet, manned with the troops that had conquered the western empire, and thus put an end to

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* Machiavelli. Storia. Lib. I.

all claims on their allegiance. We may advert hereafter to the pretensions of the Emperor of the East; but we shall now only say a word on the degree of obedience paid by Venice to the Ecclesiastical oracles of Rome.

"The Doges were invested with power" (we translate from Andrea Dandolo, who was himself a Doge, and the earliest of Venetian historians) "of convoking assemblies; of declaring war, or concluding treaties; of commanding the armies of the state; of appointing the military tribunes and the judges; of hearing appeals, and deciding definitively on all matters at issue; of collecting the citizens in their different islands, and in the quarters or districts of Venice, for the purpose of choosing their parish priests and bishops; of judging all matters concerning the clergy, in causes as well civil as criminal, leaving to the pope the decision of such only as were purely spiritual; lastly, of awarding ecclesiastical punishments, investing the bishops, and installing them in their churches. By the assertion of this latter right, however consonant at the time with the practice of the church of Rome, Venice involved herself afterwards in a struggle with the popes; yet though this struggle was so fierce as sometimes to threaten her immediate destruction, and though every monarch successively yielded to the arrogant pretensions of the sovereign pontiffs, she never, through the whole period of her existence, permitted the court of Rome to interfere in the government of her church." *

Although invested with such vast powers, it does not appear that the first Doge abused them; he advanced the glory, and augmented the prosperity of the state, and died respected by his subjects. The second did little either for the advantage or injury of the republic. The third, availing himself of the pretext afforded him by a letter from the pope, requesting his aid against the Barbarians, made war upon the Lombards, besieged them in Ravenna, which they had occupied, and reconquered, and restored it to the Emperor of the East. As a reward for these services, he obtained for the republic a tract of land bordering on the sea, and extending to the Adige. But his successes against an enemy hitherto deemed invincible, and the magnificence which he affected after his return from this expedition, alarmed the jealousy of his countrymen, who foresaw a dictator in their victorious general. He was assassinated by the populace in his palace, and the dignity of Doge was abolished. (A. D. 737.)

In its stead was established the office of a chief, removable

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* Ejusque jussione (Ducis) clericorum consilia et electiones prælaturarum a Clero et Populo debeant inchoare, et electi ab eo (Duce) investitionem accipere, et ejus mandato inthronisari.—And. Dandolo, apud Gallicioli, chron. I.—Daru, Hist. vol. 1. p. 42.

from year to year, with the title of *Maestro della Milizia.* Only four successive leaders enjoyed this dignity; the fifth was imprisoned, his eyes were put out, and he was deposed. (A. D. 742.)

The Venetians then restored the office of Doge, which was, as before, elective, and held for life. Of forty-three who reigned in the course of three hundred years, scarcely one-half concluded their career in peace. Five were compelled to abdicate, three were assassinated by conspirators, one was condemned to death according to legal forms, and nine sentenced to be deposed, and deprived of sight, or to exile, and sometimes to all these punishments united. Some only escaped them by dying on the field of battle. Yet few of them, if any, had brought any great calamity upon the republic, whilst many had extended her dominion and her fame, by the acquisition of extensive provinces on the Adriatic, and by planting some of those colonies in the Archipelago, which afterwards facilitated her conquests in the East, and aided the growth of her adventurous commerce.

The persecutions and punishments which followed every attempt, on the part of the Doges, to render the throne hereditary, and the judicial trial and execution, by which the state repressed all schemes of personal ambition, afford the strongest proofs that the abhorrence of the Venetians for the government of one man continued unabated during the first seven centuries of their political existence. The real depositary of the republican power, was the council of forty. Like the Ephori of Sparta, they exercised directly but few of the functions of the executive—but they ruled over their kings. On the forty also devolved the sovereign power during the interregna; sometimes after the deposition or death of Doges, whom they themselves had tried and condemned. Thus slowly and imperceptibly arose that aristocratical domination which prepared the way for the silent usurpations of the oligarchy, and was at length matured into the tremendous despotism of the State-Inquisition. A body of Magistrates, however, existed in Venice, at this period, whose functions were totally different from those of the Ephori, and were borrowed (if, indeed, they were imitated at all,) from those of the tribunes of the people in Rome. They were called *Avvogadore del Comun* —advocates of the Commonwealth. They were three in number; but the *Veto* of one of them was sufficient to suspend the execution of all sentences of the courts of justice, all decrees of the Doges, and all deliberations of the council of forty, or of the popular assemblies. The Avvogador assigned no reason for his *Veto* till the expiration of a month and a day, and might even twice extend this for a like period; he had then the privilege of appointing either the Doge or the Forty, or any other body of

magistrates, or the assembly of the people, to decide exclusively on the validity of his reason.

It is manifest, therefore, that the preponderance of the Avvogadori was resistless, since they had only to avail themselves of the jealousies necessarily existing between the various bodies of the state, and select that one as their judge, whose views and interests were opposed to the law or decree suspended by their *Veto*. They thus prevented the powers of the government from being concentrated in the hands of any one of those bodies. The name, the office, the dignity, and the functions of the Avvogadori were preserved in appearance until the total ruin of the republic. But their power of opposing either the introduction of monarchy, the usurpations of aristocracy, or the licentiousness of the people, although always admitted as a constitutional and inalienable right, had been long substantially annihilated by the State-Inquisition. We shall see hereafter, that the fate of the council of forty was not very dissimilar; it was eventually bound in the chains forged for it by a magistracy which sprang from its own body. Thus were the various powers of the Doge, in whom resided the executive—of the forty, who possessed the legislative and the judicial—and of the Avvogadori, to whom was intrusted the guardianship of the popular rights, balanced according to that system which has been thought to be the contrivance of theoretical politicians. It is, however, far more probable that these checks grew out of the imperious necessity of circumstances, or out of those principles, or rather antipathies, which governed the people of Venice, than that they were formally instituted in imitation of the Republics of Greece or Rome, or in conformity to the speculations of theorists. Such speculations were, indeed, unknown to the age of which we are treating. But no human precautions, however wise, can avail against the slow but certain and irresistible influence of property. Whereever its possession has been confirmed by time, it becomes the surest basis of ambition, and at length bears down everything before it. The families which, for ages, had filled the civil and military offices of the state, while they continued to enrich themselves by commerce, had thus accumulated a stock of influence which was transmitted, increased in every generation, from father to son. Hence arose that Aristocracy which is the result of no positive institutions, but the offspring of wealth rendered venerable by antiquity. It owes its birth and its duration to itself alone, nor can princes or people either establish or abolish it. At the epoch, however, under our consideration, an aristocracy of this nature, although it existed in Venice, did not constitute a distinct body, nor enjoy any exclusive right or privilege.

It formed, no doubt, the reigning class, because every people who have their government to form, and the power of choosing their governors, will prefer those who have most influence and power as individuals. The Roman people maintained a struggle for ages with the senate, for the right of electing plebeian consuls, yet, when they prevailed, they made no use of their power, but continued to choose them from among the patrician class.

In the meanwhile, the population of Venice increased; her territorial sovereignty, although still confined within the boundaries of her own marshes in Italy, was extended, in other directions, by her conquests in the Mediterranean. These acquisitions whetted her eagerness for fresh expeditions, and drew her into long wars, which were fed by the fruits of her commerce. Her principal citizens were at once warlike and mercantile,—they commanded her fleets and her armies, and exercised vigilant control over their chief; and while they thus acquired both glory and riches, they maintained the free constitution of the republic. The authority of the Doge, perilous and precarious as it always was, served to divert all popular jealousy from the powerful citizens, to whom it ought rather to have been directed. When the magistrates, who were generally selected from that class, sat in judgment on their prince, the dignity and the legal formality of their proceedings prevented the suspicion of corrupt designs,—especially as, in order to get rid of a dangerous responsibility, they usually contrived to have their sentences confirmed by the popular assemblies.

It does not appear, from any existing record, that the sanguinary tumults of the populace, who sometimes constituted themselves judges and executioners of their Doges, were ever punished. On some occasions, possibly, they were; but it is probable that the number of the offenders afforded a reason, or a pretext, for granting impunity to all; and yet more probable, that they had powerful accomplices in their judges.

In whatever degree personal hatred conspired to hurl one Doge after another from the throne, the frequency of the event clearly shows, that it could not have been disagreeable to that great aristocracy in whom the power of prevention or punishment was undoubtedly vested,—and that their connivance in these frequent assassinations, was secured by their design of availing themselves of these scenes of lawlessness and bloodshed as a pretext for abolishing the popular election of the chief magistrate, who was thus summarily disposed of by his constituents. Sometimes the people deposed a Doge whom, but a month before, they had chosen by acclamation; he was sent

into exile and a successor appointed, who, in his turn, was deposed or assassinated, and the exile recalled to the throne, only, perhaps, like Peter Candiano, to be again hurled from it after a few years of power, and murdered by the populace.

The effects of liberty like this, now began to be dreaded by that class of citizens who are neither the mighty nor the mob, but who, in Venice, were numerous, and rich in that sort of property which is the best adapted for the purposes of commerce, and the most obnoxious to pillage. In them the ancient families found allies interested in curbing this popular license; but they availed themselves of their co-operation only so far as they found it absolutely necessary. The remote, but inevitable, effect of the alterations which they subsequently introduced into the constitution, was the total exclusion, not only of the lower, but of the middle classes, from every office in the state, and from every political right.

They had already provided, that the council of forty, upon whom, as we have seen, devolved the sovereign authority during the interregna, might appoint a Doge in cases of extraordinary urgency. The state might otherwise have been kept, for an indefinite length of time, without a chief magistrate, by the dissensions between the partisans of the different candidates. The popular assembly might afterwards confirm this nomination, or might proceed to another election. The fit time for beginning to reduce an occasional example into a constant practice appeared to have arrived, when the last of the forty-three Doges above mentioned was assassinated, and his death succeeded by popular commotions. (A. D. 1172.) Eleven individuals, deputed by the council of forty, then elected a Doge, upon condition that he should ratify a new constitution, the provisions of which were,—That the people should have the right of confirming or annulling the elections of the Doges, *but not the power of electing them*—That the Doge should henceforth have no power to choose his own councillors, but that six individuals should be associated with him, subject, however, to his control, who should form an integral part of the supreme magistracy, and without whose concurrence none of his decrees should be valid. (This council, enlarged in process of time by ministers subsequently introduced, and by the heads of other branches of the magistracy, was called, *The Signoria.*)—That whenever he might stand in need of a larger number of councillors, he should not, as formerly, request the assistance of those citizens whom he thought most capable of advising him, but should consult the forty, to whom were to be added sixty other individuals. These afterwards constituted the body called, in later times, *The Senate,*

while its meetings retained the ancient name of *Pregadi,* from the very remote usage of requesting (pregare) the citizens to deliberate on affairs of state—That *the people should no longer hold meetings,* but should delegate the exercise of all their rights to 470 citizens, who should form a body from which should emanate every act relating to the sovereignty. (This was, both then and thereafter, called the Great Council.)—That the members of the Great Council, though liable to be displaced by the people, should not be chosen by them, but by twelve individuals selected from among the inhabitants of the city of Venice. From these twelve, therefore, virtually emanated all the powers and offices of the Republic; and as a large majority of them necessarily belonged to that class which had most influence, either from office, from antiquity of descent, or wealth, it was plainly to be expected that, in one way or other, they should consult the interest of the Aristocracy in their choice of the 470 who were to represent the nation.

The large number of representatives elected by the capital alone, and the exclusion of the inhabitants of the surrounding islands, who had, till then, formed an integral part of the Republic, and taken a share in the popular meetings, rendered the new constitution less distasteful than it would have otherwise been to the people of Venice. But while they rejoiced at seeing those who had been their partners in sovereignty reduced to the condition of their slaves, they seem not to have perceived that they had themselves lost every political right transmitted to them by their ancestors.

The first Doge elected in virtue of this constitution (1172) refused the office; but it was not difficult to find another who accepted it. He was carried in procession through the city, seated on a throne, and introduced the custom, ever after observed, of throwing gold and silver to the populace. So ready are men to sell their rights, and to admire, as munificent liberality, that despicable bribe, which they are always willing to receive as the price of their freedom. But still the aristocracy, though it reduced the people to slavery, had not yet secured to itself a constitutional and stable authority.

Meanwhile, the prosperity of the Republic, the glories of her victories, and the extent of her conquests, were constantly increasing. The silken stuffs, the Tyrian purple, the plumes, the Oriental luxuries, which the historian Eginhard, (Annales Francorum,) in the time of Charlemagne, saw conveyed by the Venetians from the ports of Syria and the Black Sea, were gradually emulated in Venice, and spreading over the north and the west, created new wants throughout Europe, and rendered

the whole continent tributary to the nation who had it in her power to supply them. Her manufactures assumed a more enterprising character, and prospered by the aid of her commerce, which, in spite of the rivalry of the other Italian states, succeeded in obtaining possession of almost all the ports of the Mediterranean. Lastly, with an ambition of adorning Venice, and augmenting her splendour, her warrior-merchants brought from Greece fragments and models of ancient architecture, and precious remains, which, although, at that time, unskilfully applied, served to awaken the genius of those artists who, at a later period, embellished their city with edifices of wonderful beauty. The new constitution was established just about the time when Gregory VII. was meditating the Crusades. His design of leading expeditions from all the nations of the West, to carry on religious wars against the East, was, soon after his death, put in execution, and prosecuted through a century and a half, by a series of succeeding popes. The greater number of the vessels required by the kings and the armies of the crusaders were furnished at a high rate by the Venetians; and the large proportion they engrossed of that commerce of which Europe knew not the value, increased their opulence, and their influence over greater empires. Though they never admitted that they owed vassalage to the Emperor of the East, they were, at first, faithful and zealous auxiliaries in his wars in Italy,—afterwards, powerful allies,—and, at length, they disposed of the throne of Byzantium, and aggrandized themselves with her spoils. The Doge, Henry Dandolo, was indisputably the most powerful of the three confederate princes who conquered Constantinople at the beginning of the thirteenth century. But although others have ascribed his rejection of the imperial crown to magnanimity, it is unquestionable that, if he had accepted it, his generals would have soon struck it to the ground, together with the head which bore it. They would thus have been guided by the two animating principles of the Republic,—resistance to the government of a monarch, and determination never to be connected, in any manner whatsoever, with the political interests of foreigners.

Dandolo, however, took advantage of his preponderance in this great confederation to extend the colonies and the power of his country, securing to her by treaty, the most valuable of the dominions of the Eastern Empire in the Archipelago. (A.D. 1204.)

About this time the popes published bulls forbidding all commerce between Christians and Infidels as sacrilegious; they did not, however, refuse to grant indulgences (like the licenses for belligerent trade of later times) which sometimes enriched the Apos-

tolic chamber with the sum of nine or ten thousand ducats of gold in a year. The Venetians thought themselves conscientiously justified, by the payment of so large a sum, in endeavours to form a treaty with the Caliphs of Egypt, in the name of the Lord God and of Mahomet.

Their trade, which had begun to extend into Arabia, and even India, inspired them with the project of getting possession of Egypt,* and opening a communication between the Nile and the Red Sea; "if they had accomplished this, (and they were at that time the only nation capable of undertaking it,)" says one of their historians, "perhaps the trade to the East Indies would never have passed out of their hands."

The maritime law of nations, at that epoch, barbarous as it appears to us, was not unknown; but it was, as it is now, and always will be, violated by all who can see a prospect of impunity joined to their own advantage. The merchants and navigators of Venice swore, in the church of St Sophia, at Constantinople, to observe certain statutes which had been compiled at the command of a King of Arragon, under the title of *Consolato del Marc.* The new laws, which experience and the disputes incessantly arising among the maritime states afterwards suggested, chiefly emanated from Venice, where, before the end of the thirteenth century, they were consolidated into a code. Such was the origin of the principles of the common maritime law, which, like every other international law, was unknown to the Greeks and Romans. It was amplified by the Venetians, and was observed by them during those very short intervals of peace in which they recruited their strength, that they might afterwards renew those implacable wars which they waged with the Sicilians, Pisans, and Genoese, in support of their claims to the dominion of the Mediterranean. But in the Adriatic, they had decided the contest by arms two or three centuries before. Although that gulf washed the shores of various states, those of the church among the number, not one of them dared to navigate it, or even to fish in its waters, without a license from Venice, for which they paid heavy tribute. "That sea is ours," replied they drily to the popes, who asked by what right they pretended to domineer there.

The contests between the successors of St Peter, and of Cæsar, in the twelfth century, had the effect of converting the usurped power of the republic into possession, legalized and consecrated by the Shepherd of the Faithful. Alexander III., when fleeing from

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* *Gesta Dei per Francos*, in the part called *Secreta Fidelium.*

Rome, found a refuge in Venice from the arms of Frederic Barbarossa, until the terrors of excommunication compelled the emperor to repair thither and prostrate himself at his feet. The pope, as a mark of his gratitude, solemnly presented the Doge with a ring in the cathedral, and accompanied his gift with these words: "Receive this as an earnest of the empire of the sea, and marry her to thee every year, in order that posterity may know, that she is under thy jurisdiction by right of conquest, and that I consecrate the same to thee, placing her under thy dominion, as I would subject a wife to that of her husband." The validity of this donation, though made by a pope, was disputed at the time, and the controversy was protracted through many centuries—A controversy not unlike that which is still agitated, with regard to the same subject, among more powerful nations, and which nothing but the right of the strongest is competent to decide. From that time the Doges annually wedded the Adriatic; and a custom which appears ludicrous to us, was looked upon as sacred, and was productive of important consequences in that and many succeeding ages.

In the wars between the Empire and the Church, the Venetians took part only indirectly, and no farther than was necessary to keep in check whichever of the two should ultimately preponderate. The son of the Doge, Tiepolo, went to the assistance of the Milanese against Frederic II., when he was taken prisoner by Ezzelino, and sent to the emperor, who caused him to be beheaded; yet the Republic did not protest against so great an insult to its dignity. This gallant youth had fought as a volunteer, and suffered for his generosity; but the interest of Venice then required that a member of the house of France should not fill the throne of Naples, and that the house of Suabia, which had become the less formidable of the two, should continue to reign. She, therefore, sent a fleet against Charles of Anjou, although his competitor, Conrad, was excommunicated by the pope. (A. D. 1240–1260.)

The Venetians had not, at this time, a foot of land on *terra firma.* Their first acquisition was Arvia in Romagna, which, although even the emperors regarded it as appertaining to the church, they nevertheless usurped, or, in the specious phrase wherewith such injustice has ever been coloured, took under their special protection. The captains-general of the papal armies, were dignitaries of the church; but the Venetians gave no quarter to armed priests; and having taken a prisoner on the shore of Agirileja, distinguished by the badge of the crosier, the sceptre, and the sword, they condemned him to ride backwards on a mule, holding the tail for a bridle, and preceded by the common crier,

who proclaimed before him: "Behold the wicked priest who displeased God in his life, and was taken in iniquity." (A. D. 1274.)

At this period the feud between the Guelfs and the Ghibellines, which raged with the greatest fury throughout Italy, found its way into Venice, and afforded the more powerful of its inhabitants an occasion for making themselves masters of the state, and transmitting it as a patrimony to their descendants, up to the period when its ruin was consummated. We have already seen that this revolution, in favour of an aristocracy, originally personal and elective, and constitutionally dependent on the body of the people, but which afterwards became absolute sovereign of the nation, grasping the whole power of the state, and perpetuated it in certain families, had been preparing, through a long course of ages, partly by circumstances, but more by men, who were possessed of the power arising from property, and the perseverance requisite to turn it to account.

This revolution, however, unlike most others, neither rushed to its conclusion with precipitate speed, nor was brought about by any sudden catastrophe; but, proceeding by gradual and silent encroachment, it so engrafted itself on the trunk of the constitution, that though its fruits were somewhat different to the eye, the plant itself did not appear to have changed its nature. The illusion was the more easily practised, as the Venetian writers, beginning by the Doge, Andrea Dandolo, the first historian of his country, have all, up to the present day, concurred in asserting, or at least in suffering it to be believed, that the change of which we have been speaking, was not imposed upon an unwilling people, but accomplished in full accordance with their inclinations; that the aristocracy employed neither force nor stratagem, and that, so far from any civil dissensions having raged in Venice, the Guelf and Ghibelline factions were scarcely known there, even by name. Yet, so far is this from being the truth, that not only did the opinions and the animosities of these conflicting parties find their way into the city, but fermented there, to such a degree as to produce a political crisis which we shall now pause for a moment to consider. We are induced to notice this more particularly, because it has never yet been investigated, and because it forms an era which gives a new aspect to the history of the republic down to the hour of her dissolution.

The examples of democratical government, which many of the Italian states afforded, and of which the Guelfs were strenuous partisans, recalled to the people of Venice the remembrance of their ancient rights; the rather as two generations had not passed away since the aristocracy had framed a constitution which, as we have just seen, reduced the sovereignty of the people to a

shadow, and their privileges to a dead letter: and such, perhaps, are the consequences to which the rights of property inevitably lead. Such were the consequences even in Florence, the most popular of the states of that age. The Guelfs, for the most part, belonged not to the mass of the people, but were men who, emboldened by the acquisition of moderate wealth and of the influence consequent upon it, aspired, first, to participate in the government, and, eventually, to wrest it from those who had long held possession of it; while those whose claims to power had acquired some antiquity, were in their turn assailed by competitors whose riches were of later acquisition. The struggle, therefore, in Venice, lay between such of the middle class as had recently risen to opulence, and the more powerful of the older proprietors. The people were the blind and wretched instruments of both. Owing to the commercial character of the Italian states, the contests between them were the more frequent; whilst, from the same cause, wealth accumulated with astonishing rapidity in the hands of individuals and families, whose only original patrimony had been a fearless spirit of enterprise and persevering industry. This was more peculiarly the case in Venice, whose institutions all tended to encourage manufactures, navigation, and commerce. We shall shortly have occasion to advert to certain of her laws, which were calculated to give an extraordinary stimulus to commerce, though it would probably be impossible to imitate them at the present time. We may add, that when the ancient families aspired to the acquisition of greater distinction, by the possession of territorial property in their Greek colonies, they began to disdain trade as a sordid pursuit; and although this process was exceedingly slow, it was yet sufficient to open all the avenues of commercial opulence to their humbler fellow-citizens.

As the latter rose to wealth, they naturally aspired to the guidance of the democratical spirit which, at that time, pervaded Italy, and sought to restore the old freedom of election, and the popular assemblies. For this purpose, they took advantage of the discontents of the poorer classes, who were burdened with fresh taxes for the support of the war with Genoa, which, with increased fury, and more doubtful success, then raged in almost every part of the Mediterranean.

Opinions,—political opinions more especially, which have their source in our physical wants, soon kindle into passions. It was, therefore, no difficult task to spread them, with all the force of indisputable demonstrations, among the multitude, by whom there is little hope of their ever being understood, and still less of their being rightly applied. In this state of the public mind,

the personal animosities of a few individuals grasp at every indication of popular tumult, in the hope of finding, either in the multitude or the government, a powerful confederate. Private feuds thus assumed the aspect, the character, and the weapons of civil war. Examples of this were numerous throughout Italy, but more particularly in Tuscany; and perhaps, to go farther back, Rome herself owed her republican government to the foolish vanity of Collatinus, in boasting of his wife's beauty, and thus awakening the brutal passions of Tarquin.

Giacomo Tiepolo, and Giovanni Dandolo, both sprung of very ancient families,—both illustrious for their military exploits and magisterial dignities,—both numbering many Doges among their ancestry,—quarrelled, even to the shedding of blood. Tiepolo openly professed himself a champion of the aristocracy of birth, while Dandolo was the advocate of popular liberties, and of the admissibility to the offices of government, of every man, without distinction, who possessed the requisite means and capacity. The reigning party was thus placed in a situation of the utmost difficulty. On the one side it had to fear the revival of the ancient democratical institutions; and on the other, the necessity of committing the defence of its own privileges to a leader in whose hands victory would leave the means of rendering himself sole and absolute master of the state.

The council of forty, which, as we have seen, was almost coeval with the foundation of Venice, and which was invested with such large powers during the interregna between the death of one Doge and the installation of his successor, had frequently exercised the right (afterwards committed to a body of magistrates called the *Correttori*) of modifying such laws as experience had shown to be either injurious or inefficient. But, while they only modified them in appearance, they often entirely altered their substance. This they had not hesitated to do a century before, in regard to those which regulated the elections of the Doges. To these laws they now recurred with greater caution, as well adapted to further their design of causing the chief magistracy to devolve upon individuals in whom the popular party could not possibly find a head recognised or sanctioned by the constitution; and to whom the aristocracy might commit their cause, and the weapons necessary to its security and triumph, with little apprehension of their being betrayed or abused.

They, therefore, devised a new mode of electing the head of the government—a mode which remained unchanged up to the final extinction of the republic. It was marked by peculiarities which it would require a considerable detail to explain, and which we should despair even then of making intelligible, with-

out the help of a diagram:—an expedient to which some Venetian historians, and, more recently, M. Daru, have actually had recourse. But as we can only afford to give a very brief account of this singular process, we shall merely say that it required that a number of electors, amounting sometimes to forty, should be *five times* indicated by chance; after which, they were to be individually subjected, an equal number of times, to a scrutiny, by which most of them were excluded, in order that their names might be replaced by others also drawn by lot. The whole were then subjected to the most rigid examination, in order that those who were eventually retained as electors might be such as were thoroughly acquainted with that precise combination of qualities, which the circumstances of the time, and the views of the ruling party, required in a Doge.

These complicated forms were admirably calculated at once to bewilder the people, and to lead them to imagine that individual interest and design were baffled by the impartial decrees of fate, while, in their turn, they exercised just that degree of control over fortune necessary to secure the republic against her blind and wayward caprices. At the same time, to guard against the possibility of either the Doge or any other man in power having any community of interest, or the slightest intercourse with, or dependence upon, any of the neighbouring states, some of which were under a democratical, and others under a despotic form of government, they enacted three laws: *First*, That the Doge should not marry any woman not a native of Venice. This remained ever after inviolate and unchanged. *Secondly*, That no Venetian should serve any foreign prince, either in war or peace. This, so far as patricians were concerned, was also rigorously observed, and the violation of it inexorably punished; up to the latest period of the republic, if they quitted her territory without permission, they inevitably incurred a sentence of perpetual banishment, nor could this permission be even asked without exciting suspicion. With regard to individuals of humbler rank, unless they held some office under the government, this law fell into disuse. The great difficulty was to prevent the sons of noble families from going to take holy orders at Rome, where they might accept ecclesiastical dignities from the pope, and might thence fall under suspicions from which no degree of merit could shelter them. We have already mentioned the example of Cardinal Bembo, and should our subsequent observations follow the current of events to the close of Venetian history, we shall have occasion to notice instances yet more remarkable of this jealousy of the ecclesiastical power. Even before the introduction of this

law, no member of the aristocracy, though as yet not hereditary, was permitted to form any private connexion with foreigners. A young lady of the Morosini family, at the period of which we are treating, was demanded in marriage by the King of Hungary. Before the government would permit the father to enter on the negotiation, it compelled him to renounce all his paternal rights, adopted the girl as daughter of the republic, and, in that character, bestowed her on her royal suitor. The *Third* of these new laws decreed, That no Venetian should possess landed property on the continent of Italy. For a time this was enforced, since, with the exception of a few sterile stripes of the shore of the Adriatic, the government itself had none. The princely domains of the ancient families accordingly were all situated in the colonies, while commerce, which they had not yet learned to despise, was continually adding to their wealth. But in process of time, as they lost their colonies, and extended their conquests in Italy, they admitted the most powerful families of the conquered cities into the body of the Venetian aristocracy; and this law was, in consequence, tacitly abolished.

As these enactments first presented themselves to the minds of the reigning party as means of avoiding the opposite dangers, —of the revival of popular rights, on the one hand, and, on the other, of the introduction of monarchy,—very few years elapsed from their first suggestion to their final and complete adoption. (A. D. 1275.) However indirect and informal might be their origin, it is unquestionable that they were no sooner introduced than they acquired stability and authority; and that they excited no suspicions in the nation, because they arose directly out of the two original and vital principles of every modification of Venetian government, and fell in with sentiments which appeared to be the indigenous growth of every Venetian bosom. These were complete national independence, and hatred of a domestic dictatorship. The Venetian legislators, therefore, were so far from dissembling their determination to repress at home the growth of those factions which divided the rest of Italy, that they loudly avowed it, and found in that avowal a sure means of acquiring popularity. It was, indeed, impossible to distort, and needless to demonstrate, the truth of those facts of which every man was a spectator. It was sufficient to warn the Venetians,—that the Guelfs throughout Italy were merely the instruments of the popes, who fostered their rebellion against the Emperors, by absolving them from their allegiance,—incited them to form themselves into democracies, and then domineered over them at their pleasure, and gifted them away as rewards, to those foreign princes who allied themselves with the church.

That the Ghibellines, on the other hand, consisted of a feudal aristocracy, who, while they professed to uphold the rights of the empire, combated, in fact, for the lordship of their several cities; till, at length, they, together with their subjects, fell into the ferocious grasp of a military despot; some one, probably, of their own fellow-citizens, decorated with the title of Vicar-Imperial, and rendered independent of all the laws or constitutions of the city he governed.

Nevertheless the popular party, composed of a great number of families newly risen to opulence, and still in contact with the mass of the people, under the guidance of Giovanni Dandolo, gradually increased in strength and influence. Whether it was, that the opinions held by this party had also insinuated themselves among the aristocracy, which was not, as yet, hereditary, and which began to feel the pressure of that oligarchy which already gave indications of its ambitious and domineering views; —or whether it was the work of chance, which sometimes baffles all human precautions,—Dandolo was elected Doge, by means of those complicated enactments which had recently been framed for the express purpose of excluding men holding such opinions, and with so religious an observance of all the forms and scrutinies required, that the ruling party could not, without a direct violation of its own laws, prevent his ascending the ducal throne. (A.D. 1280.) Without, therefore, making the least show of resistance, they endeavoured to sound the public mind, and to ascertain what degree of opposition they had to expect. They then proposed, with a view to amend and consolidate the constitution:—That thenceforward, no one should be admitted to the sittings of the Great Council, (the depository of the sovereign power, and the body from which all legislative acts emanated, and all the individuals who were called to exercise magisterial offices were selected,) except those who had formerly had seats there, or who could at least prove that their father, grandfather, or great-grandfather, had enjoyed that distinction. Dandolo opposed the introduction of this law with such spirit and effect, that the Great Council rejected it, though interested in its adoption.

Whether it was the intention of this Doge merely to arrest the progress of aristocratical usurpation, or to restore their ancient rights to the people, nowhere distinctly appears; though the latter is the more probable conjecture. Such, however, were the straits to which he was reduced by a nine years' contest with the church, in order to deprive her of her partisans in the bosom of the republic, that he at last found himself compelled to seek the support of the aristocratical party.

The church having taken upon itself to give the kingdom of Naples to Charles of Anjou, Martin IV. proclaimed a crusade against the lawful heir; and because the Venetian government would not allow its subjects to take arms in the enterprise, and thus to open Italy to French invasion, he launched an excommunication against them, and interdicted the celebration of religious rites within their territory. For three years, during which the republic submitted in silence, no priests officiated at her altars, nor were prayers or offerings presented in her churches. Martin's successor removed the interdict; but on condition that the Holy Inquisition, whose introduction the Venetians had hitherto resisted, should be admitted and established in perpetuity. (A.D. 1286.)

This institution, ostensibly established for the preservation of the faith, had been long used by the popes as an instrument for forwarding their political designs, and, in the several Italian states, aided the leaders of the Guelf party, not only with counsels and directions, but often with more substantial assistance. The Venetians had undertaken to provide for the punishment of heretics, and to preserve the purity of the faith, but they always treated ecclesiastics as subject to the government of the state, and as essentially incapable of exercising temporal powers. After a negotiation protracted through the reigns of ten successive popes, the republic and the Holy See concluded the following treaty, in the reign of Honorius IV.: That three ecclesiastical judges should take cognizance of Heresy throughout the Venetian territory, subject, however, to the controul of magistrates chosen by the Great Council; that one of them should be the Bishop of Venice, a natural subject of the republic; another, a brother of the order of St Dominic: but that notwithstanding the authority they derived from the pope, neither of them should take his seat in the tribunal without a commission signed by the Doge. The remaining office was to be filled by the apostolic nuncio. By the terms of the treaty, their jurisdiction was limited to heretics; a description, however, which, it was provided, should not be extended to Jews or Turks, as having never belonged to the church of Christ,—nor to members of the Greek church, inasmuch as its controversy with the church of Rome was still undecided, so that the Holy Office would be at once judge and party;—nor to bigamists, because, the second marriage being virtually null, the offence was to be considered as a violation, not of a sacrament, but of a civil obligation;—nor to blasphemers, because they were guilty, not of innovation or schism, but of want of reverence for religion;—nor to usurers, because, though they violated its precepts, they did not dispute its dogmas; nor

to witches or magicians, unless they had abused the holy sacrament to the purposes of their diabolical art.

Such was the first treaty concluded by Venice with the then omnipotent Vatican. We should have contented ourselves with a bare mention of it, were it not more closely connected than may at first sight appear, with the constitution of the republic, and calculated to suggest important reflections upon the history of the period under review. How strong must have been the aversion of the Venetian people to foreign interference, when it could get the better, even to this extent, of that imperious superstition which had crushed the liberties of other communities, reduced their rulers to vassalage, and subjugated the reason of mankind! What must have been the resources and the spirit of the Republic, when she could venture to withstand a power deemed resistless by her contemporaries, and that in the teeth of the many and obstinate contests in which she was likely to be involved. For it must be remembered, that the popes of that and the preceding age had compelled a king of England to acknowledge himself a vassal of the Holy See; had so wrought upon the superstitious weakness of Louis IX. of France, who was ambitious of the title of saint, that he led the flower of his subjects to perish by disease or the sword in the burning climate of Syria; had sanctioned the judicial assassination of the lawful heir to the throne of Naples; had commissioned their dependent bishops to discover the ashes of a son of Frederic II., disinter them, and scatter them, with curses, to the winds; and had illuminated the civil tumults and massacres of Italy with the horrid light of human victims, sacrificed to the intrigues of the Holy Office. So remorseless, so unblushing had been their cruelty, that, at the beginning of the following century, Benedict XI., though himself a member of the atrocious order of St Dominic, contemplated it with shame and horror, and endeavoured, though in vain, to set some bounds to the insatiate appetite of his brethren for human blood.* We think, too, that on comparing the liberal and enlightened opinions which now prevail on the subject of religious toleration with the arguments assigned in the Venetian treaty in favour of infidels, Jews, and schismatics of the Greek church, it will appear that the Venetians were in advance of most of their contemporaries, and that some rays of light had broken upon them through the darkness and barbarism by which they were surrounded.

Hardly had the treaty to which we have adverted produced

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* The Monition of this Pope, addressed to the Brethren of the Inquisition, is given by the Abbate Marini, in his work *Degli Archiatri Pontificj*. A. D. 1304.

some suspension of the contests with the Holy See, which had been protracted through the whole of his reign, than Dandolo died. But, that he had never deserted the cause of the people, and that he intended to restore the rights they had lost, or at least to establish and secure the few which they still retained, appears indisputable, from his anxiety to adjust his personal differences with Giacomo Tiepolo, the champion of the aristocracy, and to detach him from that faction, by pointing him out to the choice of his own partisans, as his successor in the throne. Such was the influence of Dandolo's measures, that while his body was carried to the tomb, a multitude, instigated and guided by nearly all the wealthy and influential persons of the middling class, and by some men of old family, distinctly proclaimed the names of the powerful oligarchs, who domineered over the elective aristocracy, loudly accused them of tyranny, enumerated their crimes, and, amid execrations on them all, elected Giacomo Tiepolo by acclamation. (A.D. 1289.) At this moment, as is justly remarked by M. Daru, Venice seemed to be on the eve of recovering her popular rights, or of falling under the government of a single man, and, we may add, of being torn by that civil discord which then devastated the rest of Italy.

The oligarchy, though alarmed, affected not to see their danger. They offered no open resistance; but, without either confirming or annulling the election of the people, without even appearing to know that it had taken place, quietly proceeded to appoint a Doge, with all the prescribed formalities; thus availing themselves of the labyrinth of lots and scrutinies, to conceal the name of the individual whom they had already determined to elect. Giacomo Tiepolo, alarmed perhaps rather by the calm and dignified attitude they assumed at so perilous a juncture, than by the difficulties of his own situation, fled by night, and renounced a throne which had been filled by many of his progenitors, together with his country, from which he thus became a voluntary exile for life. Those whose imaginations are peculiarly sensible to the dangers of revolutionary enterprises, will attribute this conduct of Tiepolo to pusillanimity; while those who think there is no sacrifice which a generous man will not make to preserve his country from civil war, will ascribe it to magnanimity.

While the citizens and the multitude looked around in vain for a leader, the aristocratical faction felt the necessity of placing a man of courage and decision at their head, and, for once, departed from their custom of raising age and decrepitude to the ducal throne. They elected Pietro Gradenigo, who united the advantages of very ancient family and high military reputation,

to an inflexible temper and the full vigour and fervour of youth. He had the command of some galleys on the coast of Istria, when he received orders to return to the capital. He landed from his flag-ship in triumph, and was hailed by the aristocracy as the victorious champion of their cause. The right which the people still retained of confirming the election of the head of the republic, was not formally abrogated, but was thenceforward in substance abolished. One of the electors advanced to a window of the palace, and proclaimed to the people, "*The Doge is elected, if you approve him*;" and then, without waiting for an answer, retired.

Gradenigo ascended the throne with the resolute determination to found an Hereditary Aristocracy, or to perish in the attempt. His success was the more complete, that his conduct was watched and restrained by the Oligarchy; who feared, on the one hand, that he might aspire to the dictatorship, and, on the other, that he might ruin their designs, by his intemperate ardour. By repeated and cautious experiments, by councils and designs, matured through a period of seven years, they learned to seize on every opportunity afforded by the succeeding twenty, of reducing the republic to a lower state of servitude than, probably, they themselves had ever ventured to anticipate.

They began, by proposing again the law, which had been effectually resisted by Dandolo, excluding all from the Great Council except such as had already held a seat there, or whose fathers, grandfathers, or great-grandfathers, had been members of that assembly. This law was afterwards farther modified, so as to restrict the privilege to those who had already had a seat in the Great Council for four years. It subjected them to be annually balloted for by the council of forty, where twelve votes against twenty-eight, were sufficient to ensure their re-election; and consequently, although they appeared to be elected from year to year, they were, in fact, with very few exceptions, seated for life. (A. D. 1296.)

Shortly after, a law was introduced, excluding from a seat in the Great Council all men who had recently risen to opulence; and who were therein first openly described as *uomini nuovi*. (A. D. 1300.)

These important and vital alterations in the constitution were now directly subservient to the interests of those who were almost exclusively invested with the power of making them, and were, consequently, effected without serious opposition.

We have already remarked, that all the Venetian historians, without exception, conceal or misrepresent the occurrences of

this period; nor are we enabled to correct their errors, or to supply their deficiencies, by the writers of other Italian states, who were too much occupied with the affairs and the discords of their own cities, to give more than a few meagre details concerning Venice. It appears, however, that the new laws were not promulgated without bloodshed; and we are probably safe in conjecturing, that the acquiescence of the people was the effect of terror, and not of indifference or approbation.

Besides those massacres which, from the fewness or obscurity of the victims, were little known at the time they occurred, and of which nothing more than vague and indistinct rumours have come down to us, others, so sanguinary, as to force themselves upon the notice of the historians of Venice, prove, that long and increasing servitude had not yet subdued the national spirit into patient resignation to the last fatal blow which extinguished its liberties.

Two conspiracies broke out within two days of the proposal and adoption of the law, which Gradenigo, after placing the Great Council exclusively in the hands of the ancient families, caused to be received as a fundamental statute of the republic: That no one should henceforward be elected nor eligible to sit in the Great Council, except those who were then members of it, or their descendants: That this privilege should be Hereditary in their families in perpetuity: That the Great Council should be the sovereign power of the state, and that it should elect all the magistrates from among its own body. The Great Council, at that time, consisted of about six hundred members. (A. D. 1309.)

From this point, we may date the second period in the history of the republic, which ended only with the fall of its power. We shall find it totally unlike the former—rather, however, in its substantial effects, than in its external appearances. To us, contemplating, within the space of a few pages, the steps of this mighty change, the contrast between the earlier character of the government, and that which it bore till its dissolution, appears immense. When, however, we reflect, that this revolution was the result of changes so slow as to be almost imperceptible—changes tending to one conclusion, through a long course of ages, by the very nature of human society—we shall perceive that the nation was scarcely aware of them until it was too late to repair the evil, and that familiarity with slavery and forgetfulness of obsolete rights, gradually prepared it for deeper degradation. The revolution which we have now endeavoured to trace, unexampled for the skilful combination of its causes, and the permanence of its effects, was conducted in the arbitrary spirit

of oligarchy, under the mask of republican equality—with premeditated iniquity, under the forms of justice—with a discretion which presented no front to its adversaries, but rather appeared to shrink from danger, and thus lulled suspicion, whilst it secretly extended and increased its powers. When, therefore, the moment arrived, in which the aristocracy of Venice established itself in the undisputed and permanent possession of Hereditary authority, the conspiracies formed against it served but to increase its strength, and to arm it with new terrors.

The first of these conspiracies originated with a portion of the people, guided by certain citizens distinguished for courage and for opulence. Their vengeance was directed against Gradenigo. Their designs were no sooner discovered than defeated; and, after a few hours spent in legal forms, they were all delivered into the hands of the executioner. A conspiracy more formidable in its elements, and more secret in its operations, was next formed by veteran soldiers, under the conduct of patricians of ancient family, at the head of whom was Bagamonte Tiepolo. The Doge, though almost entirely unprepared, collected all the disciplined troops within his reach. They were fewer in number, but had the advantage of not being intermixed with the mob, who, hastening to take part with the conspirators, brought confusion, panic, and flight into their ranks. The followers of Tiepolo, believing themselves betrayed on both sides, abandoned their chief, who perished by a blow from a stone thrown from a window by an old woman. His associates were all taken, and were branded with the name, and punished with the death, of traitors.

Shortly after this event, Gradenigo suddenly died in the full vigour of manhood, and not without suspicion of poison; a suspicion strengthened by the manifest danger to aristocratical ascendency from his ambitious and enterprising character. He had already betrayed his secret designs, by his endeavours to ingratiate himself with the people. In accordance with their wishes, he had permitted the Republic to extend her conquests, for the first time, on the continent of Italy, and forcibly to withstand the political interference of the popes in the affairs of other states.

Azzo of Este, Marquis of Ferrara, died, leaving a brother and a natural son; the latter of whom had attempted to murder his father, and had actually wounded him; but, as his mother was a native of Venice, the Republic, in spite of the opposition of the Ferrarese, recognised his claim to the Marquisate, and his right to dispose of it, to the total exclusion of the lawful heir; after which, they purchased it of him for an annuity of a

thousand ducats, to be paid him during his life; and immediately sent an army to occupy the territory. Clement V., insisting upon that feudal supremacy over Ferrara, which his predecessors had ever laid claim to, incited by that hatred to the republic, which he had inherited from them, and eager to seize the opportunity of extending his temporal dominions, lent a favourable ear to the entreaties of the Ferrarese, and of the rightful heir; insomuch, that he not only deputed apostolical nuncios to receive their oaths of allegiance, but threatened the Venetians with the visitation of those canonical penalties which the Church had denounced against usurpers. The Venetians, disregarding these threats, were immediately assailed with a papal bull, which denounced them as despoilers of St Peter's patrimony, and infamous, even to the fourth generation; deprived them of their mercantile property in foreign ports, of the right of property at home, and of the power of testamentary disposition; declared their goods and possessions the lawful prey of the first taker, themselves slaves in every region of the globe; and proclaimed that God would look with an approving eye upon every act of hostility, cruelty, and perfidy, which should tend to blot themselves and their posterity from the memory of mankind.* Such decrees were then believed to proceed from the immediate inspiration of God; and, sanctifying rapine, readily found executioners.

It is recorded, that a Venetian ambassador crawled on his hands and feet to the foot of the papal throne; patiently endured the epithet of "*soulless dog*," with which he was regaled by the consistory, and, by dint of much entreaty, at length obtained absolution for the Republic;† which, however, be it remarked, she did not apply for, until Ferrara had been wrested from her hands by a murderous insurrection of the inhabitants.

At this period begins the reign of the council of ten, which, in its origin, was nothing more than a committee of the council of forty, specially appointed for the limited period of two months, to proceed judicially against those who were implicated in the conspiracy of Bajamonte Tiepolo, and to explore its secret ramifications. (A. D. 1310.) Afterwards, its powers were extended for a farther period of two months; then, for the successive periods of one, five, and ten years; and ultimately, it

* The bull which we have here abbreviated is quoted by many historians; and is to be found in the original, in the Collection of Papal Bulls, vol. iii. p. 118—120. Rome, 1741.

† Foscarini, Lituratura Venegiani, lib. iii.

was established in perpetuity, with ample authority to make, alter, and repeal the regulations which were to govern its procedure and its judgments. (A. D. 1335.) It had hardly received this extension of its powers, when it carried them into decisive effect, for the purpose of suppressing the last fruitless attempt on the domination of the hereditary aristocracy. The attempt to which we advert, is the celebrated conspiracy of the Doge Falier; whom they had placed in the ducal throne, at the advanced age of eighty, to obviate the probability of such an incident, and to deter his successors from similar enterprises; had studiously degraded, by an insult which in every age must be insufferable, and, in that, could only be expiated in the blood of the offenders. After his execution, the president of the council of ten appeared at a window of the ducal palace, holding a sword in one hand, and displaying the trunkless head of the old man in the other; and proclaimed to the assembled multitude, that the traitor had but paid the penalty justly due to his crime. (A. D. 1355.)

Henceforward, the body of the nobles acted in strict unison, without perceiving that their power was gradually arrogated by a narrow oligarchy, which, with all possible diligence, proceeded, at the same time, to abridge the authority of the Doge, to hold him up to the people as a fit object of jealousy, and to make him responsible for every error of the government. Falier was held unworthy of that sepulture in the church of St Mark with which his predecessors had always been honoured; and the privilege itself was thenceforward abolished, to the prejudice of those who should succeed him. The law which forbade the Doges to take wives not natives of Venice, was extended to their sons, who were also excluded from every place in the magistracy, and were requited for these incapacities by the empty title of Cavalieri del Doge. So long as he lived, the family arms were displayed upon the ducal palace, but might not be affixed, like those of other patricians, upon the family mansion. A fine was imposed upon any who should address him, by writing or orally, in any other style than that of *Messer Doge*. Every one employed about his person, of whatever rank he might be, was excluded even from the lowest office connected, directly or indirectly, with the government. (A. D. 1400.)

These restraints, however severe they may appear, were still not strict enough in the eyes of the aristocracy. Whilst the naval and military force of the Republic was no longer placed at the disposition of the Doge, every war in which she engaged was ascribed to him as its author: by this subtle policy, the popular indignation was drawn down upon him by a doubtful or unsuc-

cessful issue. Nor can it be inferred from this description, that this miserable throne was only filled by vain-glorious aspirants, since no one, when elected, could refuse to accept the office, nor, having accepted, could resign it. Another change went hand in hand with the degradation of the ducal authority. For the people were deprived, even in appearance, of that power of confirming the appointment of the Doge, of which they had been despoiled in substance at the election of Pietro Gradenigo, about a century before this period. On that occasion, the nobility ventured, for the first time, to announce to the people, without waiting for the appropriate reply,—" The Doge is elected—if you approve him." But, during the period to which we have just adverted, the nomination of Francisco Foscari was proclaimed to the people in this more concise and less respectful formula,—" The Doge is elected." (A. D. 1423.)

Nor did the encroachments of the oligarchy stop here. The despotism of the last-named Doge sufficiently evinces, that it afterwards assumed the power of making, as well as of unmaking, the head of the state: though it so shrouded its usurpations under cover of the State Inquisition, which was established on this very occasion, that Venice, to appearance, remained under the government of a large and liberal aristocracy.

We have now arrived at the end of the ten first centuries of the Venetian history, and at the commencement of that constitution, which, owing to the impenetrable secrecy wherewith it veiled its conduct, was preserved from any violent shock during nearly four centuries more, and only ended with the destruction of the state itself.

To examine and illustrate this intricate and interesting subject, would lead us beyond the limits which are assigned to writers in periodical works. Probably, in a future article, we shall exhibit somewhat at large, the structure and policy of the Oligarchical State Inquisition: A body which, though it checked or stifled the internal prosperity of the Republic, yet saved her from the causes of dissolution wherewith she was beset externally; skilfully concealed the progress of her decay, and covered her intrinsic weakness, down to the hour of her agony, with a specious and imposing appearance of strength and dignity.

ART. IV. 1. *Moral Statistics of the Highlands and Islands of Scotland; compiled from Returns received by the Inverness Society for the Education of the Poor in the Highlands.* Inverness, 1826.

2. *Statement and Representation respecting the Parochial Schoolmasters of Scotland.* Dumfries, 1825.

3. *Considerations on the System of Parochial Schools in Scotland, and on the Advantage of establishing them in Large Towns.* By THOS. CHALMERS, D.D. Glasgow, 1819.

4. *Statement of the Experience of Scotland with regard to the Education of the People.* Dumfries, 1825.

5. *Returns—on Parochial Education in Scotland,—ordered by the House of Commons to be printed.* 1826.

FEW things are more curious in the history of any rude nation, than the early and persevering efforts of the government of Scotland to promote the Education of the People. So far back as the fifteenth century, when the barbarism of the country might well be supposed to have extinguished all ambition of learning, there were statutes which made it imperative on the higher ranks to instruct their children in classical literature; and it was not long after this, that the first dawnings of the systematic education of the people at large began to appear. It was fortunate, that the attention of our Parliaments, instead of being dissipated in vague speculation or experiment, was directed from the first to the precise object of Parish schools. During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, new measures were repeatedly devised for maturing these institutions, and for fixing them in the practice of the country; and as soon as men's minds were emancipated by the Reformation, the Ecclesiastical power co-operated vigorously with the political, in promoting the diffusion of that popular light which was fatal to the ancient faith. The poverty of the country, however, and the disorders of the times, constantly obstructed the views of both, and it was not till the Revolution that the system was established on a firm and general basis. In the year 1696, the memorable act of Parliament was passed, which declared, that there should be "a "school and a schoolmaster appointed in every parish," and provided salaries for the teachers.

This statute completed what had long been struggled for—the general establishment of Parish schools under the positive injunction and protection of Law. No sound opinion can be formed of the possible improvement or future condition of these invalu-

able institutions, without being aware of the principles on which they have hitherto operated.

Of the three modes of providing for popular instruction,—that in which the scholars pay everything, and the public nothing—that in which the public pays everything, and the scholars nothing—and that in which the burden is shared by both—the exposition given by Dr Chalmers, in the "*Considerations on the* "*System of Parochial Schools in Scotland*," in favour of the last, appears to us to be unanswerable. When people know that they can get their instruction for nothing, they care very little about it, and are so apt to wait till the proper period for education be gone, without seeking it at all, that we perfectly agree with this most accurate observer of the habits of his countrymen, that "one consequence of *charity* schools with us has been *a dimi-* "*nution* in the quantity of education." On the other hand, when they have to pay for the whole of it, they generally find it too dear; and when part of it is defrayed by *private* bounty, the continuance of this assistance is always precarious, and is often felt as a degradation. All these effects were avoided in the original plan of the Scotch schools; where the expense was not altogether taken from those who were taught, but was only diminished by the salaries of the masters being paid out of a legal assessment upon the land,—where the existence of the school was not left to chance, but was permanently fixed upon the parish by law;—and where, instead of depending upon the casual or offensive generosity of individuals, its patronage proceeded from the state, and was thus connected with the other ecclesiastical and literary institutions of the country.

"There is more," says Dr Chalmers, "than may appear at "first sight, in the very circumstance of a marked and separate "edifice standing visibly out to the eye of the people, with its "familiar and oft-repeated designation. There is also much in "the constant residence of the teacher, moving through the "people of his locality, and of recognised office and distinction "amongst them;—and there is perhaps most of all in the tie "which binds the locality itself to the parochial seminary, that "has long stood as the place of repair for the successive young "belonging to the parish;—for it is thus that one family bor-"rows its practice from another; and the example spreads "from house to house, till it embrace the whole of the assigned "neighbourhood; and the act of sending their children to the "school, passes at length into one of the tacit but well under-"stood proprieties of the vicinage; and new families just fall, "as if by infection, into the habit of the old ones—so as, in "fact, to give a kind of firm mechanical certainty to the opera-

"tion of habit, from which it were violence and singularity to "depart."

The "*Statement of the Experience of Scotland, with regard to "the Education of the People,*" contains a view of the past effect of this system. We understand that the author is a most respectable clergyman; and we must refer to his pamphlet for a detailed exposition of the very important matter which he unfolds. It is full of intelligence and sound views, and is everywhere marked by the right feeling of his subject. We shall only observe, that this country was very happily placed for exemplifying the influence of popular education, and that the success of the experiment has been as complete as the limited scale on which it has been tried admitted of. There probably never was a nation where a taste for education was less to have been expected than in Scotland at the time of the Revolution. Utter poverty, long persecution, and every species of internal disorder, seemed to make the country the natural abode of general and continued ignorance. Its disturbances, however, were no sooner settled, than the seed, which had been scattered abroad, began to spring, even on that stony soil. A process was set at work in every parish, which prepared all ranks for the coming harvest. There being few other objects of literary ambition at home, successive races of persons, distinguished by virtue and learning, were attracted to the profession of teaching, not so much by its emoluments, as by the honour in which it was held. Under the intellectual and moral tuition of those excellent men, the district in which each of them laboured was gradually reclaimed. Amidst the various outlets which opened to a poor but enterprising people, it was soon made evident that education was its own reward; and the success of every individual, who either raised up a name for himself in his own country, or returned to it enriched with foreign wealth or honour, increased that appetite of knowledge, which was not merely indulged in as a luxury, but valued as one of the most certain and cheapest means of worldly advancement. As the public establishment had never been complete, private schools arose to supply its deficiencies; but the excellence of the parochial seminaries—secured chiefly by the respectability of the men who found it their interest to devote themselves to their duties—enabled them in general to triumph over all competition. The example of a right school was thus kept up in every parish; and, each rival copying that visible model, the whole system of education throughout the country was maintained steadily and quietly. The result realised almost all that the reasonable philanthropist could wish. More good, we are verily persuaded,

can never flow from the education of the people than what flowed from it in Scotland during the 18th century. The great advances of the kingdom in its mercantile and political condition would no doubt have secured the increased happiness of the inhabitants to a certain extent. But nothing except the general prevalence of early education, could have given this happiness the peculiar and gratifying character which has long distinguished it. We might have had agriculture with rustic stupidity—manufactures with turbulence—and animal comfort without intellectual elevation. But we have enjoyed what is good in progressive wealth and prosperity, with as little alloy of what is bad, as generally falls to the lot of men. Our peasants have been intelligent—our artisans orderly; there has been diffused over the whole lower and middle regions of the community a remarkably steady air of piety, thoughtfulness, and virtuous pride; and the mere talent and industry of the people have given them an importance in the world, which they could neither have acquired from their wealth nor numbers, nor from any of the ordinary sources of national influence. For all this, we are mainly indebted to those schools; which have owed their success to their being erected upon a permanent and conspicuous foundation, and to that particular constitution which made the teaching of them worth the notice of persons of ability. The best and greatest men whom Scotland produced during the last century, received their education at parish schools; and nothing, for a long time, was associated with stronger feelings of gratitude and reverence in the minds of the people, than those village academies, from which so much of their own happiness, and of the worth and genius of the nation, proceeded.

From the year 1696, down to 1803, being a period of 107 years, nothing farther was done by law to improve the condition of these institutions; and, therefore, it is needless to add, that they greatly declined. In 1803, however, Parliament again interfered; and, after some opposition on the part of a few of those on whom the maintenance of the teachers has always been chiefly laid, a pittance was added to their salary, and some new regulations were introduced for the government of schools and schoolmasters. Things have continued in this condition ever since. So that, while the provisions of all other public officers have been advanced, to enable them to keep pace with the general progress of society, our parochial teachers, and their establishments, have only felt the bounty of the legislature once, and that to a very small extent, in the long period of one hundred and thirty years.

In this situation, especially as the demand for education is now rising so rapidly that, unless it be met by an adequate sup-

ply, there is considerable risk of its falling altogether out of the hands of the established teachers,—some new measure has become unavoidable;—and, accordingly, about a year ago, the Lord Advocate, with great propriety, began to stir the matter in Parliament. This has excited the utmost anxiety, not only among the school-masters, but among all the friends of the institutions over which they preside; who see that if this opportunity be lost, another may not speedily occur, and that the time, at all events, is come, in which the system ought to be revised in a spirit becoming the age. For the sake of information, Mr Kennedy moved for some Returns; and the result is the very large volume, showing the state of the Establishments for Parochial Education in Scotland. Certain questions, intended to bring out the exact condition of that education, were transmitted to every parish; and the answers to these, form this volume. If the answers had been more precise, and better methodized, so that the results might have been exhibited in tables, it would have formed an invaluable record of curious facts. As they stand, however, these Returns,—which are not digested, and where the answers are sometimes obscure from misapprehension, and often from necessity,—are nearly useless as to general conclusions, except to those who, like us, have minutely examined the details. It is only by this painful analysis, and by correcting defects by other documents, that anything like just results can be obtained.

These other documents consist chiefly of a "Digest of the Parochial Returns made to the Select Committee, appointed to "enquire into the Education of the Poor," in the year 1818; and of a mass of very valuable returns which have been since obtained by the committee appointed by the General Assembly "for encreasing the means of education and religious instruction in "Scotland." This committee has obtained answers to various queries, we believe, from almost every parish in the kingdom, and the originals are preserved in four large volumes. When these sources of information are examined, it is impossible to resist the conclusion, that our ancient system of popular instruction is in an alarming condition, and that, if we really wish to make our parish schools continue to accomplish the purposes for which they were originally designed, we must cease to slumber over them with the half patriarchal half poetical dream, which is apt to come over us when we think of those rural seminaries, —and must do something effectual to revive them.

There is abundance of historical evidence to show that it was never understood, even anciently, that a single school was sufficient for each parish. But no more could be got. One, how-

ever, for each parish was obviously far less inadequate formerly than now;—when the population is doubled;—when the number and size of villages and towns have greatly increased, and when there has been a general rise of society. The consequence of adhering to the original establishment, while the community has been moving forward, has been, that even when the people happen to be educated, their education is not nearly so much under the protection of the public authorities as it ought to be, and that there are much larger portions of them than were ever anticipated, for whose instruction there is no legal provision at all. In evidence of this fact, three views may be referred to.

1. According to the population-returns of 1811, there were 1,805,688 people in Scotland. Yet, according to the Parliamentary digest of 1818, out of all this number, there were then only 54,161 children attending the parochial schools;—or considerably *less than a third* of those who would be there, if these schools really educated the people. Accordingly, it is stated in the same digest, that there were at that time no fewer than 106,627 children who were receiving their education at ordinary unendowed day-schools; and this after making ample allowance for Sunday-schools, Dame-schools, schools for the education of the rich, and all similar institutions. So that, taking into view merely that description of persons for whose instruction our parochial schools were originally intended, and for whose instruction it is the peculiar business of the state to provide, *there are apparently about twice as many persons taught at private schools as at the public establishments; and joining both together, there are fifty thousand who ought to be educated, who can find room neither at the one nor the other.* No other result, indeed, could well be expected; for it appears that there were then only about 942 parish schools in all Scotland; so that although every one of them had been at all times choke-full, they could not possibly have supplied *one-half* of the demand for teaching. Accordingly, these 942 parish schools were so plainly inadequate, that *no fewer than* 2222 *private ones were in operation in* 1818.

2. This is the general state of the kingdom, taking it all into view together; but the condition of the great towns is still worse. It is there that education is the most necessary and the most easy to be got; and yet these are the very places which are most excluded from the benefit of the parochial system. This, indeed, is the necessary result of the growth of the people in places for which there is, by law, only one teacher appointed. Whenever we look either at the digest of 1818, or at the recent returns, for a view of the state of education in great

towns, we almost invariably find a blank at the place where the parish schools ought to be mentioned. There are none: or rather, the solitary one provided by law forms such an atom, as scarcely to be visible, or worth mentioning. In the whole county of Mid Lothian, including Edinburgh, it appears that there are only 25 parish schools, which were attended, in 1818, by 1704 children; whereas there were 97 unendowed schools, educating 4312 children. In the county of Lanark, including Glasgow, there were 56 parochial schools, with 3437 children; while, on the other side, the number of unendowed schools was 307, whose pupils amounted to 18,270. The parish schools of Renfrewshire were 21, and their scholars 1630—the unendowed schools, 137, and their scholars 8690. In Perthshire, the numbers were, 66 schools, and 4096 pupils, on the one side, and 186 schools, and 8953 scholars, on the other. Wherever a district containing a large town is examined, it will be found that there is something of the same excessive disproportion between those who are taught at the public establishments, and those who are left to get their education as they may, from persons, of whose fitness there are no better judges than poor parents thinking only of cheapness,—and whose appearance and disappearance in the place is altogether casual.

Dr Chalmers, therefore, whose admirable "*Considerations*" were published in 1819, and, of course, have increased force now, is perfectly correct in stating, that "It is little known among "us, how much the people of our City parishes have fallen be-"hind the full influence and benefit of such a system. With "the exception of schools for Latin, there are almost no ves-"tiges of any such endowment. Instead of any public and pa-"rochial edifice for scholarship, held forth to the view of the "people, and constantly reminding them, as it were, of their "duty, through the avenue of the senses, the only education for "their children which is accessible to them, is dealt out from "the privacy of obscure garrets, or, at most, from the single hi-"red apartment of a house, in no ways signalised by its official "distinction, and deeply retired from observation, amid the "closeness and frequency of the poorest dwelling-places. These "stations, too, whither children repair for their education, are "constantly shifting; and the teachers being often unconnected "by any ties of residence or local vicinity with the parents, "there is positively, in spite of the sacredness of their mutual "trust, as little of the feeling of any moral relationship between "them, as there is between an ordinary shopkeeper and his custom-"ers. The very circumstance, too, of drawing his scholars from "the widely scattered families of a town, instead of drawing them

"from the contiguous families of one of its parishes, slackens, "among these parishes, the operation of that principle which "operates so powerfully among the immediate neighbours of a "small country village, and where, in virtue of each doing as "he sees others do, we behold so sure and so unfailing a cur- "rency towards the established schoolmaster, on the part of all "the population."—"The shadow," he elsewhere states, "of "the good old habit, may be still perpetuated amongst us "for one or two generations, and perhaps may be preserved by "the annual importations of this habit from the country, from "ever passing into utter dissipation. But though the shadow "of it should remain, the substance of it will soon be dissipated. "In so much, that if vice and ignorance stand together in near- "ly perpetual association,—if an uneducated people be more "formidable in their discontent, and more loathsome in their "profligacy, and more improvident in their economical habits, "and more hardened in all the ways of wickedness and impious "profanation, than a people possessed of the Bible, and capable "of using it,—then we cannot look on the progress of that "undoubted decay in scholarship, which is every day becoming "more conspicuous in our towns, without inferring a commen- "surate progress in those various elements of mischief, which "go to feed and to augment all our moral and all our political "disorders."

3. The condition of the Highland parishes is still more deplorable and alarming. There is a Society at Inverness, which was instituted four or five years ago, for the express purpose of "educating the poor in the Highlands." The first thing which such an institution had to do, was to find out the exact state of the fact, with respect to the knowledge or the ignorance of the people; and certainly no men ever set about a formidable task with more sense and resolution, or concluded it more triumphantly, than these most meritorious persons have done. The mode in which they proceeded, and the results of their investigation, are recorded in the "*Moral Statistics*." They wished to ascertain various facts, of which one was, the number of persons above eight years old, who were unable to read; and another, the distance of each family from the nearest school. "To accomplish "all this, a schedule was prepared, of a form fit for containing a "description of the state of each *family*. Twelve hundred books "of these schedules being printed, containing each from eight "to twelve pages in quarto, a sufficient number, proportioned "to the population, was transmitted to the ministers of every "parish. Brief instructions were prefixed to the schedules, ex- "plaining the necessity of accuracy, and pointing out easy me-

" thods for filling up the answers to the queries, either by ci- " phers or initial letters. Circular letters were addressed to the " clergy, describing the importance of the object, and soliciting " them to subdivide their parishes into districts, and to procure " the assistance of fit persons to undertake the labour of inves- " tigation." The space they had to investigate, consisted of ten of the largest and wildest counties in Scotland, comprehending 171 parishes, and a population of 416,000 persons. They obtained returns from 89 parishes, which, they state, " are filled " up with the utmost care and accuracy, and there can be no " question of their meriting the greatest confidence. When the " immense toil required personally to investigate the situation " of every family in a wide district, is considered, the exertions " of the clergy, in aid of this inquiry, must be pronounced as " meriting the highest encomiums. On the plan of this inves- " tigation, troublesome as it was to themselves, they bestowed " the warmest approbation, and they entered on the execution " of it with the most cordial zeal and alacrity. *In instances " where the population of parishes amounted to* 5000, *widely disper- " sed, the ministers performed alone the whole duty of personal in- " quiry, and entered the names of every family with their own hands " in the schedules.*" In order to ascertain the truth with respect to the parishes from which no actual returns were got, very minute examinations were made, upon computations founded on other grounds;—and it is stated, that " the whole of these computed " results may, therefore, be received, as presenting a very close " approximation to the actual state of the people."

After all this admirable care and preparation, the Society states, that " the following great facts may be held as established by this " investigation." " *Half of all the population are unable to read;* " or, in detail, taking all ages above eight years, those who cannot " read are nearly in the following proportions. In the Hebrides, " and other western parts of Inverness and Ross, 70 in the 100 " cannot read. In the remaining parts of Inverness and Ross, " in Nairne, the highlands of Moray, Cromarty, and Sutherland, " and the inland parts of Caithness, 40 in the 100. In Argyle " and the highlands of Perth, 30 in the 100. In Orkney and " Zetland, 12 in the 100. *Above one-third of the whole popula- " tion are more than two miles, and many thousands more than five " miles, distant from the nearest schools.*"

Many persons will be surprised at these results; but the Society explains them in a moment, by a very simple comparison of means with ends. The highland population which they examined, amounts to 416,000; and consequently, by the ordinary

calculation of one in eight for a full attendance at school, there should be schools for 52,200. But the fact is, that there are only 171 parish schools, which are attended at an average by about 50 scholars each, being only 8550 scholars in all. There are four societies who maintain schools in the same districts, particularly the great "*Society for propagating Christian Know-* "*ledge*;" without which the Highlands would long before now have been in utter darkness. These institutions maintain about 324 schools more; but still, *the whole put together* amount only to 495 schools, which, at the rate of 50 each, gives only 24,750 —*being less than one half of the number ready to be educated.* "This "is exclusive of about 100,000 of *un*educated *adults*, of whom "numbers in the Highlands press eagerly to schools. The "schools, too, have only existed at their present number for "a very few years. Some assistance is, no doubt, given by pri- "vate schools; but throughout most of the Gaelic districts, ow- "ing to the poverty of the people, this is extremely nugatory. "About a century ago, when the population was not more than "300,000, the parish schools, and those of the Society for pro- "pagating Christian Knowledge, amounted in number to 250; "now, when it has increased one-third, our schools, with all the "recent efforts of our societies, are no more than doubled: "therefore, we are not much better furnished with the means "of education than our predecessors in the last century; and "the results of their tuition have only proved its deplorable in- "adequacy."

In this situation, the practical question is, What is to be done?—To legislate for the case, in all its parts, fully and with due prospection, would require a far more minute and exact investigation of facts than has even yet been made. But no further inquiry is necessary to show, that in whatever way it may be accomplished, the adoption of two measures is absolutely indispensable:—1st, Schools must be multiplied; 2dly, Their character must be raised.

The Inverness Society observe, that "our ancestors, *at the* "*Reformation*, seem to have considered a population of a thou- "sand, even when concentrated, an ample field for the labours "of one minister, one catechist, and one schoolmaster." The accuracy of this statement is proved by the simple operation of dividing the computed population of those days by the proposed number of ministers, catechists, or schoolmasters, at the time. The population had increased at the Revolution; but the circumstances of the age rendered it not only impossible to augment the number of teachers, but made it a very vigorous measure to go the length of positively enjoining that there should

be at least one for each parish. Circumstances have now changed, however, in every respect. Since the year 1696, the population has more than doubled; wealth has increased a thousandfold; education has become infinitely more necessary. It was therefore felt, by those who took charge of the act of 1803, that the principle of there being only one teacher for each parish, whatever might be its circumstances, could no longer be adhered to; and if these persons had not perceived that the whole measure of augmenting the salaries would have been endangered by any great multiplication of masters, they would unquestionably have provided for the evil that had then begun, and has since grown to such a height. But all that they could do, was to introduce an arrangement by which there might be two teachers, in parishes of great extent or population. The inadequacy of the provision for the second masters, has made this scheme worse than useless in practice: But still it was important to obtain a statutory recognition of the principle, that there were cases in which there might be two teachers, by law, in one parish. It is a principle which ought clearly to be now acted upon, systematically and extensively, by supplying teachers according to the number of those who are to be taught,—which was the original idea,—and not according to the mere name of a parish. "The want "of a law," says the Inverness Society, "to make it imperative "to subdivide every parish which, at the death of an incum"bent, shall have attained a certain maximum of population, "is probably the cause of much of that ignorance which still "darkens the country. The evils which such a regulation is "fitted to cure, if it be at all practicable, are *not confined to the* "*Highlands* of Scotland, or to places remote from crowded ci"ties; and unless some such permanent resource can be found "in the laws of the land, there may be ground to fear that all "the efforts of voluntary associations, however powerfully and "zealously supported, may struggle in vain to overtake the "growing necessities of a growing population."

But it would be, not merely useless, but positively pernicious, to increase the number of schools, unless something be done at the same time to secure their respectability. Nay, the consequences of allowing them to become degraded in the opinion of the people are so injurious, that it would be infinitely better to have a smaller number than even exists at present, adequately maintained, than to multiply them in a state of poverty and debasement. The principle on which the success of such establishments depends cannot operate, unless two things be secured: In the *first* place, every teacher should be enabled to maintain himself with propriety in his intercourse with the parents whose

children he instructs, and ought not to be dealt with as if he had no place to uphold beyond the walls of his school; and, in the *next* place, his tuition should not be confined to the poorest of the people. A parish school is gone, the instant it is understood that it is a place which is too low for the village aristocracy, and that it is frequented merely by those who have little to pay, and little to learn. One of the most pleasing and salutary circumstances in the past history of our schools, has been, that whereever they have been adequately maintained, they have united all the youth of the district together,—making the presence of the children of the more substantial classes dignify the scene of knowledge in the estimation of all,—securing higher qualifications in the teacher,—and raising the intellectual tone of the vicinage. The whole soul of the thing is extinguished, whenever the people see that the public lets the schoolhouse go into decay; and that the teacher, instead of being enviably maintained by the exercise of his calling, is obliged to eke out a livelihood by the meanness of common occupation. They ought to see him solely as a professional person;—the friend and adviser of the better sort of people, received with respect and kindness, even in the houses of the gentry—and honoured everywhere, in a manner which leads those who see it, to refer his treatment to the peculiarity and importance of his vocation.

Now, what is the exact nature of the existing establishment of a Scotch parochial school? Simple though this question may appear, the answer to it is attended with very considerable difficulty; not owing to there being any real difficulty connected with the facts, but merely to there having never yet been any proper examination of them. The schoolmasters, no doubt, have almost all made returns of their own individual incomes; but it is evident, from the additional explanations which were constantly required, that it was not properly settled what the returns were to include, or how averages were to be adjusted;—and, on the whole, the results are even yet in the most unsatisfactory condition. There can be no better evidence of this, than that there are not many instances in which the digest of 1818 agrees, or agrees nearly, with the more minute statements given by the teachers themselves in their late returns; or in which, even, these returns are the same, when made to Parliament, and when made to the General Assembly. All that can be obtained at present, therefore, is an approximation to the truth: But after the most careful examination of such materials as exist, it appears to us that the truth is nearly as follows. It must be premised that we are speaking only of their *legal condition*, and not of their situation when experiencing the voluntary

generosity of the land-owners, who, in many instances, have evinced both their sense of the schoolmaster's usefulness, and of the inadequacy of his legal allowances, by greatly increasing them. We deduct these examples; because, however honourable to the givers, their bounty is precarious, and the receivers ought to be above the necessity of depending on charity.

The statute of 1696 contained no provision for giving schoolmasters dwelling-houses; and it fixed the maximum salary at L.11, 2s. 2d., and the minimum at half that sum; both exclusive of the fees paid by the scholars. The statute of 1803 raised the maximum to L.22, 4s. 5d., and the minimum to L.16, 13s. 4d.; and farther, declared that there should be a house and a small garden in each parish, for one schoolmaster. The value of the house and of the garden may be judged of from the statutory description that is given of each. The house is to consist " of *not more* than two apartments, *including* the kitchen," and the garden need not be larger than " one-fourth part of a " Scotch acre;" and when the land-owners within the parish shall prefer paying for the garden, instead of giving ground for it, they are only to pay for it " at the rate of eight bolls of oat- " meal per acre;" or, in other words, *two bolls of oatmeal* represent the worth of the garden. The amount of these provisions can easily be ascertained, because they are fixed and definite. *It is certain that (exclusive of fees) no schoolmaster has, by law, a right to more than two bolls of oat-meal, two rooms, including a kitchen, and L.22, 4s. 5d. in money.* But there is some difficulty in estimating their emoluments beyond this; and this difficulty arises from two causes:—1st, Their fees are subject to constant variations and uncertainty. The sum to be paid by each pupil, which is fixed by the heritors and minister, is sometimes changed; the number of scholars varies; and very considerable loss is constantly sustained from the impossibility of getting the fees paid by poor people, even when they are legally exigible. 2dly, Many of the schoolmasters hold other offices, particularly the offices of clerk to the kirk-session, of precentor, and of clerks or constables, or whatever else they may be called, for taking up the names of those who are liable to serve in the militia.

When they were required lately to make returns of " the sa- " lary and emoluments of the *schoolmaster*," it never occurred to them that they were expected to mention the emoluments of such situations which do not belong to them as schoolmasters at all. They, therefore, in general, made their returns without taking notice of these accidental adjuncts. The Lord Advocate, however, to whom the execution of the order was committed, explains, in his letter to the Secretary of State, (prefixed to the

returns,) that "the returns from several of the counties, recei-
"ved during the summer, appeared very defective in many par-
"ticulars; and as the sitting of Parliament was then distant, I
"caused them to be returned, with notes calculated to elicit the
"information which the order required. The points on which
"the deficiency chiefly appeared, related to the amount of the
"schoolmaster's emoluments, as to which some *disposition ap-*
"*peared to withhold information.*" The masters, upon being told what was wanted, instead of withholding information,—a disposition to do which is incredible,—corrected their returns, so as to include what was wished for. But many of them object to these things being taken into view; and the preses of their Statutory Society felt it his duty to enter his protest in the following words:—"I make the above returns, agreeably to the or-
"ders of the Lord Advocate, which I consider it my duty to
"obey, and which, from his kindness to the schoolmasters, I
"feel pleasure in obeying. At the same time, however, I beg
"leave most decidedly to deprecate the including the emolu-
"ments of the session-clerk, and the allowances for militia ser-
"vices, in any estimate of the income of the parochial school-
"masters: 1st, They are in the gift of two bodies, the kirk-
"session and the lieutenancy, who have neither voice nor vote
"in the schoolmaster's election. 2d, They are held *durante bene*
"*placito*, and, therefore, are neither permanently nor necessarily
"connected with the office of schoolmaster; 3d, There are nume-
"rous and often laborious duties annexed to the session-clerk-
"ship; and, in all but a few cases, the emoluments form a barely
"adequate remuneration for performing these duties; and in many
"cases they are quite inadequate. 4th, The militia allowances are,
"without exception, too small for the services required; and in
"a majority of instances, those services are performed by the
"schoolmaster, merely because there is no one else whose po-
"verty and learning fit him for the task and the payment. 5th,
"Neither the emoluments of session-clerk nor militia allowances
"do make, or ever have made, any part of the establishment for
"parochial education in Scotland."

Nobody can doubt that, on this point, the schoolmasters are right, so far as they go. But they do not go far enough. These offices not only do not belong to them as schoolmasters, but they are offices which are positively incompatible with the effectual discharge of their proper duties. Where the poverty of the legal establishment makes it necessary to have recourse to every device for enabling them to live, there may be some excuse for permitting them to undertake responsible labour not connected with their schools. But considered in itself, there is no propriety in making a parish teacher the clerk, and of course the

dependent, of two bodies quite distinct from his legal or natural superiors, or, in allowing him to come in contact with the people in the most irritating and offensive of all shapes,—that of a spy for the supply of the militia.

However, let these emoluments be taken into account,—What do they amount to? According to the digest of 1818, there were 942 parish schools, of which the *total revenue* was L.20,611, amounting to *somewhat less than L.22 for each school.* After examining the late returns as accurately as such a mass admits of, we are perfectly satisfied that, *including everything,* L.40 or L.45 a-year, is decidedly *above* the average of what is actually drawn by each teacher; and that, *if nothing but the proper emoluments of schoolmasters be taken into view,* the average will not amount to L.30 or L.35. We believe that these sums are too high, but are quite certain that no fair estimate can raise them higher. But it will be observed that it is the *minimum* cases that ought to be looked to, and not the *maximum;* because it is plainly no compensation for the evil of having a poorly provided school in one part of the country, that there is a rich one in another. It is no consolation to a teacher who is starving in the North, that he has a fat brother in the South; nor is the moral destitution of a parish in the West, corrected by there being an excellent seminary in the East. Very little satisfaction, therefore, is obtained, by merely dividing the total receipts by the number of the receivers,—because we know that they do not all receive equally; and, besides, it will invariably be found that those who have high emoluments labour in populous places, where, of course, the expense of living is proportionally great. The object, however, being to prevent the degradation of schools, it is the state of those that are verging downwards that is most to be looked to. Now, when we speak of averages, we refer to the average of men and not of sums; and our assertion is, that there are, at the very least, *one-half* of the parochial teachers of Scotland, whose *whole emoluments* do not amount to L.40 or L.45 each, or to L.30 or L.35, if their accidental employments be left out of view. There are probably a third, whose emoluments vary from L.25 to L.35 yearly; and it is lamentable to observe, that several of them are even lower than the lowest of these sums. And this is without making any deduction on account of the sum which, by a statute passed in 1807, every schoolmaster is obliged to pay annually to the fund for the maintenance of widows and children. Those who pay this, no doubt, get posthumous value for it; but it forms a material deduction from their means of present subsistence; and, accordingly, the fact is, that the statutory trustees are assailed every day with claims of relief on account of actual

poverty, from the burden of keeping up their interest, even in this beneficial fund.

It is sometimes said that the fees may be raised, and that if the teacher be zealous, he will increase the number of his scholars. But two circumstances must be attended to, before too much weight be given to these considerations. In the *first* place, the increasing of his scholars is only within his power to a limited extent. The position of his school is fixed; and even where it is well placed, there is always some part of the parish so far off, that the presence of a resident private teacher thins the established school, in spite of all that the ability of its master may do to fill it. Though, therefore, talent and zeal will unquestionably have their reward here as in other situations, the extent of the reward by no means depends upon the zeal purely. In the *second* place, it seems to be universally admitted, that *no addition to the existing fees would increase the emoluments of the master*, but rather the reverse. The returns from almost every parish state that there is annually a considerable loss, from the difficulty of levying the fees already exigible. The emoluments of the teachers, therefore, may be considered as great already, upon an average, as any teaching on the present system will ever make them: And therefore, if their condition is to be improved, it must be by some addition to their salaries, in the first instance; which may ultimately increase the fees by improving the character of teachers and of schools. All hope of increasing the emoluments by mere fees, is excluded by the indisputable fact, that private teachers of the same description, are almost universally in a lower scale both of comfort and of qualification than the established master. In short, a respectable independence cannot be made out of mere teaching, if it be confined chiefly to the teaching of the lower orders. There is a constant temptation, therefore, held out to well qualified men to withdraw, and to ill qualified ones to come in; and this gradual degradation of education,—by bringing it always down till it becomes of the lowest description of which even the poor will accept, and then dies out, because it is not worth being kept up,—is the very evil which it ought to be the policy of the state to prevent.

We have hitherto been speaking of the case in which there is one teacher within the parish. But the statute of 1803 made a provision for two; and the situation of the secondary masters, where this part of the act has been enforced, is still worse. In this case, the salary for *both* is restricted to L.33, 6s. 7d.; and the second master has never any house or garden. It is needless to add, that, under this system, he must generally be in the most wretched condition. He commonly gets L.10 or

L.12; and with this pittance, is set to make what he can out of the most scattered and poorest part of the population, without a dwelling-house or even a school-house, or anything to give him either comfort or respectability. We have seen nothing written, and have never heard anything said, except in decided condemnation of this part of the system. The very fact of naming a second teacher, is a public admission that one is insufficient: and, after this, to make him a beggar, is to degrade his profession in popular estimation.

Lest the accuracy of these arithmetical details should be questioned, the existing condition and prospects of our parish schools may be judged of by two simple facts. 1st, Although there was formerly no written rule prescribing the branches of knowledge which the masters should be capable of teaching, yet, in point of fact, from the understood necessity of their situation, all of them were qualified to keep up the general education required for the whole middle rank of the community; and, in particular, no one could pretend to act as a parochial schoolmaster, without knowing Latin, and generally Greek too. This was positively enjoined by the Church courts; and in the year 1774, a proposed teacher was objected to before the General Assembly by the parishioners, on the single ground of his ignorance of the Roman language. The author of the "*Statement of the Experience*," says, very justly, that "When this ceases to be a valid objection in all cases, the parochial schools will no longer answer their original design." Now, although the general fitness of our schoolmasters be undoubted, we appeal to every one acquainted with the fact, whether there has not, of late years, been an increased difficulty of getting right men to take the situation, and whether, as an example of their declension, several subjects, formerly familiar, and, in particular, Latin, be not gradually disappearing from our schools. 2dly, A parish schoolmaster is naturally so much engrossed with the proper dignity and respectability of his peculiar business, that his voluntarily engaging in any other avocation, is conclusive evidence that his official emoluments are too small. Yet it is notorious, that they are often absolutely obliged to combine their office of schoolmaster with other most unworthy occupations. It is recorded that, in one case, the public teacher kept a shop; that in another, he was an auctioneer. Their being land-measurers is not uncommon; and the author of the "*Statement of the Experience*," after mentioning that one of them had practised as a country attorney, says, that in one place where the salary had been divided, "and the teachers were in a parity of wretchedness, we found one of the masters, a meritorious man,

" in the habit, during every school vacation, of hiring himself " as a day-labourer in a harvest field, to eke out the slender " emoluments which kept himself, a wife, and children, in pos- " session of the bare necessaries of life. The education of mere " letters, which is effected by the hedge schools of Ireland, may " be secured by such men; but moral influence they can have " none."

How can we wonder at their being sometimes found in these disreputable employments, when we reflect that there are hundreds of them *whose whole emoluments are positively less than that of menial servants or artisans? A labourer, who has regularly half-a-crown a-day, is better paid than the average of our parochial teachers.* Yet these are the men who are not only expected, but required, to teach reading, writing, and arithmetic—who, in addition to this, do, in a great majority of instances, teach, and ought always to be able to teach, Latin and geography; and who, besides these, often teach the elements of Greek, French, and Mathematics. It is mortifying to see from these returns, that all of these branches of education are actually taught at this moment, by persons whose whole emoluments do not amount to L.25 a-year.

It is not, however, by merely looking at sums, that we can ever determine the adequacy or inadequacy of official pay at different periods. Little satisfaction, for example, would be got, with reference to this question, by ascertaining, on the nicest principles of value, the exact proportion which L.11, 2s. 3d., the highest salary in 1696, bears to L.22, 4s. 5d., the highest in 1827. The only practical method of adjusting the comparative condition of public officers in different times, is to view them *relatively* to the rest of the community at each period. Now the station held by a parish schoolmaster formerly is perfectly well known. There was not a greater man in the parish, except the minister. Indeed, he was not much inferior, in point of emolument, to the minister—whose income, in 1696, was probably not, upon an average, L.30—and not at all in mental acquirements. In the year 1706, the General Assembly passed an act, recommending those who had the appointment of schoolmasters, " to prefer men *who have passed their course at college or " universities.*" The fact, that men who had done so, were willing to undertake the duties of the parish school, is a sufficient mark of the station which a schoolmaster then occupied. Every class in the community has since made a start upwards, of which our forefathers never dreamt, and which if they were to return, would make them not know their own country. One of the first things they would look for, would be the schoolmaster;

and, instead of finding him nearly at the head of everything in the parish, they would be surprised to discover him far below the level of the average. They would find that, while the tenantry, the smaller merchants, manufacturers, and even the menials, had all advanced greatly, the public teacher had rather fallen lower. And they would lament this the more, when it was explained that their poverty was aggravated by the decay of many of the moral circumstances to which the schoolmaster once owed a great part of his respectability. The ancient reverence for those who kept the lamp of knowledge, has necessarily declined, according as its light has been divided among a greater number of hands. The respectability imparted to the school, by its being presided over by one who was qualified, and probably destined, to fill the church, is nearly at an end. And the increase of the population, while the number of teachers has remained stationary, has enabled whole districts and generations to grow up without any acquaintance with this part of our system. Our schoolmasters are still a singularly meritorious class of persons; far more learned than was to have been expected from the reward their learning meets with; faithful to their trust; of unimpeachable personal respectability; and perfectly worthy of being relied upon as the guardians of youthful knowledge and morality. No such public officers were ever obtained for the service of any country, for such remuneration. It is the highest evidence of their worth, as well as of the lingering respect which still attaches to their situation, that they have gone on so long in the silent and assiduous discharge of their duties,—*honoured by the notice of the Legislature only once in a hundred and thirty years*,—while society has been moving past them, and all other public functionaries have been enabled to keep pace with it. They are declining unquestionably; but not nearly so much as might have been expected; and their declension is exactly the reason why their influence should be maintained, by increasing the pecuniary reward of their services, in proportion as other supports have been taken from them by the change of manners. It is most distressing to be obliged to contrast the personal decline of these men with that universal improvement of which they have been the chief causes.

Some are afraid of raising their salaries too high, because this may render them independent of their fees, and, of course, careless of their schools. There can be no doubt of the soundness of this principle, whether as applied to them or to any other man. But it is utterly preposterous to apply it to these parish teachers, who are not within many degrees of the line

where the laziness arising from wealth is likely to begin. Twenty-two pounds sterling, we may rely on it, will not make even a Scotch schoolmaster too comfortable to work. And he can never get more than this without actually working; and he gets the excess exactly in proportion as he does work. But the hardship which we feel for, is, that in spite of all his working, he cannot make much more than these twenty-two pounds, or so much. Where his school is necessarily poor, he ought to be decently paid, otherwise no properly qualified person will take the place, and education will gradually get despised; and he ought to be well paid where it is rich, because it can only have become so, by his being an assiduous and able teacher. There is a point, no doubt, at which this must stop; but we have not come so near it yet as to make it worth while to keep it in view. The author of the "*Statement and Representation*," (whom we understand to be another respectable clergyman,) has proposed a remedy for this case, however, when it shall occur. The object of his representation is to suggest and explain a mode of making the salary above a certain sum, be in proportion to the quantity of scholars above a certain number,—which proportions are to be fixed according to an actual examination of the population and other circumstances of each parish. This is all quite right in principle, and is very well explained; but it appears too complicated to be practicable, and it provides for an evil of which there is no prospect. The fear that the Scotch parochial schoolmasters may get corrupted by excess of pay, is the most premature of all fears.

Assuming, then, that their condition might be safely improved, we must say that the improvements which they suggest have not the usual fault of exorbitancy. In September, 1824, they circulated a statement, in two printed pages, of their grievances and their claims; and the following was the sum total of their demands:—

1. "The schoolmaster to be restored to the privilege of appeal to the higher Church courts, of which he was deprived "by the Act 1803." Schoolmasters are under the jurisdiction of their respective presbyteries in the first instance,—but, till unexpectedly deprived of it by the statute of 1803, they had always enjoyed the privilege of appealing to the superior Church Courts, *which is a privilege enjoyed at this moment by every other individual in Scotland.* Why or how it was taken from them nobody can tell. But as the law stands, it not only exposes them to the absolute control of a very small body of neighbouring clergymen, but exhibits them at all times as in a state of degradation, by being deprived of that right which is left

open to every other individual. The distinction is sometimes attempted to be justified, by saying that an improper teacher can never be removed, if he be always entitled to make his accusers run the gauntlet from the lowest ecclesiastical court to the highest. This, however, may be said of anybody else as well as of schoolmasters; and, therefore, there is probably not much in it; especially as the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland,—which has all along evinced the most friendly and enlightened views towards its kindred labourers,—has declared its approbation of this and of most other parts of the schoolmasters' claims. In the year 1825, " The General Assembly " farther declared their decided opinion, that the right of ap- " peal from the sentence of the Presbyteries, in the case of " schoolmasters, to the Supreme Ecclesiastical Courts, accord- " ing to the ancient laws of the Church, ought to be restored." However, the teachers, with the moderation that has distinguished their whole conduct, have announced their willingness to compromise the matter, by letting their appeal stop at the Synod,—the intermediate Court,—which ends, or ought to end, all disputes upon this point.

2. " The schoolmaster's house to consist of not *less* than two " rooms, instead of not *more* than two rooms;—the number of " rooms above two to be determined by the majority of the he- " ritors." It is to be hoped that the number of those is extremely few, who would seriously propose, in these times, to create a permanent impossibility in a schoolmaster having ever more than two rooms, including the kitchen. Such a regulation is not merely uncomfortable to the individual, but it necessarily makes the profession of a teacher contemptible. It is absolutely inconsistent with the decent accommodation of the smallest family, even though all its members should happen to be of the same sex.

3. " In parishes where there are more than one teacher ap- " pointed, one of the teachers at least to enjoy not less than the " minimum salary, along with a house and garden." Whatever the minimum salary may be, no person should be *permitted* to become an established teacher without having it. A teacher who takes less than the law has fixed as the proper minimum, must necessarily be unworthy of his station. And if he get only the minimum, and be left without a house or garden, the author of the " *Statement of the Experience*," &c. is quite right in saying that he had much better be dispensed with altogether.

4. " The minimum salary to consist of two and a half chal- " ders of oatmeal, instead of one and a half; and the maximum

"salary of three chalders, instead of two chalders." In the Parliamentary Digest, it is assumed that in Scotland each chalder of oatmeal is worth L.11 : 2 : 2; and this is probably correct. So that what the masters want is that the minimum salary shall be L.27 : 13 : 3, and the maximum L.33 : 6 : 6. There is an alteration here in the existing proportion between the highest salary and the lowest. This is quite right, and is only an extension of the principle that was adopted in 1803. In 1696, the maximum was double the minimum. In 1803, the proportion was as L.16 to L.22; and now it is proposed to make it as L.27 to L.33. There can be no doubt of the soundness of this principle; because it is chiefly the poor cases that are to be provided for; and as it is always in the power of the heritors who pay the salary, to keep it down to the minimum if they choose, it is far more important to take care of the lowest point than of the highest. Indeed, if the lowest be taken care of, the heritors may be safely left to go as high as they please. Now, the only objection which we have to the minimum proposed, is, that *it is decidedly too low*. A fortunately placed schoolmaster may do very well with a small salary, or even without any salary at all; but it is utterly impossible that the general body can preserve its respectability, where the fixed pay may, in every case, be only L.27, 13s. 3d. yearly. It may be thought that the masters are the best judges of this, and that it is needless to give them more than they ask. And so it would, if there was any reason to believe that they were stating their claims as they really think that in justice they ought to be stated. But in the conduct of a practical case, men, and especially poor men, are often obliged to sacrifice part of their just claims, to prevent opposition; and there is no doubt whatever of the fact, that this consideration has operated on this occasion. Addressing those who had to pay, it was natural for them to state their claims as low as possible. But in framing a permanent system, neither the illiberality of the one party, nor the humility of the other, nor anything else, except only what is right, ought to be taken into view. Our anxiety for a material increase of their emoluments, does not arise merely from our desire to promote the personal comfort of these individuals; but from a wish to raise the qualifications of the masters in future, so as to enable the schools to keep up the education of the country. By the existing law, candidates are only bound to satisfy the Presbytery of their proficiency in "*such branches of literature as, by the majority of heritors and minister, shall be deemed most necessary and important for the parish.*" This gives the heritors and minister nearly absolute power with respect to the qualifications of the teacher,

and the things that are to be taught. Yet the heritors in general are the very worst possible judges of either of these; and they have a pecuniary interest in keeping the parochial education as low as possible, because the claims of the masters must rise with their merits. We have heard of some scandalous appointments under this system; and the occasional indifference of heritors to the general elevation of education in the parish, is notorious. The masters, from laudable anxiety to raise their body, have proposed to introduce a clause declaring that ignorance of Latin shall render every candidate ineligible. They have been supported in this by the General Assembly, who, in 1825, "declare their decided opinion, that no person ought to "be admitted to the situation of a parish schoolmaster, who "shall not be found by the Presbytery of the bounds qualified "to teach the Latin language;—*with power to the Presbytery,* "*in every case, to determine what other qualifications may be* "*necessary.*" It would be infinitely better to restore, by law, the old requisite, that they should have attended College. Nothing else can secure the public against the mischief that may be done by grudging heritors and easily satisfied presbyteries. But all such improvements are hopeless, so long as the lowness of the emoluments makes it certain that a parish is the worst market to which literary attainments can be carried.

There can be no better proof of the soundness of these claims, than the fact, that in erecting its own schools, the General Assembly, which has administered the funds intrusted to its care with singular judgment and economy, has felt itself unable to secure proper teachers, except by giving them *better* appointments than are to be found in the establishment in the same places. Nevertheless, it has been surmised, but we cannot believe, that there is a desire to reject them all. It is said, (but the thing is incredible,) that there are some who do not see the propriety either of multiplying schools, or of elevating those that exist—who think that schoolmasters should be subjected to more summary justice than is found safe for anybody else—that the second teacher, where there are two in a parish, ought to be left in nearly his present state of wretchedness;—that even the first ought not to get above a mite more than he has; and that, lest he become slothful, from excess of worldly comfort, the habitation of him and his family should be rigidly restricted to two places to be called apartments,—one of which may be used as a kitchen, if he shall be so unreasonable as to have such a thing. This project, it is perfectly plain, *cannot* be defended as right in itself. All that will be said in behalf of it is, that it is necessary to be shabby towards the schoolmasters, from

mercy to the landowners. But really, though we have all due tenderness for those unfortunate people who are oppressed by the possession of large estates, we cannot conceive how, even in their desperate circumstances, such a sum as L.10 a-year, scattered over a whole parish, can be talked of as a serious obstacle to a great national improvement like this. These gentlemen ought to recollect, when they complain of paying for the schoolmaster, that it is they, beyond any other class of the community, who reap a direct patrimonial advantage from the orderly habits which are the results of parochial education. They gain, in one year, by the absence of the poor's rates,—from which they are more protected by a respectable schoolmaster than by anything else,—far more than the additional salary would amount to in twenty. But, whoever pays them, the masters ought to be adequately paid; and if the heritors,—on whom this burden has hitherto fallen, and who, in return for it, enjoy the privilege of electing them, and of regulating the schools, cannot or will not contribute more, the public at large, which has a material interest in the education of its youth, ought clearly to be called upon. There is a direct precedent for this, in the recent augmentation of the small stipends of the Scotch clergy out of the public funds. The parochial schoolmasters are a part of our civil and ecclesiastical establishment; and so essential a part, that the clergy have ever been the first to acknowledge that, without them, the labours of the minister would be comparatively vain. The same views, therefore, that operated in favour of the clergyman, ought to operate in favour of the teacher; with this mighty difference, however, that a small sum will go much farther in the latter case than it could have done in the former.

After all, however, there is only one wise course to follow in this matter;—which is to appoint a Commission, consisting of a small number of persons, to investigate and report on the general state of education in Scotland. For, notwithstanding all the returns that have been obtained, and all the hypothetical computations by which they have been attempted to be mended, the full and exact truth has not, even yet, been nearly brought out. It is commonly supposed that it is necessary to be in a hurry, because the Act of 1803 expires in 1828. But this is a mistake. The statute contains a provision for a periodical adjustment of salaries at the end of each twenty-five years; and, therefore, one of these must be made in 1828. But, instead of expiring then, the Act goes on for ever. It may either be allowed to take its course, therefore, or things may be kept as they are for one year or two longer; but in no view is there the slightest apology for legislating rashly, because it is neces-

sary to legislate rapidly. And, moreover, without being in a hurry at all, commissioners have ample time to investigate the whole facts, long before the expiration of the first period of twenty-five years, from the 11th of June 1803. There is much more to be done by such a commission, than merely to fix the proper salaries to be paid to the teachers. There is nothing in the internal economy or future prospects of Scotland more interesting than the general state of education, with reference not merely to the parochial schools, but to all the institutions of the country. The very existence of the commission for reforming our colleges, is of itself a reason for appointing another to investigate the condition of inferior seminaries. That commission can make no substantial change in the junior classes of the universities, particularly in the classical departments, without instantly affecting the higher schools, which, in their turn, must affect the lower. It is to be hoped that all of them will be called on to improve themselves. Hence, in every view, our parochial schools are on the verge of a great change, one way or another. If they be left behind the age, they will be ruined. But it is only a full and authoritative inquiry that can ascertain whether, in relation to what is around them, their progress is upwards or downwards. The condition of education in our large towns, to which the system of country parishes has not been as yet applied, is particularly worthy of investigation; especially, considering the increasing growth, and the peculiar composition of their population, and the number of private establishments which have sprung up to satisfy the craving for knowledge which distinguishes the times. The single fact, that while the parish schools were only about 942 in number in 1818, the unendowed private schools amounted to 2222; or, in other words, that *upwards of one-half of the whole educated population* is in the hands of persons whose qualifications are no otherwise known to the laws than as they are liable to the mere *inspection* of the presbytery,—is, of itself, enough to show the necessity of a thorough and general inquiry.

Scotland has peculiar claims upon the patronage of the State for her education. Her people have done more, in this respect, for themselves, than has been done by any other portion of the empire; and their merit was the greater, that they began in an age of darkness, and continued perseveringly through many ages of poverty, till at last they made their country an example to all the rest of Europe. It is surely worthy of an enlightened government to attempt to perpetuate this glory; and great will be the disgrace to the existing generation, if it shall allow this honourable peculiarity to become a matter of history, and not of

practice. Take charge of it who may, the man who interferes successfully will do more for Scotland than could have been accomplished by any other exertion of patriotism.

Art. V. *An Inquiry into the Present State of the Civil Law of England.* By John Miller, Esq. of Lincoln's Inn. London, John Murray and Charles Hunter. 1825.

The impossibility of distributing *perfect* justice under any code of human laws, furnishes no excuse for refusing to inquire into the defects of the system under which we live,—and still less for declining to correct them when discovered. Labours of this kind are always laudable; there are times when they become necessary. When dissatisfaction either with the doctrines or administration of the law, prevails to any considerable extent among the people, it is the imperative duty of the Legislature to give such serious attention to their complaints as may either remove the evil, or at least convince the sufferers that its continuance can neither be attributed to the inclination nor the indifference of their governors. The present is certainly such an occasion: Not that we believe that the great body of the people have laid aside their veneration for the grounds and principles of the Law of England, or are desirous of changing the great outlines of its practice; But that all classes, high as well as low, feel the necessity of some reform in its details, must be manifest to the most unwilling observer. In this nation too, such popular complaints have a peculiar claim to attention; for we believe, there is scarcely any country whose inhabitants are so well acquainted as the English with their own laws. Even the common people acquire some partial notion of them, while they gratify their curiosity in attending on the public administration of justice, and still more while they assist in it as jurymen. But the consciousness long felt and cherished by every Englishman, whose fortune and education place him even in a middle rank of society, that his opinion is of some weight in either maintaining or improving a system which, with all its real or supposed defects, he is proud to consider the best in the world, naturally leads him to desire a more general view of its nature; and the attainment of such knowledge has now, for a long time, been rendered easy and delightful, by the Commentaries in which this interesting and important subject has been adorned with every appropriate grace by the pen of Blackstone.

Few books have ever deserved, and few have obtained, a higher degree of popularity than his elegant work: although some critics have severely censured its illustrious author for standing forth as the undistinguishing apologist of existing institutions. How far such censure is deserved, those who think this article worth reading, will probably have qualified themselves to judge; at present we shall only observe, that there is nothing in Blackstone's work from which it can be inferred that he considered improvement in the law as either undesirable, or unattainable. He felt, indeed, that the next blessing to that of possessing a law so perfect as to command unqualified approbation, is that of being well pleased with the law under which it is our lot to live; and, therefore, he endeavoured to palliate those defects, of the existence of which he shows himself sufficiently sensible, lest the disgust occasioned by these partial blemishes, should induce his readers to withhold from the entire system that reverence to which, as a whole, he felt that it was entitled. Mr Miller has discussed the subject with a different view. His object is to show the necessity of amending the law; and he has accordingly placed in the strongest light both the multitude and magnitude of its defects. He has, indeed, sometimes rather overcharged them. Thus, at page 433, speaking of the vexatious number of appeals to which the suitor in our courts may be subjected, he makes a cause travel by the following road, which we really have not been able to find in the most accurate legal itineraries:—

" At common law, a cause may be brought by appeal from the Quarter Sessions to the Courts of King's Bench or Common Pleas, each of which Courts may desire it to be again spoken to, after it has been once regularly debated. If brought to the Common Pleas, it may be carried, as has been already mentioned, to the King's Bench, and if to the King's Bench, from that to the Exchequer Chamber; and either from the King's Bench or Exchequer Chamber, to the House of Lords."

But though we think it necessary to caution our readers against adopting Mr Miller's authority as decisive of what the law actually is, we are far from insinuating that his inaccuracies are such as to render the book in which they occur undeserving of attention. Sound views of what the law ought to be, are perfectly compatible with erroneous notions of what it is in some scattered particulars; and though a lawyer may often perceive that the examples alleged by our author, are not such as will justify his strictures, yet farther consideration will sometimes show that they might have been supported by instances to which no just exception could have been taken.

Mr Miller's book is divided into three chapters;—1. On the Constitution, Procedure, and Doctrines of the Supreme Courts

of Common Law and Equity in England. 2. On some important Special Amendments, of which the Law of England seems susceptible. 3. On the Means by which the General Improvement, in the Administration of Justice, may most effectually be facilitated.

The first chapter is prefaced by a brief notice of the difference of opinion which has existed as to the expediency of the separation of courts of Law and Equity, which question the author is inclined, upon the whole, to decide in favour of the separation. He then proceeds to consider the constitution of the Supreme Courts of common law. He disapproves, as many other writers have done, of the number of four Judges, as leading to an unsatisfactory result, in case of an equal division; and he thinks five, or three, particularly the latter, would be preferable. On the other hand, many eminent persons (Paley is among them) have declared themselves in favour of four. *Non nostrum tantas componere lites.* But we agree with our author that, if four is the proper number, it is certainly not fit that it should, in the King's Bench, be almost always reduced to three, by the banishment of one of the Judges to the bail court in the morning, and to chambers in the afternoon. The separation (by the stat. 1 and 2, Geo. IV. c. 16.) of the Chief Justice of the King's Bench from his brethren, when he sits at *nisi prius* while they despatch without him the important business formerly transacted by the whole court in bank, is still more objectionable. On the same principle, we disapprove of the modern constitution of the Court of Exchequer. Thinking, as we do, that one Judge in equity is better than many, we see no objection to the Chief Baron administering the equitable jurisdiction alone; but the maimed condition of the court in his absence, would prevent its obtaining any degree of credit as a common law tribunal, even if its more ancient imperfections were removed. As a means of increasing the efficiency of the Courts of Common Pleas and Exchequer, Mr Miller proposes that the former should be thrown open to all the bar, and the latter be relieved from the dead weight of the clerks in court. We have never heard any reasonable objection to either of these propositions, or to that which follows them, namely, to abolish sinecure offices in all the courts, and to place on a new footing those of which the remuneration is disproportionate to the duties; a reformation which has already been well begun, and we trust will be effectually completed by the Legislature.

Our author is little inclined to admire the system of the common law in general; but the technicality of its terms and forms of procedure, is an unfailing subject of reprobation with him.

" In most of these respects," says he, " equity being of much later

origin than common law, possesses over it a decided advantage. To whatever charges the equitable law of England may be liable, it cannot be denied that the terms and phrases which it has introduced, are in general much less removed from those of ordinary speech; and its forms are also less strict and technical."—p. 101.

We are not desirous of magnifying either branch of the law at the expense of the other; but yet we must say, in behalf of the phraseology of the common law, that we think it much less calculated to mislead the ignorant than the more every-day sounding terms made use of in equity. When a plain man meets with a law-term which he cannot even tell to what language he is to ascribe, he knows at once that he must seek an explanation of it, before he ventures to do any act where a mistake may injure him; but he does not so readily suspect that there may be some recondite sense lurking under a colloquial word, which he thinks he understands as well as a lawyer. *Replevin* and *trover* are strange words, but when once explained they are unambiguous; but how could a man, accustomed to the common use of the words *trust* and *fraud*, suppose that a trustee (if he has any regard for his own security) must act as if those who made him such placed no trust at all, either in his honesty or discretion? or that any court could possibly declare a transaction void upon the ground of fraud, at the same time that the Judge professed his perfect conviction of the *integrity* of all the parties concerned in it? We do not then "take it "for granted, that everything which is uncouth or mysterious "in the termsor phraseology of the common law is a serious "practical disadvantage;" (p. 101.) on the contrary, we think it may be often convenient that the terms used in it should not be such as, being familiar in common speech, are liable to acquire, in consequence of their double use, a double acceptation, forensic and popular.

The objection to the complicated variety of modes by which an action may be commenced in different courts, and even in the same court, s more forcible. This has arisen partly from the desire of theJudges in former times to facilitate the administration of justice, by removing the barriers which, at the original institution of the present courts at Westminster, were designed to confine particular descriptions of causes to particular tribunals, and partly from their wish to relieve the suitors from the necessity of going through all the circuitous forms of the process anciently required to bring a defendant into court. Both these objects have been attained by the use of certain fictions, not necessary to be here explained, by means whereof most sorts of actions may now be brought in any of the three

superior courts of common law, and the appearance of the defendant compelled by a single writ; and, where these fictions conduce to the ends of justice, and cannot injure a defendant, the courts will not suffer their truth to be inquired into. But as there are some cases in which the steps of process, supposed by these fictions, cannot by law be really taken, and others again, in which the supposition of such steps having been taken when the fact was otherwise, would produce injustice to the defendant, the use of the fictions is not, in such instances, permitted, and the plaintiff is obliged to go through the whole of the forms originally required. The most objectionable of these forms is that which, were it not for the use of the fictions above alluded to, would require that most, and, in fact, does now require, that many of the actions brought in the King's Bench and Common Pleas should be commenced by original writ out of Chancery. Our readers will be aware that the ancient constitution of the courts assigned suits in which the King, or his debtors or accountants were parties, to the Exchequer,—and suits between subject and subject, to the Common Pleas, with which, in cases of injury committed by force, the King's Bench exercised a concurrent jurisdiction, because such acts involved a breach of the public peace, which it was the proper office of the latter court to preserve. It was also, indeed, a court of error; but in this view we are not called upon here to consider it. The Court of Exchequer, then, as a court whose office it was to protect the King's interest, was always allowed to issue its process independently of any other authority. But as great part of the revenue of the Crown in those days arose from the fees paid by the subject for the administration of justice, the Courts of King's Bench and Common Pleas were not permitted, unless in a few excepted cases, to entertain jurisdiction in any suit, but by the authority of an original writ issuing out of Chancery, for which a fine was paid to the King; which appears to have been thought the easiest way of collecting the fee to be exacted on the commencement of an action. Mr Miller states, from the first Report of the Fee Commissioners, a case which shows that the expense of these dues, where they must be incurred, is sometimes severely felt.

"A case occurred some time ago, in which a bond having been given by a person who could only be effectually sued by an original writ, and as the amount of the bond was so large, that the fine payable on obtaining the writ, being at the rate of L.5 for every L.1000, would have amounted to between L.1000 and L.1500; that circumstance of itself prevented the enforcement of the demand, as the estate of the person who was entitled to sue was then insolvent."—p. 103.

Yet the number of cases in which original writs are necessary,

has now, by the practice of the courts above mentioned, become so small, that these fees have dwindled to an amount which can be no object to the revenue; and if they were abolished, as they should be, we are not aware of any reason why the process to bring a defendant into Court should not always issue directly out of the Court where he is required to appear.

From the process Mr Miller goes on to the Pleadings, whereby the plaintiff and defendant state their cases to the Court. He holds the entire system of pleading in the highest despite; and exposes at great length the abuses to which it is liable. That these are many is undeniable, and it is not difficult to point them out. The question is, whether they can be remedied without destroying the system; and if not, whether the benefit derived from the system is so small, in comparison of the evil occasioned by the abuse of it, as to make its destruction advisable. Mr Miller has not, in our opinion, satisfactorily answered this question, in either of its branches. He admits, what, indeed, cannot be questioned by any man who has turned his attention to the subject, the utility of pleading "in ascertaining the subject for decision," that is, in settling, before the cause comes to be heard, what are the points upon which the dispute really turns. This is done by means of allegations propounded by the parties in writing. The party against whom an allegation is brought forward, either denies the whole or some material part of it; or admits it, but alleges other facts which he contends render it unavailing against him; or insists that he is not called upon to answer it, because, even upon supposition of its truth, it is insufficient in law to raise a demand against him. This last mode of meeting it is called a Demurrer; and if the opposite party joins in demurrer, that is, insists upon the sufficiency of his pleading, the cause is said to be *at issue in law*. If the whole allegation, or any material part of it, is directly denied, the parties are then said to be *at issue in fact*, and the cause is ready for trial; if it is admitted, and new matter alleged, the new allegation may be met in the same variety of modes, and so on, till the parties come to issue; but this commonly takes place by the defendant denying the first allegation of the plaintiff, and is scarcely ever deferred beyond three or four steps of pleading. Issues in law are decided by the court upon argument; issues in fact are tried by a jury upon the evidence either of documents or witnesses—and indeed documents must generally be authenticated by witnesses, at least so far as to show that they are what they purport to be. The proof of facts by the testimony of witnesses is both expensive and uncertain;—expensive—because witnesses must frequently be brought from a dis-

tance, at the cost primarily of the party who requires their attendance, though that expense may ultimately be shifted to the shoulders of the opposing party; uncertain—because of the uncertainty of the memory, honesty, intelligence, or steadiness of the witnesses whom it may be necessary to call. Now, if it can be ascertained beforehand, whether the defendant means to dispute *the law* or *the facts* of the plaintiff's case, and if the latter, to what extent he means to deny them, then, if the defence rests upon matter of *law*, the whole of the inconvenience of preparing for and going to trial may be saved; and it may be very much diminished, where the defence rests upon matter of fact, by the precise knowledge of the state of facts intended to be insisted upon by the adverse party; and this is what the law of England seeks to accomplish by pleading. It is obvious, however, that this object would be entirely defeated, unless the pleaders were bound to a considerable degree of precision in their allegations. If the parties might, at the trial, prove, by evidence, a case totally different from that stated on the record, that statement would become altogether useless, and the suitor must come into court prepared to repel by evidence every possible case which his antagonist, if plaintiff, might be able to produce against him, or, if defendant, might be able to set up in opposition to his demand. Yet this is the state of things which plans for a general amendment of the system of pleading, by rendering it less precise and formal, tend to introduce. Such plans are always favourites with the multitude;—they hear a strong case made out against a defendant in a court of justice; no answer is given to it, and their indignation is excited at finding, that, notwithstanding what they have thus heard proved, the plaintiff fails of gaining his cause, on account of some discrepancy between his proof and his previous statement of his story in writing. They never consider the unreasonableness of calling upon a defendant who has been warned to defend himself against one charge, to dispute another of quite a different nature; and while they lament over the loss of so much trouble and expense as this plaintiff has incurred, they have no means of estimating the cost and inconvenience which have been saved to hundreds of other suitors, by the operations of those rules which he suffers for having neglected.

As the precision required in the statement of a case in pleading tends to cut down the expense which would otherwise be incurred in proving unnecessary facts, so the rule which forbids the joinder of several causes of action of different natures in the same suit, prevents the confusion which would arise in the minds of the jury if their attention was distracted by having to weigh

and adjust, at the same time, a number of incongruous demands. But this rule of law, also, is a subject of severe animadversion to Mr Miller. He denies the propriety of all the classifications of actions now in use, and wishes to introduce what he calls two or three general forms of actions. We should have liked to see an example or two of such forms; but as our author has not favoured us with any, we only know, that his object is "to break "down the walls of partition which separate those" forms of action "which now exist."

"If the plaintiff had more than one cause of action against a defendant at the same time, he would by that means be relieved from the difficulty under which he is now placed of conjoining them, or electing between them; and a defendant would be able to set forth a good defence with greater facility."—pp. 128–9.

We confess our inability to see the benefit of the proposed change, or what a plaintiff would gain by being able to join a count in *assumpsit* upon a contract for the sale of a horse, with a count in *trespass* for an assault upon his own person. If we suppose this oddly-assorted pair to have travelled to the assizes without having their union prematurely broken by the intervention of any of the forms of pleading, now happily done away, it is impossible, with any degree of seriousness, to conceive the discussion of two such heterogeneous causes before a jury, in one trial. Mr Miller, however, contemplates this extreme case; for to him "the "distinction between actions *ex contractu* and *ex delicto* seems to "have no just foundation." (p. 128.) But the unfitness of a jury to decide upon complicated rights is so apparent, that their functions are continually delegated to arbitrators, wherever the nature of the action, as in *assumpsit*, admits of the examination of various transactions in one suit. Yet the causes of action which the law allows to be so joined, are at least similar in their nature, and have commonly, in fact, such a connexion with each other, that justice could hardly be done if they were separately discussed,—which consideration seems to have led to the overlooking the inconvenience arising from the joinder even of similar causes of action. But it is scarcely possible to conceive a case in which the merits of a demand, which a plaintiff is now *compelled* to enforce by an action *ex delicto*, can be complicated with those of a demand arising upon a contract; and it is, therefore, far better, that if a plaintiff happens to have two such discordant claims upon the same person, he should submit them to the consideration of a jury in distinct actions.

But highly as we rate the utility of precision in pleading, we still bear in mind, that good pleading is only valuable as a means to secure an important end,—namely, that the opposite party

may receive proper information of the nature of the pleader's case, both in law and fact. We think, therefore, that when once that end is answered—when once either party has admitted that his adversary's allegations are intelligible, and such as, if true, entitle him to succeed in the cause—he who has made such an admission, ought not afterwards to be permitted to arrest the judgment by showing defects in the pleadings; and to such an admission, we think, pleading over and going to trial, ought in practice, as it does in theory, to amount. Mr Miller observes justly, though with some inaccuracy of expression,—

"Whatever objections it may be thought proper to allow to the form of the action, or any particular part of the pleadings, ought to be presented in an earlier stage of the cause, as they can scarcely ever have any object, after judgment" (it should have been, after verdict) "has been pronounced, than to elude the ends of substantial justice."—p.156.

It is notorious, that at present, if the defendant is doubtful whether a demurrer will hold, or is apprehensive that the defect in the declaration, if noticed, may be removed by amendment, he does not demur; but first taking the chance of beating the plaintiff at the trial, he then, if defeated, comes to the court after all that expense has been incurred, and moves to have the judgment arrested on the ground of the mispleading of which he has all along been aware; which motion the court is bound to grant, if the defect is in a matter of substance, and is not supplied by necessary inference from the finding of the jury. The reason alleged in support of this practice is, that every judgement of the court being to be preserved as a precedent of authority for future times, the record ought to contain matter sufficient to show that the judgment is according to law, which it is not, if the case of the successful party, as stated on the pleadings, be not such as to warrant it. This reason appears to us unsatisfactory; because, whatever may have been formerly the case, the courts do not now take notice *ex officio* of defects in pleading, and consequently a record upon which their opinion has never been required by the parties, carries with it no authority as a precedent. If, therefore, an act were passed, to take away motions in arrest of judgment, and the record of a judgment posterior in date to the passing of the act were produced to us, the only inference we could gather from it as to the correctness of the pleadings, if it contained no demurrer, would be, that neither party had thought it worth his while to call for the opinion of the Court upon them at the proper period, and consequently, that no such opinion had been given. This is precisely what happens now with regard to defects of mere form; they, as well as matters of substance, are, and ought to be causes of demurrer

when pointed out in due time; but if then passed over, are no ground for arresting the judgment: yet nobody is induced by the judgment to suppose, that the Court has pronounced them to be no defects. If it should be thought hard to compel a party to abandon altogether any defence which he may be able to make against the facts of his adversary's case, if he takes by demurrer a fair though doubtful objection to its legal sufficiency, we should greatly prefer empowering the Court, upon a proper case, to allow a party to plead after judgment against him on demurrer, to the present practice of allowing him in effect to demur after a verdict against him; because the delay and expense would be much less in the former case than in the latter, and as the whole proceeding would be under the control of the Court, it would be much less liable to abuse. What we have said of motions in arrest of judgment, applies equally to writs of error for defects in the pleadings, which ought never to be allowed, unless the plaintiff, in error, has actually by demurrer called for the opinion of the inferior court upon the points.

We have now noticed our author's principal objections to the constitution and procedure of courts of common law. Our limits will not permit us to consider his observations on the mode of Trial by Jury—his reflections upon the hasty and unimpressive manner of administering oaths in courts of justice, or his doubts of the wisdom of our system of imprisonment in execution for debt. We agree with him in the main on these topics; but though they are important, the questions agitated concerning them, in the work before us, do not so involve any great legal principle, as that the decision of them either way would make any important innovation in the law.

The small number of suits commenced in the Exchequer, in comparison of those in Chancery, has induced our author to confine his observations on the constitution of courts of equity, almost exclusively to the latter Court. He assigns the following reasons for preferring a single Judge in equity to several:—

"There is a marked difference between the nature of the causes which are brought into courts of common law, and those which are brought into equity. At common law, there is frequently but one point to be decided, never many, and the judges are seldom required to do more than to declare what the law upon one or more of these points is. Where that is the case, both the questions which arise, and the discussions which take place upon them, are as unembarrassed as they can possibly be; and it is exactly on such occasions that a plurality of judges is attended with the greatest good and least inconvenience. But the causes which are most common in equity are not of this nature. In most of them, the parties and points in dispute are numerous, and the rights which have to be settled spring out of a mul-

titude of deeds and transactions which are always complicated and generally inconsistent. Both in arranging the final decree, therefore, and in settling the intermediate orders and references which the substantial justice of the case requires, great latitude must necessarily be left to the Judge; much interlocutory conversation takes place between him and the counsel; and as two people seldom agree respecting the course of inquiry or discussion it would be most expedient in such case to pursue, the learning and discretion of one Judge is more likely, than the conflicting counsels of several, to conduct the business, at the least expense of time and money, to that termination which is most reasonable and consistent in itself, and most satisfactory to all parties who are interested in the issue."—pp. 46, 47.

Besides which, not only has the Chancellor the power of calling for the assistance of other Judges, both of common law and equity, in his own court, when he thinks it expedient, but all the Judges of the Court of Chancery have the opportunity of sending cases to the courts of law, for their opinion upon such points of law as are frequently raised in equitable suits, and create considerable difficulty in the decision of them. It is much to be regretted, that such opinions are of less service to the law in general than they might be, in consequence of the disuse of the practice which once obtained, of the Judges delivering them openly, with their reasons, in their own courts. The advantage of such a practice, in making the decision of each case tend to the establishment or confirmation of some legal principle, is evident;—the only excuse for its discontinuance, is the overwhelming accumulation of the demands on the time of the court and Judges—an excuse which is, indeed, unanswerable; but the use of which, unfortunately, lessens the weight of those opinions, as much as the manner in which they are given diminishes their utility.

The sittings of the Master of the Rolls, who, though a very high and responsible officer, is, in the eye of the law, only an assistant to the Lord Chancellor, have been so fixed as not to interfere with those of his principal. Therefore, as there are only about twenty juridical days in the year, namely, a few days immediately after the close of each term, upon which the Chancellor does not sit if not prevented by other duties—and his sittings are always in the morning—the Master of the Rolls, except upon those days, sits in the evening, or rather in the night, for his court opens at six, and scarcely ever closes till ten, and often later. He also sits in the morning for an hour before the Chancellor's court opens; but this is only for the despatch of such business as is almost of course. There was perhaps formerly some wisdom in this arrangement, when the quantity of business in the Court of Chancery was not more than the Chan-

cellor and the Master of the Rolls could manage within the hours allotted to them, nor were the counsel practising at the Chancery bar sufficiently numerous to supply two courts sitting at once; when, too, the habits of the age so divided the day by the principal meal, that every man was refreshed, and ready for what was then called evening work, at the same time of the day when he is now faint and exhausted with the labour of the protracted morning. But when the business of the Court of Chancery had increased so much, that even the industry and abilities of Lord Eldon and Sir W. Grant were unequal to its weight, and the necessity of appointing a third Judge brought with it the necessity of having (at least sometimes) two Judges sitting at the same hours, it would certainly have been wise to remodel at once the whole distribution of judicial labour, with reference to the exigencies and habits of modern times.

"If the sittings of the Rolls Court were now to be appointed for the first time, there probably is not a single individual to be found who would recommend them to take place at the intervals of time and hour of the day at which they are now held. Why, then, should they not be altered? . . . .
No objection has ever been made to the adoption of this proposal, except that it would alter the situation and duties of a well-known officer, and might prevent the practice of a portion of the bar from being quite so lucrative as it otherwise would. Neither of them is deserving of much consideration. It is undoubtedly true, that no officer, either judicial or political, ought to have his character or duties altered, unless it can be clearly shown that the exigencies of the state require it. In this instance, the existing exigency will not be desired; the projected change is liable to as little inconvenience and danger, as can ever attach to a measure of a similar nature; and to insist that the Master of the Rolls should sit only two days, instead of three, and at six at night, instead of ten in the morning, for no other reason than because he has hitherto been accustomed to do so, would evince a disregard of public opinion and perverse hostility to rational improvement, which no person in the present day will be forward to exhibit. The effect which such a measure would have upon the bar is entitled to still less attention. If the interests of the country and the bar can be consulted at the same time, they ought in every case to be so. But the instant they become incompatible, there can be no room for hesitation which of them ought to yield. It is the duty of the bar to accommodate itself to the circumstances of the country,—not that of the country to accommodate itself to the bar; and both the public and the bar will eventually sustain equal injury in every instance where this principle is either counteracted or forgotten."—pp. 52, 53.

In truth, the objection taken in favour of the interest of the bar is as weak as can well be imagined, though we have no doubt of its having been that which has chiefly prevented the change. If it were rendered ever so impracticable for the lead-

ers of the Chancery bar to be concerned at once in causes before the Master of the Rolls and the Vice-Chancellor, it is plain that they might still employ as much of their time in court as is spent there by their brethren of the common law; and the labours of the former branch of the profession are certainly not less adequately recompensed than those of the latter.

Though the Master of the Rolls is, theoretically, only an assistant to the Chancellor, he is, in practice, to a considerable extent, independent of him; but the Vice-Chancellor is, by the express terms of the act which created his office, (53 G. 3 c. 24,) subjected entirely to the direction of the Chancellor, both as to the matter of his jurisdiction, and the times of exercising it; a state of dependence in which we think, with Mr Miller, that the Vice-Chancellor is too high an officer to be placed. The changes which we conceive it would be proper to make in the duties of the Judges of the Court of Chancery, will, however, be more conveniently introduced hereafter. We decline following our author through his observations on the subordinate offices and the procedure of the Court of Chancery. These have been, since the publication of his book, very minutely considered by Commissioners, whose report is now before Parliament and the public: no new discussion, which did not include their propositions, could deserve attention; and such an examination of these latter as our limits would allow, would be unworthy of the importance of the subject.

That Mr Miller has justly represented the modern constitution of the House of Lords, as the Supreme Court of appellate jurisdiction, to be in the highest degree defective, will, we suppose, be universally admitted. Formerly, when the number of appeals was small, it was not difficult for the Chancellor to bestow such a portion of his own time, and to obtain such assistance from other Peers, as was requisite for the purpose of hearing them. But lately, when the accumulation of appeals had rendered this evidently impossible, the House, by a standing order, compelled the attendance of so many of its members, by daily rotation, as would make up the number sufficient, by its already existing rules, to transact business; and the noble Lord, then Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, and afterwards Master of the Rolls, was appointed deputy-speaker, for the purpose of hearing appeals two days in the week, in addition to the three on which only the Chancellor's other duties permitted him to attend. The theoretical absurdity of the first branch of this arrangement is too glaring to escape notice; but the appointment of a deputy-speaker is, perhaps, still more open to objection. It lessens the importance of the Chancellor, by sending

him to preside in an inferior court, while another judge occupies that eminent place, which sound reason, as well as long established prescription, had made the people of England consider the Head of the law alone competent to fill. It lessens the dignity of the House itself, by placing it under the presidency of a judge inferior in rank, and who must, therefore, be presumed inferior in talent, to one who is sitting elsewhere; and it tends to introduce an invidious distinction between the importance of English appeals, which are heard by the speaker himself, and Scotch appeals, which are heard by the deputy,—a distribution of business which was nevertheless necessary, to avoid the extreme absurdity of the Master of the Rolls hearing appeals from the judgment of the Chancellor. It is true, that this arrangement was understood to be only temporary; but the recent appointment of the learned Judges, the Master of the Rolls, and the Chief Baron, to supply the vacancy occasioned by the death of the late noble deputy, shows, that the period when the office can be dispensed with, is still at an indefinite, and, we fear, a considerable distance.

We readily acknowledge, that it is much easier to point out defects, than to suggest amendments, in an established order of things; yet we venture with great diffidence to offer the following outline of a modification of our present judicial system, into which we have endeavoured to introduce the changes required by the necessities of modern times, with as little violence as possible to the forms which have been rendered venerable by the practice of our ancestors. We propose, then, that during the session of Parliament, the Chancellor should devote himself exclusively to the House of Lords, excepting such occasional adjournments as he may find necessary for the despatch of very urgent business in cases of Lunacy or Bankruptcy; in both of which, all such matters as do not require immediate decision should be heard only when Parliament is not sitting: And for the purpose of securing to the Chancellor a competent number of assistants in the House, the Master of the Rolls, the Vice-Chancellor, and the common law Judges, should, *ex officio*, have place and voice in it when it sits as a court of justice, and then only; not, of course, hereby excluding such of them as may be Peers from their rights as such. We are not supposing that it would be practicable, or even desirable, that all, or even any considerable number of the judges, should attend at once. Upon very extraordinary occasions, their assistance might be expected, and required, as it is now, except that they would be summoned as members, instead of advisers only; but ordinarily, we should propose that the Chancellor, and two other

members, whether Peers or Judges, should be sufficient to make a house for the despatch of judicial business; and it should be understood, that the presence of two of the Judges would always be expected, the rest being left at liberty to give or withhold their attendance at their discretion. We have already hinted our opinion, that a fifth Judge might advantageously be added to each of the courts of common law; and we think that the duties imposed upon these additional Judges, particularly in the Courts of Common Pleas and Exchequer, would not occupy so much of their time, as to interfere with their sitting in the House of Lords.

The business of the Welsh Circuits might perhaps also be conveniently assigned to these Judges, or they might be very usefully employed in assisting to despatch the business, which now accumulates upon the English Circuits to such an amount, that much of it is often of necessity left undone; and as it is not usual for the two Chief Justices to go the Spring Circuits, *they* would then be at liberty to attend as judicial members of the House. The Master of the Rolls and the Vice-Chancellor could not, from the nature of their duties, attend either regularly or frequently; but we think they should be members as well as the other Judges, because they are superior to most of them in rank and in the importance of their offices, and because, on some very important occasions, their assistance would be so much more valuable than that of the other Judges, that they might with propriety be called away from their own Courts to bestow it. This arrangement would in no way interfere with the judicial authority now possessed by each individual peer, except, indeed, so far as that authority would be lessened by being communicated to a greater number of persons; while the circumstance that the Chancellor would be the permanent head of the court, of which the Judges would be only members occasionally attending, would still preserve him in the possession of that preponderant authority which he ought to have in the House, and at the same time, if the presence of other members is supposed necessary as a check upon him, (which seems the only reason why he might not as well sit alone as with his present compulsory assistants,) the Judges would fill that office with much more effect, and their legal habits and learning would prevent the House from falling into that error which the Peers have sometimes committed, of confounding their judicial with their legislative functions, and forgetting that when they sit as a court of justice, they are to administer the law as it is, not to make it what it ought to be. The alteration here proposed in the composition of the House of Lords as a court of appeal, is in fact little more than

a restoration of what was, in the opinion of Lord Hale, (*Jurisdiction of the House of Lords,*) its original constitution. If, however, this change should be thought too great, we still think that at least the Chancellor should, while the House is sitting, give his whole attention, with the exceptions above mentioned, to the discharge of his duties as president of that court, and that no other person ought to take any share in those duties. It follows of course, that if the Chancellor's time is occupied as above proposed, he cannot perform any duty as an original Judge in the Court of Chancery during the Sessions of Parliament. Nor do we think it at all desirable that he should do so, either then or at any other time. It would be much better that there should be two Judges holding regular morning sittings in the Court of Chancery, than that, as is now the case, the Vice-Chancellor only should sit regularly in the morning, and the Master of the Rolls a few evenings in the week, while the Chancellor avails himself of the intervals left open to him by his other duties, to hold morning sittings of occasional and irregular occurrence, and uncertain length. We concur, then, in Mr Miller's opinion, that the Master of the Rolls ought to sit at the same times as the Vice-Chancellor, and that if he so sits,—

"he ought to be released from his attendance upon appeals before the Privy Council. . . . The part which he ought to take in the proceedings of the Privy Council as a court of justice, has never been sufficiently defined. His presence there at all is entirely optional, and he himself hardly knows how much attendance he ought voluntarily to give, nor how much his Majesty's Ministers have a right to expect. The continuance of such an arrangement does not seem to be on any account desirable."—p. 54.

The Master of the Rolls and the Vice-Chancellor, then, having neither of them any official duty to perform which could interfere with the devotion of their time to their respective courts, and being completely independent of each other, the uninterrupted attendance of a portion of the Bar might be secured to each of them, as the nature of their functions would exclude the objections which have been urged against a division of the Chancery Bar between the Chancellor and Vice-Chancellor, namely, that, as the Chancellor's sittings are frequently interrupted by his other duties, his Bar would have considerable portions of their time unemployed, to the great diminution of their emolument, and that, as an appeal lies from the Vice-Chancellor to the Chancellor, it is advantageous both for the suitors and the Judges, that counsel who have been engaged on the original hearing in one court, should also attend in the other upon the appeal. But, as between the Master of the Rolls and Vice-Chancellor, such a separation might be effectually enforced, as

far as it would be desirable, by a peremptory rule that no cause or motion should be allowed to stand over on account of the absence of counsel, unless upon an application addressed to the court, under the hand of such counsel, assigning some good cause of absence, which his attendance in the other equal branch of the Court of Chancery should not be admitted to be. Every suit should, at its first institution, be assigned either to the Master of the Rolls or the Vice-Chancellor, and every proceeding in it should take place before the same Judge. Lunacy should remain under the exclusive jurisdiction of the person holding the Great Seal; and whatever alterations may be made in the inferior jurisdiction in Bankruptcy, the supreme control of that branch of justice should be exercised by the Chancellor alone. He also should discharge the duties now performed by the Master of the Rolls in the Privy Council, that all the tribunals of the last resort might partake of the influence of the first legal mind in the kingdom.

Thus far we have rather increased than lessened the weight of his present labours; but our next proposition will tend considerably to lighten them. We are clearly of opinion that several stages of appeal are in the highest degree burdensome and vexatious, and where the Judge who presides in the lowest court in the series is of such high rank and estimation as the Master of the Rolls or the Vice-Chancellor, must be unnecessary. It is certainly proper that the sentence even of these dignified courts should be subject to one revision; but we would allow of only one, and that should be by the House of Lords. This regulation is not intended to exclude a rehearing before the Judge who originally decided the cause, a proceeding which may be often useful for the purpose of rectifying mistakes, or supplying deficiencies in the first judgment. But when that Judge has finally made up his mind upon the subject, nothing short of the highest authority should be suffered to reverse his decree. It is of the greatest consequence that the suitors should be able to obtain in a reasonable time, and at a moderate expense, the decision of a competent Judge upon their rights; but this once done, *expedit reipublicæ ut sit finis litium*, and no encouragement should be given to carry doubtful or petty claims before a higher tribunal. As the House of Lords sits during a part only of the juridical year, and the duties which we have above ventured to assign to the Chancellor would probably not occupy the whole of the time of his court during the prorogation of Parliament, we should farther suggest that the House of Lords might, upon the application, or at least with the consent, of both parties, refer any appeal to the Chancellor, whose decision upon any appeal so referred, should be final.

This plan might perhaps meet the views of those eminent persons who, in consideration of the heavy expense incurred by an appeal to the House of Lords, have proposed to allow appeals from the Master of the Rolls and Vice-Chancellor to the Chancellor, at the option of the appellant; but in such cases to make his Lordship's decision final, if it affirmed that of the court below, and to permit an appeal from him to the House of Lords, only where he *reversed* the original decree, or pronounced the case a proper one to be carried to the court of the last resort;—a measure which we should consider a very great improvement upon the present practice, though we still think it less calculated to give satisfaction to the suitors, as well as less effective than that above suggested, because, under the latter, one stage of appeal must in all events decide the cause. The amount of appeals to the House of Lords, under the system here proposed, would, we think, so far fall short of the aggregate amount of appeals to the House of Lords and appeals to the Chancellor, according to the present practice, that the labours of the latter would be considerably diminished by the entire result of the new arrangement.

We disapprove of the numerous gradations of courts of error at law, as much as of the multiplied steps of appeal in equity, and on the same grounds. There is no reason, except usage, why the Court of Common Pleas should be placed under the perpetual tuition of the King's Bench. This course of appeal was wise in its first institution, when, with very few exceptions, all suits between subject and subject originated in the former court, and the specific duty of the King's Bench, in civil cases, was to correct the errors of other courts of record. Then the writ of error to the King's Bench gave the suitors an opportunity of having the judgment once reviewed; and with the result of that review it was probably expected that they would be satisfied, unless in cases of the highest difficulty and importance. So, when, in later times, the Court of King's Bench had acquired the jurisdiction which it now exercises concurrently with the Common Pleas in all personal actions, and the unconstitutional infrequency of Parliaments had left the suitors almost wholly destitute of opportunity to appeal from its judgment, the legislature, by the 27 Eliz. c. 8, provided a court of error in the Exchequer Chamber, for which the statute itself assigns the infrequency of Parliaments, and consequent delay of justice, as the reason. We conceive, therefore, that now, when Parliament is certain to sit every year, and the hearing of appeals is become a regular and important part of the business of the House of Lords, there is no good cause why the suitor should be liable to be dragged through two stages of appeal, and that

the system so happily begun in a late session of Parliament, (1825,) of preventing writs of error for the purpose of delay, would receive a great improvement, if the writ of error were made to lie from all the superior courts of common law immediately to the House of Lords.

Mr Miller's remarks on the doctrines of common law and equity are in general valuable, though his conclusions are, in our judgment, sometimes erroneous. We must content ourselves with noticing one instance on which we dissent from, and one on which we agree with him. He thinks that

" That part of the common law of England which pronounces agreements without consideration, otherwise termed voluntary agreements, to be invalid, might be submitted to re-examination."—p. 251. " That it may be fairly questioned whether the distinction which now subsists in courts of common law between deeds and agreements, ought not to receive some modification."—p. 254.

And he goes on to suggest that the sealing and delivery of deeds might be dispensed with, and signing in the presence of witnesses substituted for them. There is here some little inaccuracy of expression, as though the author had forgotten for a moment that an agreement may be under seal, and consequently may be a deed. We shall understand him, however, as he probably means to be understood, to say, first, that the law ought to enforce a voluntary agreement, though not proved by an instrument executed in legal form; and, secondly, that the form appointed by the law for the execution of those solemn instruments which are to express the final settlement of transactions, and which, supposing fraud out of the case, are to be unimpeachable as between the parties, ought to be altered. Admitting the obligation *in foro conscientiæ* of gratuitous promises, we think it would be highly dangerous for any human legislature to *enforce* the performance of such promises, unless they are proved by such evidence as may clearly show, not only that they were actually made,—made deliberately, and with a firm intention on the part of the promiser, according to the understanding of the other party at the time, of binding himself thereby,—but also whether they were made under any, and what conditions, qualifications, or restrictions. Now, a very desirable quality of such evidence is, that it should be in writing. We all know how liable mere verbal agreements are to be misrepresented by the mistake or villainy of the witnesses called in to establish them; so much so, indeed, that the legislature has declared, that in certain specified cases, which have been supposed peculiarly open to frauds of this description, no agreement, even though upon the most valuable consideration, shall be valid, unless reduced to writing;

and the principle of this law has been generally approved, though objections have been made to some of its details. Yet where an agreement is stated to have been made upon a matter of bargain, we have much better means of judging both of its reality and honesty, than where it depends upon mere gratuitous promise. In the former case, we are not obliged to rely wholly on the testimony of witnesses; the value of the objects alleged to have been contracted for on either side, is capable of being ascertained, and the probability of the supposed contract having been made, may be estimated accordingly. But when we come to deal with gratuitous promises, we are entirely deprived of this guide; and if the situation of the parties be not such as to render it glaringly unlikely that any promise at all should have passed between them, we are left quite at the mercy of witnesses, both as to the reality and the terms of the gift which they come forward to prove. Thus far we believe Mr Miller would agree with us, as his reasoning on voluntary agreements is confined to such as are written. Assuming, then, that the law ought not to enforce a gratuitous promise unless it be in writing, the only question that remains is, how this writing ought to be authenticated? The answer of the law of England is, by the party who is to be charged thereby, sealing and delivering it as his deed; though, as a farther security against fraud, his signature also is in many, and we think should be in all cases required, as it is in practice universally added to the seal. Now, our author proposes to abolish altogether the necessity of sealing, and to make signing in the presence of witnesses equivalent. We cannot see any good reason for this change. The act which is to authenticate an instrument must, in the first instance, be a matter of positive institution; but be it what it may, it acquires in process of time a degree of importance in the public mind, which makes every man feel that he must not do it negligently, and without due consideration of the contents of the writing to which it relates. Sealing has acquired this degree of importance in English eyes; we believe there is scarcely a peasant to be found who does not know that it is an act requiring considerable caution, and this generally received opinion of the serious consequence of this form is a sufficient reason against altering it. But supposing it to be altered, and signing in the presence of witnesses substituted; we have now a new mode of executing deeds, but the question will recur, What is to be the effect of a writing signed by the party without that formality? We have now got back again to a voluntary agreement without consideration, evidenced, indeed, by writing, but that writing not formally executed; and we have no difficulty in saying that such an agreement ought not to be en-

forced. The formality either of executing a deed according to the present practice, or signing a writing before witnesses, according to Mr Miller's proposal, is a matter that may be got through at any time, with quite as much despatch as can be seriously thought necessary to the making a voluntary gift of a man's property; and that being so, there is no conceivable reason why whoever makes a voluntary promise, should not do so in the manner which the law declares shall alone make it valid, except that he has not quite made up his mind upon the matter, and intends to keep the subject still in his own power; his refusal or delay to execute the formal act is, in fact, a sufficient notification of that intention, and ought to put the other party on his guard against acting on the faith of such an incomplete undertaking.

Mr Miller has, with much justice, reprobated the manner in which courts of equity have "overstepped their proper limits by "depriving parties of legal rights, or relieving them against the "effect of legal obligations." (p. 284.) He supports his own opinion by the authority of Lord Hardwicke, Lord Rosslyn, Lord Alvanley, and Sir W. Grant, all of whom have deplored the introduction of such a principle of interference, while they felt themselves bound by prior decisions, to act in conformity to it. The instances noticed by our author are the extension of times, fixed by agreements for the performance of contracts or payment of money, the restraining the common law rights of tenants for life without impeachment of waste,—the aiding the defective execution of powers in some cases, and controlling their execution in others,—and the interfering with the legal rights of executors to the undisposed residue of their testator's estates, and of husbands to the personal property of their wives. In all these cases, the well meant efforts of courts of equity to do good have been productive of evil. In the cases of extension of time, it happens almost constantly, that the party who has the law on his side, suffers an inconvenience quite equal to the benefit given to his adversary.

"Compassion and their own interest, almost always prompt suitors to exercise sufficient forbearance and indulgence to one another, and the less courts of equity interfere in private arrangements of this nature, the public interest will be the more effectually consulted. They seldom have it in their power to do more than shift the grievance, and generally end in leaving it upon the shoulders of the wrong party." —p. 285.

In the other classes of cases, the doctrines maintained by courts of equity have introduced a degree of uncertainty as to the rights of parties, which is painful even to the Judges who have to decide upon them. If the law was wrong upon these points, Parlia-

ment should have altered it; if any individual was dissatisfied with it as applicable to a particular case, he might, by express provision, have prevented its operation; but the interference of courts of equity with a legal right, acquired without fraud on the one hand, or the intervention of accident or mistake on the other, was a direct violation of the limits of their own power, and an assumption of that which belonged to the Legislature. For the office of those courts is not to make law, or to relieve individuals from hardships inherent in the law itself, but merely to compel men to act up to the spirit of the law, and to prevent them from converting it into a cloak or an engine of injustice, where the particular circumstances of their cases give them an opportunity of violating its intent, without transgressing the letter. We do not, however, mean to charge courts of equity with this assumption as voluntary. They were, no doubt, betrayed into it by little and little; and the changes which their decrees tended to introduce in the law, were at first scarcely perceptible. So much the worse, however, was it for the law. If the equity Judges had felt that they were legislating, they would have stopped short at once; or, if they had still dared to go on, they would have legislated better, and not have destroyed the old law, which had at least the merit of being clear, well defined, and easy to be understood, for the purpose of substituting in its place a system so irregular and anomalous as the present. The evasion of statutes passed for the quieting of titles and prevention of suits, is an error of the same description, and one into which courts of law, as well as of equity, have fallen. The statute of limitations is a striking instance. The courts have so pared down the effect of its provisions for barring actions on stale demands, first by holding that the statute does not extinguish, but only suspends the demand, which is capable of being revived by a subsequent acknowledgment, and then by discovering such an acknowledgement in language, which, to any common apprehension, would convey quite an opposite meaning, that no man can now rely upon the statute for that protection which it was designed to afford.

In his Second chapter, Mr Miller proposes the amendment of the law by consolidating, declaratory, and remedial acts of Parliament; acts of the two first descriptions being required to remove the uncertainty in which the law upon various subjects is now involved, owing to the multifarious and contradictory nature of the various authorities from which it is to be collected; of the third, to remedy acknowledged imperfections in the present system. To these, he adds, acts for the simplification of the law

of real property. Of the necessity of consolidating and declaratory acts, the Legislature is now pretty well convinced, and the labour which some of its leading members have bestowed, and are bestowing upon the subject, entitles them to the highest praise. There are a sufficient number of points in which all would agree that our present law is defective, to furnish them with some employment also in the preparation of remedial laws; and we think, several of our author's suggestions on this head deserving of consideration. For instance, that when the merits of the case require that one of the parties to a suit should pay the full costs of the other, the sum to be paid should cover every charge which the party receiving it has reasonably incurred, which is notoriously far from being the case at present; that the King, or in other words, the public, should pay the costs of revenue proceedings, where the defendant succeeds (and, we suppose, receive them where the crown succeeds); and that the courts of either member of the United Kingdom should be enabled, in civil cases, as they are now in criminal, to require the testimony of witnesses resident within the boundary of any other member. Mr Miller thinks this last principle might be extended by mutual consent, and under proper regulations, to the courts even of foreign states with which we are in amity: But we cannot go quite so far as this, even in pursuit of justice: we tremble at the thought of a Russian Subpœna.

Our author recommends that the law of real property should be simplified by the enfranchisement of copyholds—the abolition of seisin, and substitution of registration—legislative enactments respecting the transmission of real property by operation of law, or the will of the party—amendment of the means by which real property may be charged, for the purpose of raising money, or making provisions for wives and children, &c., and (what would be the natural result of the other improvements) greater brevity and perspicuity in conveyances. On the first head, we shall content ourselves with expressing our concurrence in the opinions contained in the following extracts:—

"It is not necessary to enter into any detail of the peculiarities by which that species of property (copyhold) is distinguished, the fines and forfeitures to which it is subject, nor the inconsistencies and absurdities to which the continuance of it has given occasion. . . . . . As far as the pecuniary interest of landholders is concerned, the enfranchisement of copyholds would be a decidedly beneficial measure. . . . . To lords, it would in every instance bring an accession of fortune, and to copyholders great and grateful relief. They would be for ever freed from the endless interference, attendances, and exactions to which they are now obliged to submit, and which, under the mild-

est form and management, continue so galling and inconvenient, that there are few copyholders who would not gladly commute them for an equivalent far beyond their real value. Since the enactment of 12 Charles II. c, 2, which put an end to feudal holdings and their appendages, it might have been expected that copyholders would long ago have been suffered to participate in the blessings which it brought, as they stand in precisely the same relation to the lord of the manor that the lord of the manor, before the passing of that act, did to the king; and when the lord's own feudal bondage was remitted, one does not see upon what principle of justice and reason he should refuse, upon tender of a fair equivalent, to remit that which his own vassals owed to him. Such a measure would be as advantageous to the country at large, as to the private parties more immediately interested. It would admit copyholders to the elective franchise; their exclusion from which is the greatest grievance of which they now complain—it would preclude all future disputes about timber, mines, game, and heriots, which do more to destroy peace and good neighbourhood than all other causes of difference put together; and would promote the accumulation and investment of capital, by giving every man the absolute and unlimited enjoyment of property which he already felt to be substantially his own. The 55 Geo. III. c. 192, which enabled a copyholder to dispose of copyhold property, though not surrendered to the use of his will, stopped much of that litigation which copyholds had previously occasioned, and it is to be hoped that many years will not elapse before their complete enfranchisement will close the door upon all the rest."—pp. 377 382, 383.

The value of the remaining propositions will perhaps be best estimated, by examining them with reference to the following considerations. The intricacy of our modern system of real property does not proceed from any obscurity in the ancient doctrines of the law, for they are generally plain and intelligible enough; but from their unsuitableness to the exigencies of an advanced state of society. The invention of conveyancers has been constantly exercised for several centuries, in devising means to evade these unaccommodating restraints, as fast as their injurious effect upon the transmission or enjoyment of property became apparent. Their labours have certainly not been in vain. With the connivance of the courts of law, and the assistance of those of equity, they have effected a real, though an unrecognised change in the law in many most important particulars.

Thus, the old law was, that no freehold interest in land could be conveyed by the owner to any person, (except a tenant in actual possession of the land,) without actual delivery of possession, technically called livery of seisin. This law, which was intended as a security against fraud, by giving notoriety to all transfers of property in land, remains unrepealed at this day;

but a statute,* passed with quite another view, gave the conveyancers a loophole whereby to evade it; and it is now scarcely ever complied with in practice. Again, the law says that a widow shall have for her life the third part of all the lands in which her husband had, at any time during the coverture, an estate of inheritance; but the conveyancers and the Court of Chancery have invented a process by which, while the husband acquires the most absolute dominion over an estate, the wife may be effectually barred of her dower. Once more, the law says, a married woman shall neither dispose of the profits, nor (except by a public and solemn proceeding in a court of justice) of the capital of her landed estate, but that the former shall belong to her husband, and the latter, after her death, or in cases where the surviving husband becomes tenant by the courtesy, after his death, to her heirs. But the conveyancers can, by a settlement before her marriage, reserve to her a power which even the courts of law will recognise, to dispose of the capital of her estate by a common deed, or even less formal instrument; and, by the help of their still more indulgent ally, the Court of Chancery, they can even give her the annual profits, independent of her husband's control.

We by no means intend to say, that the allowance of such dispositions as are effected by these devices, and others from the same manufactory, may not, under the circumstances of these times, be more beneficial than a rigid adherence to ancient rules: But we do say, that if the Legislature recognises the propriety of such a change, it ought, by one operation, to spare the legal machinists the necessity of performing their daily work by means of combinations of pullies and levers always expensive, for ever liable to get out of order, and so difficult to be managed, that even in the hands of the most accomplished artists, they often produce effects cruelly different from what were intended. The principle upon which the Legislature ought to act in such cases is, that whenever a rule of law is found to be evaded in practice, the rule should be attentively considered both with reference to its original design, and its applicability to the circumstances of present times, and should, according to the result of such investigation, be either so remodelled as to prevent evasion in future, or directly repealed. It is quite obvious, that whenever an evasion of the law is become habitual, and its effect unimpeachable, still more if the practice of it is recognised by the Legislature, it amounts substantially to a repeal of the law, no effect of which remains ex-

* The statute 27 H. VIII. c. 10, for transferring uses into possession

cept the inconvenient necessity of doing an allowed act by a circuitous, instead of a direct mode. If this only increased the length of conveyances, the evil would not be a slight one; but it does not stop there. All these evasions are, and must be, practised under the colour, and by the use of forms originally applicable to quite different purposes; and hence arises the necessity of framing every deed with reference to two objects instead of one;—first, to make the formal machinery of evasion so complete, as to take the subject matter out of the rule of law, and then to express the real intention of the instrument. The consequence of this is, that the design of the parties has a double chance of failure; for it may not only be itself insufficiently expressed, but, even though it should be ever so clear, and ever so conformable to the spirit of the modern rules of law, yet it may be impossible to carry it into effect, because the part of the deed that was intended to evade an obsolete regulation, happens to be inartificially framed. These evils might be obviated by a law to remove all such restraints upon the disposition of property as are found to be beneficially evaded in modern practice. The whole system of conveyances operating under the statute of uses, and all the array of trustees in whom no trust is really reposed, but who are mere men of straw, dressed out to fill up the gaps through which the common lawyers would otherwise force their way into the fortress of a settlement, would thus be done away; an immense step towards the simplification of the law. But as the present forms of conveyancing would be inapplicable to such a state of things, and it is to be feared that the abundant caution of the practitioners might lead to some degree of verboseness in those which must be invented, it would be a still farther improvement if the Legislature were to set forth forms of all such assurances as are in most common request, and thereby exhibit a pattern which might be imitated in the construction of such as are of more unusual occurrence. Such a collection of authoritative precedents would be of inestimable value for the attainment of brevity, because it would leave no room for that doubt as to the effect of a particular word or phrase, which the most judicious conveyancer may often feel, and which, knowing well that a mistake once made cannot afterwards be rectified, he, of course, obviates, not by leaving out the word or phrase which he himself thinks best calculated to convey his meaning, but by adding another which may happen to be more intelligible to minds differently constituted.

Many other amendments might, doubtless, be made in our law of real property;—thus, for the sake of facilitating the know-

ledge of the law by rendering it uniform, all local customs varying from the general law of Descent, which is in the main sensible, and what is, at least, equally important, very intelligible, ought to be abolished, and that law itself should, in some few particulars, be revised; for the security of titles and convenience of purchasers, a general Registration of deeds and wills ought to be established and strictly enforced; and for the sake of justice to creditors, land ought to be charged, by the operation of law, with the Simple Contract-debts of a deceased owner, who could have so charged it by his own act. But our limits preclude us from farther expatiating on so wide a field.

For the same reason we shall glance but slightly on the topics discussed in our author's last chapter; and we the less regret the necessity of so doing, because on many of them there exists scarcely any difference of opinion,—as, for instance, on the propriety of having the proceedings in courts of justice carried on in public, the buildings wherein they are held, convenient both for those who are concerned in, and those who are mere spectators of their transactions, and the system of judicature simple and uniform,—while others are of such a nature as to involve questions which, though of considerable interest, scarcely admit of any general solution, but must be decided as well as circumstances will admit upon each particular emergency—such are the qualifications of Judges, and the mode of selecting them. The subject, however, of the following observations, demands a distinct notice:

"There is one other point which so greatly affects the system of judicature, that it ought not to pass wholly unnoticed. It is, whether all the tribunals which it recognises should be permanent, or whether some, and which of them, and to what degree, ought not to be rendered ambulatory. There are decided advantages and disadvantages to be met with either way. There is no state in Europe where the judges of the supreme courts of law make annual circuits round the whole country, except in the British empire; nor is there any other method by which the whole body of the subjects are enabled to avail themselves of so much ability on the Bench and at the Bar, with so much convenience, and at so little comparative expense. On the other hand, if courts were to continue ambulatory too long, the life led would become so disagreeable, that men of the highest reputation would cease to preside in them, or to practise before them; and even though they did, their attention would become so dissipated by change of place, that the faculties of the mind could not be brought to bear upon any subject with their usual energy. Besides all this, if there is a press of business, and the time of the court at any one place is limited, the Bench and the Bar are apt to become impatient, and to despatch business with much greater rapidity than the difficulty of causes will warrant, and by contrivances to which they ought never to be permitted to resort. This is said very

often now to happen; and it is a sort of mal-administration of justice which cannot be guarded against with too much vigilance. From this last defect, permanent provincial courts are more likely to be free. But besides the disadvantage of forming an additional step in the ascending scale of appellate jurisdictions, there is a strong disposition everywhere prevailing, to be dissatisfied with what is nominally of a secondary order, and the indolence or contraction of mind which a provincial residence frequently induces, is apt to make the value of the judgments of these courts secondary, in reality as well as in appearance. It may, therefore, be desirable to postpone the establishment of these courts as long as it can, and to provide a sufficient supply of judges belonging to the supreme courts, deliberately to dispose of all the causes which are set down before them, within a period not exceeding the six weeks during which the longest circuit is supposed to last." —pp. 435, 436.

In fact, the result of the press of business upon the circuits at present is, that many of the causes brought to the assizes for trial are not tried at all. The time allowed is barely sufficient to get through the business, even if all the causes run off lightly; but if it happens, as is generally the case, that some of them hang rather longer on the hands of the court than was expected, the parties in those which are late on the list must make up their minds, either to refer their causes to arbitration, or to let them stand over to the next assizes. The first of these courses is, indeed, very often adopted, for reasons quite unconnected with the pressure of business of which we are now speaking. Many causes—those, for instance, which involve the examination of intricate accounts—are in their nature so unfit to be decided by a jury, that the influence of a judge's recommendation is most beneficially exercised in inducing the parties to consent to a reference, which obstinacy, ignorance, or irritation, on one or both sides, could alone have prevented them from agreeing to of their own accord. Where, however, the cause is of a kind proper for trial by jury, a reference is by no means a satisfactory mode of terminating it. The parties lose the assistance of their leading counsel, who do not attend upon references, and are obliged to take the much less weighty opinion of the arbitrator, probably one of the juniors of the Bar, upon any point of law, instead of that of the judge, with the additional disadvantage, in general, of not being able to set right any mistake of his by an application for a new trial to the court out of which the record issued. Deferring the cause to the next assizes is in the highest degree inconvenient to the suitor;—all the expense of bringing witnesses, perhaps from a considerable distance, to the county town, must be incurred over again, and the trouble and inconvenience of preparing for trial again encountered.

These evils will appear still more serious, if we consider that, as the special jury causes are generally placed late, sometimes last in the list, (an arrangement which becomes necessary, because the special jurors are often engaged during the early part of the assizes as grand jurors in the Crown Court,) the causes which are thus put off from one assize to another, are generally the most important as well as the most troublesome and expensive in preparation. Nothing can be more disappointing to the suitor than to be thus refused a hearing, and sent home to suffer, for six months longer, the anxiety of suspense, from which he had expected to be delivered at once; and, though necessity may justify the refusal in each particular instance, no justification can be found for permitting the habitual recurrence of the necessity. An increase in the number of the Judges is the only remedy that appears likely to be effectual; but we feel that, if it should be adopted, there would be considerable doubt as to the proper mode of applying it. It would probably be impracticable to add another Judge to each or any of the existing circuits, so as to have two *Nisi Prius* courts sitting at once, because of the difficulty of effecting a division of the causes between them. Upon every circuit there are commonly one or two favourite leaders, without whom it is thought impossible for any business to be properly conducted, till death, infirmity, or promotion removes them, when others are soon found to supply their places. But, in the mean time, they are engaged in every suit; so that it would be difficult to find in the whole list even one or two pairs of causes that could be satisfactorily tried at the same time; and to reduce the whole business of an assize to such an arrangement would be quite impracticable, unless the leaders were to run from court to court, leaving their unfinished causes, as soon as they had performed their own more especial duties in them, to the care of their juniors, a practice so detrimental to the interest of their clients, that no scheme could be tolerable which tended to introduce it. Nor would anything be gained in this case, by obliging each counsel to confine himself to one of the two courts. For either all the favourite leaders would go to one court, and then the other would be reduced to a state of inefficiency; or, if the counsel were more equally distributed, parties would frequently find themselves deprived at short notice, either by accident or the manœuvres of a crafty opponent, of the power of trying their causes in that court which was attended by the counsel who had advised them in the previous stages of their business, and was well acquainted with their case,—a privation which would often make it impossible to proceed to trial with any hope of success. It appears to us, therefore, that the

only practicable course is to divide the kingdom into a greater number of circuits; a measure which would probably be attended with some inconvenience, both to barristers and clients, at its first adoption, inasmuch as it must in some instances compel them to break off their old connexions and form new ones. But if the new division was skilfully made, such an opportunity might easily be left open for counsel to select for their new circuit, one which contained the counties with which they were most closely connected on their former one, as to confine this inconvenience within very narrow bounds. A very short period of time, at any rate, would render the new arrangement familiar to all parties; and it would introduce no perplexing change in the established constitution or practice of the *Nisi Prius* courts.

A very important question remains,—how the improvement of our system of law can best be effected, if it is thought expedient to attempt it. Our legislative bodies are not so constituted as to be able to settle the details of any delicate or complicated measure. It must be digested before it is submitted to them. But we have no officer in England whose province it is to originate proposals for the amendment of the law. The members of the Government are, for the most part, occupied each with the peculiar business of his own department. The Judges are equally busy; and, besides, though their opinions ought to be asked and received with great deference upon such subjects, it is perhaps not so well that they should be forward in proposing alterations in the law. "There is no other person," says Mr Miller, p. 524., "known to our constitution "but the Lord Chancellor, upon whom everything which concerns the jurisprudence of the country practically devolves;" and our author, accordingly, takes Lord Eldon pretty severely to task for having neglected his duty in the improvement of the law. But however clearly it may be the duty of the Chancellor to promote the improvement of the law, and that it is a most imperative duty, there can be no doubt, we do not think he ought to take upon himself the ostensible management of any great change that may be proposed. His labours are too heavy and multifarious to leave him time for more than a very general superintendence of the execution of any proposed alteration. He must commit the details to others; and yet, the public opinion that the whole had his sanction, would often prevent the due canvassing of the measure while in progress; and when it was brought to a conclusion, the blame of all the defects, discovered when too late, would be thrown upon him, and his reputation, and consequently his utility, would be proportionably diminished. It is, therefore, better that such plans should be avowedly, as well as

in fact, digested by a select body of persons of sufficient leisure for the task, and not so distinguished by official dignity as to exalt their labours above criticism. To such persons, all the sages of the law, and, more especially, the Chancellor, might safely lend the valuable support of their countenance and advice, without giving to any proposed measures the undue weight of their official sanction, and without compromising themselves, by engaging to carry them into effect, if, upon more extended investigation, they should appear to be inexpedient. A commission of this sort, if well filled, might unite the benefits of theoretical and practical knowledge, in a degree far exceeding what could be expected from the efforts of any official character on the one hand, or of any recluse student on the other. The suggestions of this body should be promptly attended to, but not hastily adopted. The evil of frequent changes should be provided against, and the permanence of the new system secured as far as possible, by allowing sufficient time minutely to consider, and thoroughly to mature it, before it is brought into action. Upon this point we cannot better express ourselves than in the words of the following extract, with which we shall close this article:

"It is to avoid that precipitation to which dilatoriness invariably leads, that amendments in the law should be projected long before the adoption of them becomes indispensably necessary. No new system of law, or alteration in one already established, ought to be sanctioned without full and fair examination. It is owing to the haste of Tribonian to do that in three years which he was allowed ten to accomplish, that the digest exhibits such a mass of incoherence and confusion. To press the adoption of any legislative measure, when insufficiently known or imperfectly comprehended, is neither wise nor honest. It is to the hurry and confusion in which the laws of England are made, that the greater part of their blunders and miscarriages are owing. Scarcely any permanent and important measure can be figured, which ought not, after it has been put into the shape of a bill, to be submitted to the judgment of the public for one year at least; and if it were to undergo a probation of several, it would usually be so much the better. Whenever the government is persuaded that any matter connected with the dispensation of justice requires revision, the examination to which the proposed alteration is subjected, can hardly either be too general, severe, or protracted. Above all, it ought to be submitted to the inspection of those who are supposed to be most suspicious of its expedience, or hostile to its introduction. Let such persons report upon it, not in any kind of collective body, but what is invariably much better, in their own words, according to their own plan, and upon their own responsibility. If any objections have been offered, let them be canvassed with candour, temper, and patience, and let the fate of the proposals depend upon the result of the ordeal to which they have been subjected. If, upon a full investigation, it appears that they are not sufficiently calculated to attain the ends proposed, or if they would

be accompanied with inconveniences which were overlooked or undervalued, let them be rejected; but if they have endured this test, whatever be their magnitude or importance, I believe that, in general, the public interest suffers, when either timidity, or local, or individual interest, prevents them from being effectually and resolutely adopted. —pp. 528, 529.

ART. VI. *Letters from his late Majesty to the late Lord Kenyon, on the Coronation-Oath, with his Lordship's Answers; and Letters of the Right Hon. William Pitt to his late Majesty, with his Majesty's Answers, previous to the Dissolution of the Ministry, in* 1801. 4to, pp. 45. Murray. London, 1827.

THE editor of this little collection is Dr Phillpotts; and by means of it, he has rendered, we think, a very signal service to the great cause of Catholic Emancipation. Whatever may have been his intention, we cannot but feel that he has advanced that question far more by this publication, than he ever retarded it by his elaborate and zealous, not to say angry pamphlets against it. So that, whether he may have earned with his patrons of the Protestant Ascendancy, any new title to their favour, or relaxed their anxiety for his advancement in the church, —and whether he may increase or diminish his share of that bright reversion in the hierarchy, to which all good intolerants look forward when the present hateful reign of liberal opinions shall be at an end, and exclusion be restored to its full swing,—we at least, and all liberal men, are bound duly to acknowledge the obligation he has imposed upon us, by advancing our doctrines.

We presume that the most bigoted Tory—the most devoted worshipper of kings, that is bred in Courts, or even in Cathedrals —never dreamt of maintaining that the mere authority of a monarch, simply as such, should have more weight than that of another man, after, in the course of destiny, he has ceased to fill the throne. If it were possible to contend for such a position, it would of necessity follow, that the opinions, the bare *dicta* of all deceased monarchs must be of equal authority, and equally entitled to implicit and submissive acceptation by their subjects, and the descendants of their subjects, throughout all generations. Thus, the authority of Alfred, and of King John, of Richard III. and Edward I., of Queen Mary and Queen Elizabeth, nay, of good Queen Ann, the especial nursery mother of the Church, would be exactly equal; and George III. would have no better title to challenge our respect for his sentiments after his decease,

than an unprincipled driveller like Henry VI., a blood-thirsty ruffian like Richard III., or a crafty and despicable tyrant like John. Each of these princes, while alive, in office, and clothed with regal powers, is, no doubt, esteemed of equal authority by the right believers of the true Tory breed; but after death, they must, in common sense, be regarded merely as human beings, and weighed in the scales of impartial justice. Their authority, therefore, must, to succeeding generations, be that due to their personal merits only, in which they differ—not to their kingly prerogative, in which they are equal. Weighed in such scales, what is the kind of merit to be chiefly regarded? Not certainly virtue; for, though this is of inestimable price, as regards the fame of a prince, it is of no avail in support of his opinions, inasmuch as the silliest of mankind, whose opinion no one in his sober senses would ever think of following, or even of asking about, may be the most candid, honest, and upright of his species. But it is to wisdom, sagacity, experience, soundness of judgment, that respect is due, when we are estimating the value of any one's opinion, whether king or subject, peer or peasant.

There is a most extraordinary want of reflection, then, in the reverend editor of these letters, when he confounds the respect paid to the late King's scruples on the Catholic question, with the estimate that should be formed of his authority on that subject. He was reigning monarch, invested with all the prerogatives of the Crown, and backed by much personal popularity, when all men, more or less, some a great deal too much, agreed to respect his conscientious prejudices against Emancipation. But the Reverend Doctor, with a temporary suspension of his usual acuteness, takes this to be equivalent to a general deference to the late King's opinion, and produces some letters of his Majesty, which only show, what we knew full well before, that he held such sentiments, and also, what was not known before, how very ill he could express them—how little he had profited by the diffusion of education in acquiring a tolerably correct mode of writing, and how royal a contempt of grammatical restrictions may set the head of a limited monarchy above the checks of the constitution of grammar, and the statutes of Priscian and Lilly. The Doctor, whose habitual sense of grammar seems to have survived the suspension of his other powers, apologizes for these inaccuracies, or rather, courtier-like, he turns them to praise of his late Majesty. "They are, indeed, only a gratifying proof "of the earnestness of the writer, who was more intent on the "solemn importance of his subject, than on the niceties of dic-"tion,"—(p. 11.) This certainly exceeds the old excuse for bad spelling, (whereof Lord Kenyon seems to stand in need,) which

a worthy magistrate urged, by throwing the blame upon the pen; his worship never thought of stating it as a proof of his honesty.

Now, the late King's authority being only entitled to deference in respect of his acuteness and wisdom, and there being no more reason in the world for adopting his opinion on the Catholic question, because he was once king, than for imitating his method of composition—what was there, let us calmly ask, in his Majesty's mental constitution, that should give him any peculiar claim to the character of extraordinary sense and discernment—or to that sound, and, above all, that calm practical judgment, which lends authority to the opinions, and even invests, with a title to veneration, the recorded sayings of deceased men? He was a good father—when not under the influence of prejudice, a kind and a just father; when under such guidance, a most harsh parent, as witness his very unfair treatment of the present King, whose filial conduct was marked, on the most trying occasions of his life, by the most exemplary respect and forbearance, and against whom, in this respect, no one ever brought any charge, except that he would not abandon his friends and his opinions, to humour that father's prejudices. He was a faithful husband, and of very retired and domestic habits; an early riser, punctual in his dealings, and a good man of business, after a regular every-day fashion. All these qualities add much, no doubt, to a man's respectability; and make his example useful in a moral point of view, if he is in a high station. But what weight do they give his opinions upon matters in Church and State? What force do they lend to his arguments? While actually reigning, while backed by fleets and armies, while able to win his way to the heart, through the treasure at his disposal and the patronage in his gift, the strength of reasoning which he brings to bear on any point may be of little consequence, because men do not, in general, much care to combat a logician who is master of many legions: But when he is gone to his account, and expectant beneficiaries come forth with posthumous adulation, or, under pretence of paying tribute to the memory of the departed Prince, fawn upon the living Prelate, and pursue their calling, at the risk of even vilifying the reigning monarch, and his chosen advisers,—we must plainly and frankly tell them, that the value of George the Third's doctrines now, is exactly in proportion to his sense and calmness of mind as a man, and not to either his moral virtues or his station as a sovereign. Now, what rank did the late King occupy in this scale? A very humble one assuredly.

George the Third had, from nature, strong feelings; a plain and good, but very ordinary understanding; and a turn to-

wards obstinacy, which, in any one, is inimical to instruction, but in a prince, is apt both to increase with time, and to prevent all mental improvement. His education was of the most narrow description; and he was bred up in prejudices of the most ordinary and illiberal kind, which strengthened with his years, and, at length, left his reason no room to play upon any matter of real importance. For the greater were the occasion to exercise deliberate wisdom, and to argue any point, the more prone was he to consider the subject as above or beyond the reach of discussion; to regard it as a matter of feeling, or conscience, or fixed principle, and therefore to view it as a ground from which all argument was excluded, and which was sacred to the dominion of preconceived prejudices alone. This is a very ordinary cast of understanding: And they who, from obstinacy of disposition, limited comprehension, or defective tuition, are the victims of it, never fail to regard as an enemy, or a designing traitor, every one who would open their eyes to the light of the truth. "Let me live and die contented and ignorant," says one. —"None of your refinements!" echoes another.—"These are "points on which I will suffer no subtleties to raise doubts," says this country gentleman.—"Away with your special-plead- "ing niceties," cries his sapient neighbour.—"The subject is "too sacred for human reason," adds a reverend Justice.—"Our "conscience, thank God, is beyond the reach of sophistry—of "what the *liberal* call reasoning," shout the whole chorus.— So when the late Lord Melville ventured to show his late Majesty that there was a gross absurdity in supposing the Coronation Oath could bind any one for ever against doing his duty to the country, with the sanction of Parliament, or could apply at all to a new state of the law and the commonwealth, he is said to have been met by these memorable words, "None of your "Scotch metaphysicks!"

Such was his late Majesty, in the vigour of his faculties, and the prime of life. But Dr Phillpotts is not content with this, his best authority—these his weightiest dicta. He must needs give currency to the unfortunate King's lucubrations in the decline of life, when his reason was clouded, nay, when his faculties were on the eve, if not under the obscuration of the eclipse which, in 1801, darkened the royal understanding. The time which he *judiciously* selects, in his late Majesty's life, for trying his intellects in conflict with those of Mr Pitt, is the month of March 1801, immediately before the minister resigned in the prime of his faculties, and his royal master was consigned to medical care for the last of human calamities—the greatest deprivation by which either monarchs or their subjects can be visited. It may, perhaps, be said, that the responses, without reasoning,

of a mind so morbid as to become wholly alienated when pressed upon a certain topic, are not of the highest authority—particularly on that topic; that to consult one labouring under such a calamitous dispensation, upon any nice point, but especially upon the very point which forms the subject of the malady, argues anything rather than a very sound judgment in him who so consults. The late King's understanding was of so ordinary a cast, his prejudices so strong, and his reasoning powers naturally so little exercised, that his opinion, when age and disease had done nothing to impair those faculties which nature had bestowed with no very lavish hand, and education had very scantily improved, would have been of very little weight with reasonable men. Upon any matter of mere feeling in either public or private affairs, the sentiments were well worth having of so right-hearted a man, one whose good dispositions in domestic life were so much less sophisticated by the follies of a court, or perverted by the corruptions of power, than almost any other sovereigns of whom we have had recent experience. But, at the best, his notions upon government and policy were of a limited and contracted cast, and so often under the dominion of incurable prejudice and personal feeling, that no reliance at all could be placed on their justness. Why should we confine the use of his name to one question alone, and that the question, of a mixed nature religious as well as political, which was most likely to excite his strongest prejudices, and most unregulated feelings? Let us try the soundness of this test by consulting the responses of the same oracle on other subjects.

If the late King's opinion had been infallible, nay, if any weight whatever had been allowed to it, no advances could ever have been made towards peace, either with the republic or the Emperor of France. Possibly some may agree in this love of eternal war, rather than treat with illegitimate authorities: But the same creed would have denounced all acknowledgment of the independence of South America, as the last of national crimes,—and all from a personal motive—because the late King's first misadventure was a disastrous war with his own colonies. To the gratification of this *pique*,—the prejudice arising from a mere sense of personal affront,—the Sovereign was ready to sacrifice every consideration of public policy; and his wish—his deliberate judgment,—if consulted, must have led to everlasting hostility with all revolted colonies. He had a strong prejudice, too, against the abolition of the Slave Trade; and though he never interfered actively to prevent it, yet, had he been followed as an authority, the most righteous and glorious measure of his long reign never would have been carried. Does any one doubt that his opinion

would have held the Navigation Act sacred, in every letter of every clause? Does any man question his disposition to keep everything in our Criminal law, the worst as well as the best parts of it, for ever in the self-same condition in which it had come down to him from the Tudors and the Plantagenets? That we are to regard as the oracles of perfect wisdom, all the notions of a prince whose views were a century behind the present day, —because in moral and domestic demeanour, he far excelled most of his exalted rank, is really a position so extravagant that we should never have dreamt of combating it, had not the publication before us proceeded upon the full adoption of it.

But if the late King's authority, at the best period of his life, was little to be regarded, merely as an authority, what shall be said of those who give it forth as very wisdom, when the monarch was in the decline of his life—and when his reason was bowed, or at least bending under disease! Such, however, is the period when the most important of the documents before us were prepared, and used by his late Majesty, in his communications with his servants. The use covertly made of the late King's authority, has done so much harm to the Catholic question, that we, its warm supporters, could have desired no greater boon than such an exposition of the weakness of that ground, as its avowed enemies have, in this publication, furnished by their indiscreet and unthinking zeal. But we owe them, on behalf of that great cause, a more lasting obligation. They have put forth the King's prejudice,—it can hardly be called his opinion,—in all the nakedness of such an authority unsupported by argument; and they have placed by its side, not merely the far higher authority of Mr Pitt, but his reasons, his unanswerable reasons, for espousing the opinion which he always strenuously maintained, and to which he once sacrificed his office. The tract before us acquires a very high value from this circumstance.

It opens in a solemn strain with the Coronation Oath, carefully copied from the Statute and the Liturgy. This is fair and candid; and it puts an end to the whole question. It is quite decisive of the whole crotchet—argument we cannot call it—put into the late good old King's head by some wily intriguing courtiers for their own sinister purposes, and which Lord Liverpool himself, with all his No Popery violence, could not gravely defend, but abandoned as stark nonsense. The Archbishop says:—" Will " you solemnly promise and swear to govern the people of this " kingdom of England and the dominions thereto belonging, " *according to the statutes in Parliament agreed on, and the laws* " *and customs of the same?*" The King's answer is,—" I so- " lemnly promise to do so." Now, no man—not certainly the

late King, who gave his assent to acts unnumbered, repealing the old laws and customs of the realm, nor the Duke of York, who supported those changes—ever could maintain that this involves a promise to govern by the statutes *then* in being, but only by such statutes as should at any time be agreed on. Then comes a similar promise to execute law and justice in mercy, subject to the former promise, of course, and only implying an administering justice and law in mercy, according to whatever law may be established. Next is the promise in dispute: "Will you, to "the utmost of your power, maintain the laws of God, the true "profession of the Gospel, and the Protestant reformed religion "*established by law;* and will you preserve unto the Bishops "and Clergy of this realm, and to the churches committed to "their charge, all such rights and privileges as *by law do* OR "SHALL appertain unto them or any of them?" The answer is, "All this I promise to do." This really should seem as if the crotchet had been foreseen by the wise framers of the oath, so excellently are the words contrived to prevent it. Not only does the first promise ride over the whole; the promise to execute *the law* mercifully, whatever the law may at any time be, as well as the promise to preserve the established religion and hierarchy—but even if this third promise be taken by itself, its language is so clear as to be incapable of misconstruction, without wilful blindness, and the most perverse and wrongheaded ingenuity. The thing promised is, to support the religion established *by law;* the rights and privileges promised to be preserved, are those which "are *or shall*" be given to the Church "*by law.*" The oath plainly applies to the conduct of the King in his executive capacity, not as a branch of the Legislature; it binds him to reign according to law in his conduct as King; it forbids him either to hang men without lawful judgment, or to attack the church illegally; or to take from religion its lawful sanction; or to take from the church its lawful rights. If this be not the construction, how could George the Third, with a safe conscience, take from parsons the right of non-residence, by one law, and force them, by another, to pay their curates a certain sum? But how, above all, could he emancipate the Catholics, in respect of four-fifths of their disabilities; giving them the right to vote for members of Parliament, while he only withheld the right to sit in that assembly? Giving the publication of the very words of the oath, is candid and useful in the controversy; for the unlettered reader, who sees the Reverend Editor's preface, and the Royal Author's doubts, would be apt to suppose that the latter had, in the year 1761, sworn to refuse his assent

to all bills for relieving his Catholic subjects, and to turn out whatever minister advised him on the subject.

The Monarch's letters begin with one to Lord Kenyon, in the following words. The composition, so greatly admired by Dr Phillpotts, we say nothing of; but we much question the fairness, if not the constitutionality, of secretly consulting a Chief-Justice and an Attorney-General, instead of a Cabinet Minister, upon the policy to be pursued on a great question of state.

"No. 1.—To the Lord Kenyon.

"Queen's House, March 7, 1795.

"The question that has been so improperly patronised by the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in favour of the Papists, though certainly very properly silenced here, yet it seems not to have been viewed in what seems to me the strongest point of view—its militating against the Coronation Oath and many existing statutes. I have, therefore, stated the accompanying queries on paper, to which I desire the Lord Kenyon will, after due consideration, state his opinion in the same manner, and should be glad if he would also acquire the sentiments of the Attorney-General on this most serious subject. GEORGE R."

In answer to the questions accompanying this note, Lord Kenyon, with the concurrence of the Attorney-General, afterwards Lord Eldon, stated, in substance, that the passing a law in favour of the Catholics was a perfectly lawful measure, and that no oath bound, or could bind, the King to refuse his consent to any such law. The letter of Mr Pitt, dated January 31, 1801, is a most plain and able exposition of his sentiments upon the subject, in general, of the Catholic claims, and we deem its insertion here next to a duty:—

"*Downing-street, Saturday, Jan.* 31, 1801.

"Mr Pitt would have felt it, at all events, his duty, previous to the meeting of Parliament, to submit to your Majesty the result of the best consideration which your confidential servants could give to the important questions respecting the Catholics and Dissenters, which must naturally be agitated in consequence of the Union. The knowledge of your Majesty's general indisposition to any change of the laws on this subject, would have made this a painful task to him; and it is become much more so, by learning from some of his colleagues, and from other quarters, within these few days, the extent to which your Majesty entertains, and has declared, that sentiment.

"He trusts your Majesty will believe that every principle of duty, gratitude, and attachment, must make him look to your Majesty's ease and satisfaction, in preference to all considerations, but those arising from a sense of what, in his honest opinion, is due to the real interest of your Majesty and your dominions. Under the impression of that opinion, he has concurred in what appeared to be the prevailing sentiments of the majority of the Cabinet—that the admission of the Ca-

tholics and Dissenters to offices, and of the Catholics to Parliament, (from which latter the Dissenters are now excluded) would, under certain conditions to be specified, be highly advisable, with a view to the tranquillity and improvement of Ireland, and to the general interest of the United Kingdom.

"For himself, he is, on full consideration, convinced that the measure would be attended with no danger to the Established Church, or to the Protestant interest in Great Britain or Ireland: that, now the Union has taken place, and with the new provisions which make part of the plan, it could never give any such weight in office, or in Parliament, either to Catholics or Dissenters, as could give them any new means (if they were so disposed) of attacking the Establishment:—that the grounds, on which the laws of exclusion now remaining were founded, have long been narrowed, and are since the Union removed;—that those principles, formerly held by the Catholics, which made them be considered as politically dangerous, have been for a course of time gradually declining, and, among the higher orders particularly, they have ceased to prevail. That the obnoxious tenets are disclaimed in the most positive manner by the oaths, which have been required in Great Britain, and still more by one of those required in Ireland, as the condition of the indulgences already granted, and which might equally be made the condition of any new ones. That if such an oath, containing (among other provisions) a denial of the power of absolution from its obligations, is not a security from Catholics, the sacramental test is not more so. That the political circumstances under which the exclusive laws originated, arising either from the conflicting power of hostile and nearly balanced sects, from the apprehension of a Popish queen or successor, a disputed succession, and a foreign Pretender, and a division in Europe between Catholic and Protestant powers, are no longer applicable to the present state of things. That with respect to those of the Dissenters, who, it is feared, entertain principles dangerous to the Constitution, a distinct political test, pointed against the doctrine of modern Jacobinism, would be a much more just and more effectual security than that which now exists, which may operate to the exclusion of conscientious persons well affected to the state, and is no guard against those of an opposite description. That with respect to the Catholics of Ireland, another most important additional security, and one of which the effect would continually increase, might be provided, by gradually attaching the popish clergy to the government, and for this purpose making them dependent for a part of their provision (under proper regulations) on the State, and by also subjecting them to superintendence and control:—That, besides these provisions, the general interests of the Established Church, and the security of the constitution and government, might be effectually strengthened by requiring the political test, before referred to, from the preachers of all Catholic or Dissenting congregations, and from the teachers of schools of every denomination.

"It is on these principles Mr Pitt humbly conceives a new security might be obtained for the civil and ecclesiastical constitution of this

country, more applicable to its present circumstances, more free from objection, and more effectual in itself, than any which now exists, and which would at the same time admit of extending such indulgences as must conciliate the higher orders of the Catholics, and by furnishing to a large class of your Majesty's Irish subjects a proof of the good-will of the united Parliament, afford the best chance of giving full effect to the great object of the Union—that of tranquillising Ireland, and attaching it to this country.

"It is with inexpressible regret, after all he now knows of your Majesty's sentiments, that Mr Pitt troubles your Majesty, thus at large, with the general grounds of his opinion, and finds himself obliged to add, that *this opinion is unalterably fixed in his mind.* It must therefore ultimately guide his political conduct, if it should be your Majesty's pleasure, that, after thus presuming to open himself fully to your Majesty, he should remain in that responsible situation, in which your Majesty has so long condescended graciously and favourably to accept his services. It will afford him, indeed, a great relief and satisfaction, if he may be allowed to hope that your Majesty will deign maturely to weigh what he has now humbly submitted, and to call for any explanation which any parts of it may appear to require.

"In the interval which your Majesty may wish for consideration, he will not, on his part, importune your Majesty with any unnecessary reference to the subject; and will feel it his duty to abstain himself from all agitation of this subject in Parliament, and to prevent it, as far as depends on him, on the part of others. If, on the result of such consideration, your Majesty's objections to the measure proposed should not be removed, or sufficiently diminished to admit of its being brought forward with your Majesty's full concurrence, and with the whole weight of government, it must be personally Mr Pitt's first wish to be released from a situation, which he is conscious that, under such circumstances, he could not continue to fill but with the greatest disadvantage.

"At the same time, after the gracious intimation which has been recently conveyed to him, of your Majesty's sentiments on this point, he will be acquitted of presumption in adding, that if the chief difficulties of the present crisis should not then be surmounted, or very materially diminished, and if your Majesty should continue to think that his humble exertions could, in any degree, contribute to conducting them to a favourable issue, there is no personal difficulty to which he will not rather submit, than withdraw himself at such a moment from your Majesty's service. He would even, in such a case, continue for such a short further interval as might be necessary, to oppose the agitation or discussion of the question, as far as he can consistently with the line, to which he feels bound uniformly to adhere, of reserving to himself a full latitude on the principle itself, and objecting only to the time, and to the temper and circumstances of the moment. But he must entreat that, on this supposition, it may be distinctly understood, that he can remain in office no longer than till the issue (which he trusts on every account will be a speedy one) of the crisis now de-

pending, shall admit of your Majesty's more easily forming a new arrangement; and that he will then receive your Majesty's permission to carry with him into a private situation that affectionate and grateful attachment, which your Majesty's goodness, for a long course of years, has impressed on his mind—and that unabated zeal for the ease and honour of your Majesty's Government, and for the public service, which he trusts will always govern his conduct.

"He has only to intreat your Majesty's pardon for troubling you on one other point, and taking the liberty of most respectfully, but explicitly, submitting to your Majesty the indispensable necessity of effectually discountenancing, in the whole of the interval, all attempts to *make use of your Majesty's name, to influence the opinion of any individuals*, or descriptions of men, on any part of this subject."

In answer to this frank and manly statement, we have a letter from his late Majesty, not very much distinguished, either by these qualities, or by any signal cogency of reasoning or felicity of expression. We cite it as the document which Dr Phillpotts, of course, has found to be more efficacious towards conviction than the argument of the Minister:—

"B.—THE KING'S ANSWER TO A.

"Queen's House, Feb. 1, 1801.

"I should not do justice to the warm impulse of my heart, if I entered on the subject most unpleasant to my mind, without first expressing, that the cordial affection that I have for Mr Pitt, as well as high opinion of his talents and integrity, greatly add to my uneasiness on this occasion; but a *sense of religious as well as political duty has made me, from the moment I mounted the throne*, consider the Oath that the wisdom of our forefathers has enjoined the kings of this realm to take at their coronation, and enforced by the obligation of instantly following it in the course of the ceremony, with taking the Sacrament, as so binding a religious obligation on me to maintain the fundamental maxims on which our constitution is placed, namely, the Church of England being the established one, and that those who hold employments in the state, must be members of it, and consequently obliged not only to take oaths against Popery, but to receive the Holy Communion agreeably to the rites of the Church of England.

"This principle of duty must, therefore, prevent me from discussing any proposition tending to destroy this groundwork of our happy constitution, and much more so that now mentioned by Mr Pitt, which is no less than the complete overthrow of the whole fabric.

"When the Irish propositions were transmitted to me by a joint message from both Houses of the British Parliament, I told the lords and gentlemen sent on that occasion, that I would with pleasure, and without delay, forward them to Ireland; but that, as individuals, I could not help acquainting them, that my inclination to an union with Ireland was principally founded on a trust, that the uniting the Established Churches of the two kingdoms would for ever shut the door to any farther measures with respect to the Roman Catholics.

"These two instances must show Mr Pitt, *that my opinions are not those formed on the moment, but such as I have imbibed for forty years,* and *from which I never can depart;* but, Mr Pitt once acquainted with my sentiments, his assuring me that he will stave off the only question whereon I fear, from his letter, we can never agree—for the advantage and comfort of continuing to have his advice and exertions in public affairs, I will certainly abstain from talking on this subject, which is the one nearest my heart. I cannot help, if others pretend to guess at my opinions, which I have never disguised; but if those who unfortunately differ with me will keep this subject at rest, I will, on my part, most correctly on my part, be silent also; but this restraint I shall put on myself from affection for Mr Pitt, but further I cannot go, for I cannot sacrifice my duty to any consideration.

"Though I do not pretend to have the power of changing Mr Pitt's opinion, when thus unfortunately fixed, yet I shall hope his sense of duty will prevent his retiring from his present situation to the end of my life, for I can with great truth assert, that I shall, from public and private considerations, feel great regret, if I shall ever find myself obliged, at any time, from a sense of religious and political duty, to yield to his entreaties of retiring from his seat at the Board of Treasury."

Now, it is quite impossible, that one having all his faculties about him could write this, with the regard to truth which the late King has been so much praised for. He says, that from the moment he mounted the throne,—that is, since 1760,—he had held the same opinions, and felt the same scruples upon the Coronation Oath. The purpose of this statement is, to introduce the assertion that his present opinions are "such as he had imbibed for forty years." Were they so? Then, to say nothing of the forty Indemnity bills which he had made laws, how did he, how came he to pass the Irish acts of 1778 and 1793, which took off infinitely more restrictions from the Catholics than they left behind them? The supposition would be absurd as well as indecent, that his Majesty intended to deceive Mr Pitt upon a matter of recent history and public notoriety; and the inference, therefore, is unavoidable, that the King's mind was not in its pristine vigour when he penned this letter.

Mr Pitt's letter justly and plainly, though respectfully, required the King not to use his personal influence against the question, as long as he continued his minister; of course, meaning to state, that he could not submit to be the responsible Minister of a Prince whose weight was thrown into the scale of what he himself deemed a pernicious policy. The King's answer on this point is not satisfactory; and it produced the following excellent reply:—

MR PITT, IN REPLY.

"Downing Street, Tuesday, Feb. 3, 1801.

"Mr Pitt cannot help entreating your Majesty's permission to express how very sincerely he is penetrated with the affecting expressions of your Majesty's kindness and goodness to himself, on the occasion of the communication with which he has been under the necessity of troubling your Majesty. It is, therefore, with additional pain he feels himself bound to state, that the final decision which your Majesty has formed on the great subject in question, (the motives to which he respects and honours,) and his own unalterable sense of the line which public duty requires from him, must make him consider the moment as now arrived, when, on the principles which he has already explained, it must be his first wish to be released, as soon as possible, from his present situation. He certainly retains the same anxious desire, in the time and mode of quitting it, to consult, as much as possible, your Majesty's ease and convenience, and to avoid embarrassment. But he must frankly confess to your Majesty, that the difficulty even of his temporary continuance must necessarily be increased, and may very shortly become insuperable, from what he conceives to be the import of one passage in your Majesty's note, which hardly leaves him room to hope, that your Majesty thinks those steps can be taken for effectually discountenancing all attempts to make use of your Majesty's name, or to influence opinions on this subject, which he has ventured to represent as indispensably necessary during any interval in which he might remain in office. He has, however, the less anxiety in laying this sentiment before your Majesty, because, independent of it, he is more and more convinced, that, your Majesty's final decision being once taken, the sooner he is allowed to act upon it, the better it will be for your Majesty's service. He trusts, and sincerely believes, that your Majesty cannot find any long delay necessary for forming an arrangement for conducting your service with credit and advantage; and that, on the other hand, the feebleness and uncertainty, which is almost inseparable from a temporary government, must soon produce an effect, both at home and abroad, which might lead to serious inconvenience.—Mr Pitt trusts your Majesty will believe, that a sincere anxiety for the future ease and strength of your government, is one strong motive for his presuming thus to press this consideration."

The correspondence closes with a short letter from the Duke of York,—to whom, it should seem, the whole had been sent, for his edification, by the King; apparently a superfluous care, as His Royal Highness's answer shows:—

"York House, Feb. 13, 1801.

"Sir, I have the honour to return your Majesty the papers which you were graciously pleased to allow me to peruse.

"If my sentiments upon the question of Catholic Emancipation, and of the Repeal of the Test Act, had not been already immutably fixed, the arguments adduced in favour of the measure would alone have been sufficient to have convinced me of the danger, if not of the absolute

certainty, of the dreadful consequences of its being carried into execution.—I have the honour to be, Sir, your Majesty's most dutiful son and subject, FREDERICK."

This, too, we presume, is given to the public by the Reverend Editor, as a binding authority in favour of his much-cherished faith in the principles of exclusion and intolerance. Anything more ridiculous we cannot well imagine. The poor Duke—whose death has been much lamented, certainly, for the qualities of his heart, and for the capacity with which he was endowed—receives a cogent piece of reasoning by Mr Pitt—and a bare expression of the King's opposite opinion, unsupported by one single reason of any kind—and he speaks of "the arguments adduced in "favour of the measure," as quite sufficient to prove "the dan-"ger, if not the absolute certainty of its dreadful consequences!" Such answers to Mr Pitt befit well an acting Commander-in-chief.

It is impossible to read the above letters of Mr Pitt, and to mark the honest earnestness and solid grounds of his opinion upon this great question, without marvelling at the audacity of many of those who, calling themselves his followers, and assuming his name, form themselves into associations, the main purpose of which is to oppose the very question he was so sincerely devoted to. What is now called a Pitt Club often signifies little else than a knot of narrow-minded persons, who are banded together by the fixed determination to oppose the principles of Mr Pitt, upon the greatest point on which he ever thought and acted for himself. To their orgies, therefore, we cannot but think that no real friend, no true admirer, of Mr Pitt, can consistently resort. Every feeling of respect for his memory must make them shun such an insult to his name, as could only be outdone by some gang of slave-dealers who should call themselves the Wilberforce Club, and exert themselves, under that appellation, for the perpetuity of slavery, and the revival of the Slave-Trade.

ART. VII.—*Jean Paul Frederich Richter's Leben, nebst Characteristik seiner Werke; von Heinrich Doering.* (Jean Paul Frederich Richter's Life, with a Sketch of his Works; by Heinrich Doering.) Gotha. Hennings, 1826. 12mo, pp. 208.

DR JOHNSON, it is said, when he first heard of Boswell's intention to write a life of him, announced, with decision enough, that if he thought Boswell really meant to *write his* life,

he would prevent it by *taking Boswell's!* That great authors should actually employ this preventive against bad biographers, is a thing we would by no means recommend; but the truth is, that, rich as we are in biography, a well-written life is almost as rare as a well-spent one; and there are certainly many more men whose history deserves to be recorded, than persons willing and able to furnish the record. But great men, like the old Egyptian kings, must all be tried after death, before they can be embalmed: and what, in truth, are these "Sketches," "Anas," "Conversations," "Voices," and the like, but the votes and pleadings of the ill-informed advocates, and jurors, and judges, from whose conflict, however, we shall in the end have a true verdict? The worst of it is at the first; for weak eyes are precisely the fondest of glittering objects: And accordingly, no sooner does a great man depart, and leave his character as public property, than a crowd of little men rushes towards it. There they are gathered together—blinking up to it with such vision as they have, scanning it from afar, hovering round it this way and that—each cunningly endeavouring, by all arts, to catch some reflex of it in the little mirror of himself; though, many times, this mirror is so twisted with convexities and concavities, and, indeed, so extremely small in size, that, to expect any true image, or any image whatever from it, is out of the question.

Richter was much better-natured than Johnson; and took many provoking things with the spirit of a humourist and philosopher; nor can we think that so good a man, even had he foreseen this work of Doering's, would have gone the length of assassinating him for it. Doering is a person we have known for several years, as a compiler, and translator, and ballad-monger, whose grand enterprise, however, is his *Gallery of Weimar Authors*; a series of strange little biographies, beginning with Schiller, and already extending over Weiland and Herder—now comprehending, probably by conquest, Klopstock also, and lastly, by a sort of *droit d'aubaine*, Jean Paul Frederich Richter, neither of whom belonged to Weimar. Authors, it must be admitted, are happier than the old painter with his cocks: for they write, naturally and without fear of ridicule or offence, the name and description of their work on the title-page; and thenceforth the purport and tendency of each volume remains indisputable. Doering is sometimes lucky in this privilege; for his manner of composition being so peculiar, might now and then occasion difficulty, but for this precaution. His biographies he works up simply enough. He first ascertains, from the Leipzic *Conversationslexicon*, or Jörden's *Poetical Lexicon*, or Flögel or Koch, or other such *Compendium* or *Handbook*, the date and place of

the proposed individual's birth, his parentage, trade, appointments, and the titles of his works (the date of his death you already know from the newspapers): this serves as a foundation for the edifice. He then goes through his writings, and all other writings where he or his pursuits are treated of, and whenever he finds a passage with his name in it, he cuts it out, and carries it away. In this manner, a mass of materials is collected, and the building now proceeds apace. Stone is laid on the top of stone, just as it comes to hand; a trowel or two of biographic mortar, if perfectly convenient, being perhaps spread in here and there, by way of cement; and so the strangest pile suddenly arises; amorphous, pointing every way but to the zenith—here a block of granite, there a mass of pipe-clay; till the whole finishes, when the materials are finished—and you leave it standing to posterity, like some miniature Stonehenge, a perfect architectural enigma.

To speak without figure, this mode of life-writing has its disadvantages. For one thing, the composition cannot well be what the critics call harmonious; and, indeed, Herr Doering's transitions are often abrupt enough. His hero changes his object and occupation from page to page, often from sentence to sentence, in the most unaccountable way—a pleasure journey, and a sickness of fifteen years, are despatched with equal brevity; in a moment you find him married, and the father of three fine children. He dies no less suddenly;—he is studying as usual, writing poetry, receiving visits, full of life and business, when instantly some paragraph opens under him, like one of the trap-doors in the *Vision of Mirza*, and he drops, without note of preparation, into the shades below. Perhaps, indeed, not for ever: we have instances of his rising after the funeral, and winding up his affairs. The time has been that when the brains were out, *the* man would die; but Doering orders these matters differently.

We beg leave to say, however, that we really have no private pique against Doering: on the contrary, we are regular purchasers of his ware; and it gives us true pleasure to see his spirits so much improved since we first met him. In the *Life of Schiller*, his state did seem rather unprosperous: he wore a timorous, submissive, and downcast aspect, as if, like Sterne's Ass, he were saying, "Don't thrash me—but if you will, you may!" Now, however, comforted by considerable sale, and praise from this and the other *Litteraturblatt*, which has commended his diligence, his fidelity, and, strange to say, his method, he advances with erect countenance and firm hoof, and even recalcitrates contemptuously against such as do him offence. *Glück auf dem Weg!* is the worst we wish him.

Of his *Life of Richter*, these preliminary observations may be our excuse for saying but little. He brags much, in his Preface, that it is all true and genuine; for Richter's widow, it seems, had, by public advertisement, cautioned the world against it; another Biography, partly by the illustrious deceased himself, partly by Otto, his oldest friend and the appointed editor of his works, being actually in preparation. This rouses the indignant spirit of Doering, and he stoutly asseverates, that his documents being altogether authentic, this biography is *no* pseudo-biography. With greater truth, he might have asseverated, that it was no biography at all. Well are he and Hennings of Gotha aware that this thing of shreds and patches has been vamped together for sale only. Except a few letters to Kunz, the Bamberg bookseller, which turn mainly on the purchase of spectacles, and the journeyings and freightage of two boxes that used to pass and repass between Richter and Kunz's circulating library; with three or four notes of similar importance, and chiefly to other booksellers, there are no biographical documents here, which were not open to all Europe as well as to Heinrich Doering. Indeed, very nearly one half of the *Life* is occupied with a description of the funeral and its appendages,—how the "sixty torches, "with a number of lanterns and pitch-pans," were arranged; how this Patrician or Professor followed that, through Friedrich-street, Chancery-street, and other streets of Bayreuth; and how at last the torches all went out, as Doctor Gabler and Doctor Spatzier were perorating (decidedly in bombast) over the grave. Then, it seems, there were meetings held in various parts of Germany, to solemnize the memory of Richter; among the rest, one in the Museum of Frankfort on the Main; where a Doctor Börne speaks another long speech, if possible, in still more decided bombast. Next come threnodies from all the four winds, mostly on very splay-footed metre. The whole of which is here snatched from the kind oblivion of the newspapers, and "lives in Settle's numbers one day more."

We have too much reverence for the name of Richter to think of laughing over these unhappy threnodists and panegyrists; some of whom far exceed anything we English can exhibit in the epicedial style. They rather testify, however maladroitly, that the Germans have felt their loss—which, indeed, is one to Europe at large; they even affect us with a certain melancholy feeling, when we consider how a heavenly voice must become mute, and nothing be heard in its stead but the whoop of quite earthly voices, lamenting, or pretending to lament. Far from us be all remembrance of Doering and Company, while we speak of Richter! But his own works give us some glimpses into his

singular and noble nature; and to our readers, a few words on this man, certainly one of the most remarkable of his age, will not seem thrown away.

Except by name, Jean Paul Friedrich Richter is little known out of Germany. The only thing connected with him, we think, that has reached this country, is his saying, imported by Madame de Stael, and thankfully pocketed by most newspaper critics:—"Providence has given to the French the empire of the land, to the English that of the sea, to the Germans that of—the air!" Of this last element, indeed, his own genius might easily seem to have been a denizen: so fantastic, many-coloured, far-grasping, everyway perplexed and extraordinary, is his mode of writing, that to translate him properly is next to impossible; nay, a dictionary of his works has actually been in part published for the use of German readers! These things have restricted his sphere of action, and may long restrict it, to his own country: but there, in return, he is a favourite of the first class; studied through all his intricacies with trustful admiration, and a love which tolerates much. During the last forty years, he has been continually before the public, in various capacities, and growing generally in esteem with all ranks of critics; till, at length, his gainsayers have been either silenced or convinced; and Jean Paul, at first reckoned half-mad, has long ago vindicated his singularities to nearly universal satisfaction, and now combines popularity with real depth of endowment, in perhaps a greater degree than any other writer; being second in the latter point to scarcely more than one of his contemporaries, and in the former second to none.

The biography of so distinguished a person could scarcely fail to be interesting, especially his autobiography; which accordingly we wait for, and may in time submit to our readers, if it seem worthy: meanwhile, the history of his life, so far as outward events characterise it, may be stated in few words. He was born at Wunsiedel in Bayreuth, in March 1763. His father was a subaltern teacher in the *Gymnasium* of the place, and afterwards promoted to be clergyman at Schwarzbach on the Saale. Richter's early education was of the scantiest sort; but his fine faculties and unwearied diligence supplied every defect. Unable to purchase books, he borrowed what he could come at, and transcribed from them, often great part of their contents,—a habit of excerpting which continued with him through life, and influenced, in more than one way, his mode of writing and study. To the last, he was an insatiable and universal reader; so that his extracts accumulated on his hands, "till they filled whole

"chests." In 1780, he went to the University of Leipzig; with the highest character, in spite of the impediments which he had struggled with, for talent and acquirement. Like his father, he was destined for Theology; from which, however, his vagrant genius soon diverged into Poetry and Philosophy, to the neglect, and, ere long, to the final abandonment, of his appointed profession. Not well knowing what to do, he now accepted a tutorship in some family of rank; then he had pupils in his own house —which, however, like his way of life, he often changed; for by this time he had become an author, and, in his wanderings over Germany, was putting forth,—now here, now there,—the strangest books, with the strangest titles: For instance—"*Greenland Lawsuits;*"—"*Biographical Recreations under the Cranium of a Giantess;*"—"*Selection from the Papers of the Devil;*"—and the like. In these indescribable performances, the splendid faculties of the writer, luxuriating as they seemed in utter riot, could not be disputed; nor, with all its extravagance, the fundamental strength, honesty, and tenderness of his nature. Genius will reconcile men to much. By degrees, Jean Paul began to be considered not a strange, crackbrained mixture of enthusiast and buffoon, but a man of infinite humour, sensibility, force, and penetration. His writings procured him friends and fame; and at length a wife and a settled provision. With Caroline Mayer his good spouse, and a pension (in 1802) from the King of Bavaria, he settled in Bayreuth, the capital of his native province; where he lived thenceforth, diligent and celebrated in many new departments of literature; and died on the 14th of November 1825, loved as well as admired by all his countrymen, and most by those who had known him most intimately.

A huge, irregular man, both in mind and person (for his portrait is quite a physiognomical study), full of fire, strength, and impetuosity, Richter seems, at the same time, to have been, in the highest degree, mild, simple-hearted, humane. He was fond of conversation, and might well shine in it: he talked, as he wrote, in a style of his own, full of wild strength and charms, to which his natural Bayreuth accent often gave additional effect. Yet he loved retirement, the country, and all natural things: from his youth upwards, he himself tells us, he may almost be said to have lived in the open air; it was among groves and meadows that he studied—often that he wrote. Even in the streets of Bayreuth, we have heard, he was seldom seen without a flower in his breast. A man of quiet tastes, and warm, compassionate affections! His friends he must have loved as few do. Of his poor and humble mother he often speaks by allusion, and never without reverence and overflowing tenderness. "Unhappy is the man," says he,

"for whom his own mother has not made all other mothers venera-"ble!" and elsewhere :—" O thou who hast still a father and a mo-"ther, thank God for it in the day when thy soul is full of joyful "tears, and needs a bosom wherein to shed them !"—We quote the following sentences from Doering, almost the only memorable thing he has written in this volume :—

"Richter's studying or sitting apartment offered, about this "time (1793), a true and beautiful emblem of his simple and "noble way of thought, which comprehended at once the high "and the low. Whilst his mother, who then lived with him, "busily pursued her household work, occupying herself about "stove and dresser, Jean Paul was sitting in a corner of the same "room, at a simple writing-desk, with few or no books about "him, but merely with one or two drawers containing excerpts "and manuscripts. The jingle of the household operations seem-"ed not at all to disturb him, any more than did the cooing of "the pigeons, which fluttered to and fro in the chamber,—a place, "indeed, of considerable size."—p. 8.

Our venerable Hooker, we remember, also enjoyed, "the jin-"gle of household operations," and the more questionable jingle of shrewd tongues to boot, while he wrote; but the good thrifty mother, and the cooing pigeons, were wanting. Richter came afterwards to live in finer mansions, and had the great and learned for associates; but the gentle feelings of those days abode with him : through life he was the same substantial, determinate, yet meek and tolerating man. It is seldom that so much rugged energy can be so blandly attempered—that so much vehemence and so much softness will go together.

The expected edition of Richter's works is to be in sixty volumes : and they are no less multifarious than extensive ; embracing subjects of all sorts, from the highest problems of transcendental philosophy, and the most passionate poetical delineations, to *Golden Rules for the Weather-Prophet*, and instructions in the *Art of Falling Asleep*. His chief productions are novels : the *Unsichtbare Loge* (Invisible Lodge) ; *Flegeljahre* (Wild-Oats) ; *Life of Fixlein* ; the *Jubelsenior* (Parson in Jubilee) ; *Schmelzle's Journey to Flätz* ; *Katzenberger's Journey to the Bath* ; *Life of Fibel* ; with many lighter pieces; and two works of a higher order, *Hesperus* and *Titan*, the largest and the best of his novels. It was the former that first (in 1795) introduced him into decisive and universal estimation with his countrymen : the latter he himself, with the most judicious of his critics, regarded as his master-piece. But the name Novelist, as we in England must understand it, would ill describe so vast and discursive a genius :

for with all his grotesque, tumultuous pleasantry, Richter is a man of a truly earnest, nay, high and solemn character; and seldom writes without a meaning far beyond the sphere of common romancers. *Hesperus* and *Titan* themselves, though in form nothing more than "novels of real life," as the Minerva Press would say, have solid metal enough in them to furnish whole circulating libraries, were it beaten into the usual filigree; and much which, attenuate it as we might, no quarterly subscriber could well carry with him. Amusement is often, in part almost always, a mean with Richter; rarely or never his highest end. His thoughts, his feelings, the creations of his spirit, walk before us embodied under wondrous shapes, in motley and ever-fluctuating groups: but his essential character, however he disguise it, is that of a Philosopher and moral Poet, whose study has been human nature, whose delight and best endeavour are with all that is beautiful, and tender, and mysteriously sublime in the fate or history of man. This is the purport of his writings, whether their form be that of fiction or of truth; the spirit that pervades and ennobles his delineations of common life, his wild wayward dreams, allegories, and shadowy imaginings, no less than his disquisitions of a nature directly scientific.

But in this latter province also, Richter has accomplished much. His *Vorschule der Aesthetik* (Introduction to Aesthetics*) is a work on poetic art, based on principles of no ordinary depth and compass, abounding in noble views, and, notwithstanding its frolicsome exuberance, in sound and subtle criticism; esteemed even in Germany, where Criticism has long been treated of as a science, and by such persons as Winkelmann, Kant, Herder, and the Schlegels. Of this work we could speak long, did our limits allow. We fear, it might astonish many an honest brother of our craft, were he to read it; and altogether perplex and dash his maturest counsels, if he chanced to understand it.—Richter has also written on Education, a work entitled *Levana;* distinguished by keen practical sagacity, as well as generous sentiment, and a certain sober magnificence of speculation; the whole presented in that singular style which characterizes the man. Germany is rich in works on Education; richer at present than

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* From *αισθανομαι, to feel.* A word invented by Baumgarten (some eighty years ago), to express generally the *Science of the Fine Arts*; and now in universal use among the Germans. Perhaps we also might as well adopt it; at least if any such *science* should ever arise among us.

any other country: it is there only that some echo of the Lockes and Miltons, speaking of this high matter, may still be heard; and speaking of it in the language of our own time; with insight into the actual wants, advantages, perils, and prospects of this age. Among writers on this subject, Richter holds a high place; if we look chiefly at his tendency and aims, perhaps the highest. —The *Clavis Fichtiana* is a ludicrous performance, known to us only by report; but Richter is said to possess the merit, while he laughs at Fichte, of understanding him; a merit among Fichte's critics, which seems to be one of the rarest. Report also, we regret to say, is all that we know of the *Campaner Thal*, a Discourse on the Immortality of the Soul; one of Richter's beloved topics, or rather the life of his whole philosophy, glimpses of which look forth on us from almost every one of his writings. He died while engaged, under recent and almost total blindness, in enlarging and remodelling this *Campaner Thal*: the unfinished manuscript was borne upon his coffin to the burial vault; and Klopstock's hymn, *Auferstehen wirst du*, "Thou shalt arise, my soul," can seldom have been sung with more appropriate application than over the grave of Jean Paul.

We defy the most careless or prejudiced reader to peruse these works without an impression of something splendid, wonderful, and daring. But they require to be studied as well as read, and this with no ordinary patience, if the reader, especially the foreign reader, wishes to comprehend rightly either their truth or their want of truth. Tried by many an accepted standard, Richter would be speedily enough disposed of; pronounced a mystic—a German dreamer—a rash and presumptuous innovator; and so consigned, with equanimity, perhaps with a certain jubilee, to the Limbo appointed for all such wind-bags and deceptions. Originality is a thing we constantly clamour for, and constantly quarrel with; as if, observes our author himself, any originality but our own could be expected to content us! In fact, all strange things are apt, without fault of theirs, to estrange us at first view, and unhappily scarcely anything is perfectly plain, but what is also perfectly common. The current coin of the realm passes into all hands; and be it gold, silver, or copper, is acceptable and of known value: but with new ingots, with foreign bars, and medals of Corinthian brass, the case is widely different.

There are few writers with whom deliberation and careful distrust of first impressions are more necessary than with Richter. He is a phenomenon from the very surface; he presents himself with a professed and determined singularity: his lan-

guage itself is a stone of stumbling to the critic; to critics of the grammarian species, an unpardonable, often an insuperable, rock of offence. Not that he is ignorant of grammar, or disdains the sciences of spelling and parsing; but he exercises both in a certain latitudinarian spirit; deals with astonishing liberality in parentheses, dashes, and subsidiary clauses; invents hundreds of new words, alters old ones, or, by hyphen, chains, pairs, and packs them together into most jarring combination; in short, produces sentences of the most heterogeneous, lumbering, interminable kind. Figures without limit, indeed the whole is one tissue of metaphors, and similes, and allusions to all the provinces of Earth, Sea, and Air; interlaced with epigrammatic breaks, vehement bursts, or sardonic turns, interjections, quips, puns, and even oaths! A perfect Indian jungle it seems; a boundless, unparalleled imbroglio; nothing on all sides but darkness, dissonance, confusion worse confounded! Then the style of the whole corresponds, in perplexity and extravagance, with that of the parts. Every work, be it fiction or serious treatise, is embaled in some fantastic wrappage; some mad narrative accounting for its appearance, and connecting it with the author, who generally becomes a person of the drama himself, before all is over. He has a whole imaginary geography of Europe in his novels; the cities of Flachsenfingen, Haarhaar, Scheerau, and so forth, with their princes, and privy-councillors, and serene highnesses; most of whom, odd enough fellows every way, are Richter's private acquaintances, talk with him of state matters (in the purest Tory dialect), and often incite him to get on with his writing. No story proceeds without the most erratic digressions, and voluminous tagrags rolling after it in many a snaky twine. Ever and anon there occurs some "Extra-leaf," with its satirical petition, program, or other wonderful intercalation, no mortal can foresee on what. It is, indeed, a mighty maze; and often the panting reader toils after him in vain, or, baffled and spent, indignantly stops short, and retires, perhaps for ever.

All this, we must admit, is true of Richter; but much more is true also. Let us not turn from him after the first cursory glance, and imagine we have settled his account by the words Rhapsody and Affectation. They are cheap words, we allow, and of sovereign potency; we should see therefore that they be not rashly applied. Many things in Richter accord ill with such a theory. There are rays of the keenest truth, nay, steady pillars of scientific light rising through this chaos: Is it in fact a chaos, or may it be that our eyes are not of infinite vision, and have only missed the plan? Few rhapsodists are men of

science, of solid learning, of rigorous study, and accurate, extensive, nay, universal knowledge; as he is. With regard to affectation also, there is much to be said. The essence of affectation is that it be *assumed:* the character is, as it were, forcibly crushed into some foreign mould, in the hope of being thereby reshaped and beautified; the unhappy man persuades himself that he is in truth a new and wonderfully engaging creature, and so he moves about with a conscious air, though every movement betrays not symmetry, but dislocation. This it is to be affected, to walk in a vain show. But the strangeness alone is no proof of the vanity. Many men that move smoothly in the old-established railways of custom will be found to have their affectation; and perhaps here and there some divergent genius be accused of it unjustly. The *show,* though common, may not cease to be *vain;* nor become so for being uncommon. Before we censure a man for seeming what *he* is not, we should be sure that we know what he *is.* As to Richter in particular, we think it but fair to observe, that, strange and tumultuous as he is, there is a certain benign composure visible in his writings; a mercy, a gladness, a reverence, united in such harmony, as we cannot but think bespeaks not a false but a genuine state of mind; not a feverish and morbid, but a healthy and robust state.

The secret of the matter, perhaps, is, that Richter requires more study than most readers care to give; for as we approach more closely, many things grow clearer. In the man's own sphere there is consistency; the farther we advance into it, we see confusion more and more unfold itself into order; till at last, viewed from its proper centre, his intellectual universe, no longer a distorted, incoherent series of air-landscapes, coalesces into compact expansion; a vast, magnificent, and variegated scene; full, indeed, of wondrous products, and rude, it may be, and irregular; but gorgeous, and varied, and ample; gay with the richest verdure and foliage, and glittering in the brightest and kindest sun.

Richter has been called an intellectual Colossus; and in truth it is still somewhat in this light that we view him. His faculties are all of gigantic mould; cumbrous, awkward in their movements; large and splendid rather than harmonious or beautiful; yet joined in living union,—and of force and compass altogether extraordinary. He has an intellect vehement, rugged, irresistible; crushing in pieces the hardest problems; piercing into the most hidden combinations of things, and grasping the most distant: an imagination vague, sombre, splendid,

or appalling; brooding over the abysses of Being; wandering through Infinitude, and summoning before us, in its dim religious light, shapes of brilliancy, solemnity, or terror: a fancy of exuberance literally unexampled; for it pours its treasures with a lavishness which knows no limit, hanging, like the sun, a jewel on every grass-blade, and sowing the earth at large with orient pearl. But deeper than all these lies Humour, the ruling quality with Richter; as it were the central fire that pervades and vivifies his whole being. He is a humourist from his inmost soul; he thinks as a humourist, he feels, imagines, acts as a humourist: Sport is the element in which his nature lives and works. A tumultuous element for such a nature, and wild work he makes in it! A Titan in his sport as in his earnestness, he oversteps all bound, and riots without law or measure. He heaps Pelion upon Ossa, and hurls the universe together and asunder like a case of playthings. The Moon "bombards" the Earth, being a rebellious satellite; Mars "preaches" to the other Planets, very singular doctrine; nay, we have Time and Space themselves playing fantastic tricks: it is an infinite masquerade; all Nature is gone forth mumming in the strangest guises.

Yet the anarchy is not without its purpose; these vizards are not mere hollow masks; but there are living faces beneath them, and this mumming has its significance. Richter is a man of mirth, but he seldom or never condescends to be a merry-andrew. Nay, in spite of its extravagance, we should say that his humour is of all his gifts intrinsically the finest and most genuine. It has such witching turns; there is something in it so capricious, so quaint, so heartfelt. From his Cyclopean workshop, and its fuliginous limbecs, and huge unwieldy machinery, the little shrivelled twisted figure comes forth at last, so perfect and so living, to be for ever laughed at and for ever loved! Wayward as he seems, he works not without forethought: like Rubens, by a single stroke, he can change a laughing face into a sad one. But in his smile itself a touching pathos may lie hidden, a pity too deep for tears. He is a man of feeling, in the noblest sense of that word; for he loves all living with the heart of a brother; his soul rushes forth, in sympathy with gladness or sorrow, with goodness or grandeur, over all creation. Every gentle and generous affection, every thrill of mercy, every glow of nobleness, awakens in his bosom a response, nay, strikes his spirit into harmony; a wild music as of wind-harps, floating round us in fitful swells, but soft sometimes, and pure and soul-entrancing as the song of angels!

Aversion itself with him is not hatred: he despises much, but justly, with tolerance also, with placidity, and even a sort of love. Love, in fact, is the atmosphere he breathes in, the medium through which he looks. His is the spirit which gives life and beauty to whatever it embraces. Inanimate Nature itself is no longer an insensible assemblage of colours and perfumes, but a mysterious Presence, with which he communes in unutterable sympathies. We might call him, as he once called Herder, "a Priest of Nature, a mild Bramin," wandering amid spicy groves, and under benignant skies. The infinite Night with her solemn aspects, Day and the sweet approach of Even and Morn are full of meaning for him. He loves the green Earth with her streams and forests, her flowery leas and eternal skies; loves her with a sort of passion, in all her vicissitudes of light and shade; his spirit revels in her grandeur and charms; expands like the breeze over wood and lawn, over glade and dingle, stealing and giving odours.

It has sometimes been made a wonder that things so discordant should go together—that men of humour are often likewise men of sensibility. But the wonder should rather be to see them divided; to find true genial humour dwelling in a mind that was coarse or callous. The essence of humour is sensibility; warm, tender fellow-feeling with all forms of existence. Nay, we may say that unless seasoned and purified by humour, sensibility is apt to run wild; will readily corrupt into disease, falsehood, or in one word, sentimentality. Witness Rousseau, Zimmerman, in some points also St Pierre: to say nothing of living instances; or of the Kotzebues, and other pale host of woe-begone mourners, whose wailings, like the howl of an Irish wake, have from time to time cleft the general ear. The last perfection of our faculties, says Schiller, with a truth far deeper than it seems, is that their activity, without ceasing to be sure and earnest, become *sport*. True humour is sensibility, in the most catholic and deepest sense; but it is this *sport* of sensibility; wholesome and perfect therefore; as it were, the playful teasing fondness of a mother to her child.

That faculty of irony, of caricature, which often passes by the name of humour, but consists chiefly in a certain superficial distortion or reversal of objects, and ends at best in laughter, bears no resemblance to the humour of Richter. A shallow endowment this; and often more a habit than an endowment. It is but a poor fraction of humour; or rather, it is the body to which the soul is wanting; any life it has being false, artificial, and irrational. True humour springs not more from the head than from the heart; it is not contempt, its essence is love; it

issues not in laughter, but in still smiles, which lie far deeper. It is a sort of inverse sublimity; exalting, as it were, into our affections what is below us, while sublimity draws down into our affections what is above us. The former is scarcely less precious or heart-affecting than the latter; perhaps it is still rarer, and, as a test of genius, still more decisive. It is, in fact, the bloom and perfume, the purest effluence of a deep, fine, and loving nature; a nature in harmony with itself, reconciled to the world and its stintedness and contradiction, nay, finding in this very contradiction new elements of beauty as well as goodness. Among our own writers, Shakspeare in this, as in all other provinces, must have his place: yet not the first; his humour is heartfelt, exuberant, warm, but seldom the tenderest or most subtle. Swift inclines more to simple irony; yet he had genuine humour too, and of no unloving sort, though cased, like Ben Jonson's, in a most bitter and caustic rind. Sterne follows next; our last specimen of humour, and, with all his faults, our best; our finest, if not our strongest, for *Yorick*, and *Corporal Trim*, and *Uncle Toby*, have yet no brother but in *Don Quixote*, far as he lies above them. Cervantes is indeed the purest of all humourists; so gentle and genial,—so full, yet so ethereal, is his humour, and in such accordance with itself and his whole noble nature. The Italian mind is said to abound in humour; yet their classics seem to give us no right emblem of it: except, perhaps, in Ariosto, there appears little in their current poetry that reaches the region of true humour. In France, since the days of Montaigne, it seems to be nearly extinct: Voltaire, much as he dealt in ridicule, never rises into humour; and even with Moliere, it is far more an affair of the understanding than of the character.

That, in this point, Richter excels all German authors, is saying much for him, and may be said truly. Lessing has humour,—of a sharp, rigid, substantial, and, on the whole, genial sort; yet the ruling bias of his mind is to logic. So likewise has Wieland, though much diluted by the general *loquacity* of his nature, and impoverished still farther by the influences of a cold, meagre, French scepticism. Among the Ramlers, Gellerts, Hagedorns, of Frederick the Second's time, we find abundance, and delicate in kind too, of that light matter which the French call pleasantry; but little or nothing that deserves the name of humour. In the present age, however, there is Goethe, with a rich true vein; and this sublimated, as it were, to an essence, and blended in still union with his whole mind. Tieck also, among his many fine susceptibilities, is not without a warm keen sense for the ridiculous; and a humour rising, though by

short fits, and from a much lower atmosphere, to be poetic. But of all these men, there is none that, in depth, copiousness, and intensity of humour, can be compared with Jean Paul. He alone exists in humour; lives, moves, and has his being in it. With him it is not so much united to his other qualities, of intellect, fancy, imagination, moral feeling, as these are united to it; or rather unite themselves to it, and grow under its warmth, as in their proper temperature and climate. Not as if we meant to assert that his humour is in all cases perfectly natural and pure; nay, that it is not often extravagant, untrue, or even absurd: but still, on the whole, the core and life of it are genuine, subtile, spiritual. Not without reason have his panegyrists named him *Jean Paul der Einzige*—" Jean Paul the " Only :" in one sense or the other, either as praise or censure, his critics also must adopt this epithet; for surely in the whole circle of literature, we look in vain for his parallel. Unite the sportfulness of Rabelais, and the best sensibility of Sterne, *with* the earnestness, and, even in slight portions, the sublimity of Milton; and let the mosaic brain of old Burton give forth the workings of this strange union, with the pen of Jeremy Bentham!

To say how, with so peculiar a natural endowment, Richter should have shaped his mind by culture, is much harder than to say that he has shaped it wrong. Of affectation we will neither altogether clear him, nor very loudly pronounce him guilty. That his manner of writing is singular,—nay, in fact, a wild complicated Arabesque, no one can deny. But the true question is,—how nearly does this manner of writing represent his real manner of thinking and existing? With what degree of freedom does it allow this particular form of being to manifest itself; or what fetters and perversions does it lay on such manifestation? For the great law of culture is: Let each become all that he was created capable of being; expand, if possible, to his full growth; resisting all impediments, casting off all foreign, especially all noxious adhesions; and show himself at length in his own shape and stature, be these what they may. There is no uniform of excellence, either in physical or spiritual nature: all *genuine* things are what they ought to be. The reindeer is good and beautiful, so likewise is the elephant. In literature it is the same: " every man," says Lessing, " has his " own style, like his own nose." True, there are noses of wonderful dimensions; but no nose can justly be amputated by the public,—not even the nose of Slawkenbergius himself; so it *be* a real nose, and no wooden one, put on for deception's sake and mere show.

To speak in grave language, Lessing means, and we agree with him, that the outward style is to be judged of by the inward qualities of the spirit which it is employed to body forth; that without prejudice to critical propriety, well understood, the former may vary into many shapes as the latter varies; that, in short, the grand point for a writer, is not to be of this or that external make and fashion, but in every fashion, to be genuine, vigorous, alive—alive with his whole being, consciously, and for beneficent results.

Tried by this test, we imagine Richter's wild manner will be found less imperfect than many a very tame one. To the man it may not be unsuitable. In that singular form, there is a fire, a splendour, a benign energy, which persuades us into tolerance, nay into love, of much that might otherwise offend. Above all, this man, alloyed with imperfections as he may be, is consistent and coherent: he is at one with himself; he knows his aims, and pursues them in sincerity of heart, joyfully, and with undivided will. A harmonious developement of being, the first and last object of all true culture, has therefore been attained; if not completely, at least more completely than in one of a thousand ordinary men. Nor let us forget, that, in such a nature, it was not of easy attainment; that where much was to be developed, some imperfection should be forgiven. It is true, the beaten paths of literature lead the safeliest to the goal; and the talent pleases us most, which submits to shine with new gracefulness through old forms. Nor is the noblest and most peculiar mind too noble or peculiar for working by prescribed laws: Sophocles, Shakspeare, Cervantes, and in Richter's own age, Goethe, how little did they innovate on the given forms of composition, how much in the spirit they breathed into them! All this is true; and Richter must lose of our esteem in proportion. Much, however, will remain; and why should we quarrel with the high, because it is not the highest? Richter's worst faults are nearly allied to his best merits; being chiefly exuberance of good, irregular squandering of wealth, a dazzling with excess of true light. These things may be pardoned the more readily, as they are little likely to be imitated.

On the whole, Genius has privileges of its own; it selects an orbit for itself; and be this never so eccentric, if it is indeed a celestial orbit, we mere stargazers must at last compose ourselves; must cease to cavil at it, and begin to observe it, and calculate its laws. That Richter is a new Planet in the intellectual heavens, we dare not affirm; an atmospheric Meteor he is not wholly; perhaps a Comet that, though with long aberra-

tions, and shrouded in a nebulous veil, has yet its place in the empyrean.

Of Richter's individual works, of his opinions, his general philosophy of life, we have no room left us to speak. Regarding his novels, we may say, that, except in some few instances, and those chiefly of the shorter class, they are not what, in strict language, we can term unities: with much *callida junctura* of parts, it is rare that any of them leaves on us the impression of a perfect, homogeneous, indivisible whole. A true work of art requires to be *fused* in the mind of its creator, and, as it were, poured forth (from his imagination, though not from his pen,) at one simultaneous gush. Richter's works do not always bear sufficient marks of having been in *fusion*; yet neither are they merely *rivetted* together; to say the least, they have been *welded*. A similar remark applies to many of his characters; indeed, more or less, to all of them, except such as are entirely humorous, or have a large dash of humour. In this latter province, certainly, he is at home; a true poet, a maker: his *Siebenkäs*, his *Schmelzle*, even his *Fibel* and *Fixlein* are living figures. But in heroic personages, passionate, massive, overpowering as he is, we have scarcely ever a complete ideal: art has not attained to the concealment of itself. With his heroines again he is more successful; they are often true heroines, though perhaps with too little variety of character; bustling, buxom mothers and housewives, with all the caprices, perversities, and warm generous helpfulness of women; or white, half-angelic creatures, meek, still, long-suffering, high-minded, of tenderest affections, and hearts crushed yet uncomplaining. Supernatural figures he has not attempted; and wisely, for he cannot write without belief. Yet many times he exhibits an imagination of a singularity, nay, on the whole, of a truth and grandeur, unexampled elsewhere. In his *dreams* there is a mystic complexity, a gloom, and amid the dim, gigantic, half-ghastly shadows, gleamings of a wizard splendour, which almost recall to us the visions of Ezekiel. By readers who have studied the *Dream in the New-year's Eve*, we shall not be mistaken.

Richter's Philosophy, a matter of no ordinary interest, both as it agrees with the common philosophy of Germany, and disagrees with it, must not be touched on for the present. One only observation we shall make: it is not mechanical, or sceptical; it springs not from the forum or the laboratory, but from the depths of the human spirit; and yields as its fairest product a noble system of Morality, and the firmest conviction of Religion. In this latter point we reckon him peculiarly worthy of study. To a careless reader he might seem the wildest of infidels; for

nothing can exceed the freedom with which he bandies to and fro the dogmas of religion, nay, sometimes the highest objects of Christian reverence. There are passages of this sort which will occur to every reader of Richter; but which, not to fall into the error we already blamed in Madame de Stael, we shall refrain from quoting. More light is in the following: "Or," inquires he, in his usual abrupt way, (Note to *Schmelzle's Journey,*) "Or are all your Mosques, Episcopal Churches, Pagodas, Cha-"pels of Ease, Tabernacles, and Pantheons, anything else but "the Ethnic Forecourt of the Invisible Temple and its Holy of "Holies?" Yet, independently of all dogmas, nay, perhaps in spite of many, Richter is in the highest sense of the word religious. A reverence, not a self-interested fear, but a noble reverence for the spirit of all goodness, forms the crown and glory of his culture. The fiery elements of his nature have been purified under holy influences, and chastened by a principle of mercy and humility into peace and well-doing. An intense and continual faith in man's immortality and native grandeur accompanies him; from amid the vortices of life, he looks up to a heavenly loadstar; the solution of what is visible and transient, he finds in what is invisible and eternal. He has doubted, he denies, yet he believes. "When, in your last hour," says he, (*Levana*, p. 251.) "when, in your last hour, (think of this,) all fa-"culty in the broken spirit shall fade away and die into inanity—"imagination, thought, effort, enjoyment,—then at last will the "night-flower of Belief alone continue blooming, and refresh "with its perfumes in the last darkness."

To reconcile these seeming contradictions, to explain the grounds, the manner, the congruity of Richter's belief, cannot be attempted here. We recommend him to the study, the tolerance, and even the praise, of all men who have inquired into this highest of questions with a right spirit; inquired with the martyr fearlessness, but also with the martyr reverence, of men that love Truth, and will not accept a lie. A frank, fearless, honest, yet truly spiritual faith is of all things the rarest in our time.

Of writings which, though with many reservations, we have praised so much, our hesitating readers may demand some specimen. To unbelievers, unhappily, we have none of a convincing sort to give. Ask us not to represent the Peruvian forests by three twigs plucked from them; or the cataracts of the Nile by a handful of its water! To those, meanwhile, who will look on twigs as mere dissevered twigs, and a handful of water as only so many drops, we present the following. It is a summer Sunday night; Jean Paul is taking leave of the Hukelum Par-

son and his wife; like him, we have long laughed at them or wept for them; like him also, we are sad to part from them:

" We were all of us too deeply moved. We at last tore our-
" selves asunder from repeated embraces; my friend retired with
" the soul whom he loves. I remained alone, behind him with
" the Night.

" And I walked without aim through woods, through valleys,
" and over brooks, and through sleeping villages, to enjoy the
" great Night, like a Day. I walked, and still looked, like the
" magnet, to the region of midnight, to strengthen my heart at
" the gleaming twilight, at this upstretching aurora of a morn-
" ing beneath our feet. White night butterflies flitted, white
" blossoms fluttered, white stars fell, and the white snow-pow-
" der hung silvery in the high Shadow of the Earth, which reaches
" beyond the Moon, and which is our Night. Then began the
" Eolian Harp of the Creation to tremble and to sound, blown
" on from above; and my immortal Soul was a string in this
" Harp.—The heart of a brother, everlasting Man, swelled under
" the everlasting heaven, as the seas swell under the sun and
" under the moon.—The distant village clocks struck midnight,
" mingling, as it were, with the ever-pealing tone of ancient
" Eternity.—The limbs of my buried ones touched cold on my
" soul, and drove away its blots, as dead hands heal eruptions
" of the skin.—I walked silently through little hamlets, and close
" by their outer church-yards, where crumbled upcast coffin-
" boards were glimmering, while the once bright eyes that had
" lain in them, were mouldered into grey ashes. Cold thought!
" clutch not like a cold spectre at my heart: I look up to the
" starry sky, and an everlasting chain stretches thither, and
" over, and below; and all is Life, and Warmth, and Light, and
" all is Godlike or God. . .

" Towards morning, I desired thy late lights, little city of my
" dwelling, which I belong to on this side the grave; I returned
" to the Earth; and in thy steeples behind the by-advanced
" great midnight, it struck half past two: about this hour, in
" 1794, Mars went down in the west, and the Moon rose in the
" east; and my soul desired, in grief for the noble warlike blood
" which is still streaming on the blossoms of Spring: Ah, retire,
" bloody War, like red Mars; and thou, still Peace, come forth
" like the mild divided Moon!"—End of *Quintus Fixlein.*

Such, seen through no uncoloured medium, but in dim remoteness, and sketched in hurried, transitory outline, are some features of Jean Paul Friedrich Richter and his works. Germany has long loved him; to England also he must one day be-

come known; for a man of this magnitude belongs not to one people, but to the world. What our countrymen may decide of him, still more what may be his fortune with posterity, we will not try to foretell. Time has a contracting influence on many a wide-spread fame; yet of Richter we will say, that he may survive much. There is in him that which does not die; that Beauty and Earnestness of soul, that spirit of Humanity, of Love and mild Wisdom, over which the vicissitudes of mode have no sway. This is that excellence of the inmost nature which alone confers immortality on writings; that charm which still, under every defacement, binds us to the pages of our own Hookers, and Taylors, and Brownes, when their way of thought has long ceased to be ours, and the most valued of their merely intellectual opinions have passed away, as ours too must do, with the circumstances and events in which they took their shape or rise. To men of a right mind, there may long be in Richter much that has attraction and value. In the moral desert of vulgar Literature, with its sandy wastes, and parched, bitter, and too often poisonous shrubs, the writings of this man will rise in their irregular luxuriance, like a cluster of date-trees, with its greensward and well of water, to refresh the pilgrim, in the sultry solitude, with nourishment and shade.

ART. VIII.—*Original Letters, illustrative of English History, including numerous Royal Letters from Autographs in the British Museum, and one or two other Collections. With Notes and Illustrations.* By HENRY ELLIS, F. R. S. Sec. S. A. Keeper of the MSS. in the British Museum. Second Series, 4 vols. 8vo. pp. 1613. London. Harding and Lepard. 1827.

IT is with great pleasure that we meet our learned and worthy Editor again in the prosecution of his very useful task, on which we formerly greeted his entrance by our meed of applause and thanks. We strongly urged him to continue; and we still urge him in like manner: For he has only begun, what may well last his life, the work of opening to the world the hitherto locked up treasures under his official care. If there were no other inducements to prosecute this duty, this alone should suffice, that it is the first and surest way by far of preserving for ever the valuable documents themselves—there being no more effectual way of perpetuating the testimony of any paper-writing, than giving it to the public through the press.

But the paramount reason for urging Mr Ellis to go on, is, that he thus makes accessible to all mankind what hitherto has been the property of the trustees, who never use it,—or of a few men living near the Museum, who only use it in the parts suited to their peculiar speculations and views.

In selecting from this work some of the more interesting portions, with the view both of giving them greater circulation, and of conveying a few remarks to the reader, we shall confine ourselves to the third and fourth volumes, as by far the most interesting. The barbarous remains of royal illiterature, (*sit venia verbo,*) or of priestly pride, alternating with sycophancy, are of little curiosity; though here and there such courtesies as that of the brutal savage, Glyndower's lieutenant, the pink of chivalry with our romancers, in his letter to Reginald Lord Grey de Ruthyn, may excite a smile. The Baron terms this doughty correspondent, " the strongest thief in Wales." His name is Griffith ap David ap Griffith; and he is of the true cast, which our sentimental lovers of " the olden time," who regret all improvement, would have us regard as the genuine race of men, high-minded men. " We hope," says Griffith, or, as he signs his name, *Gruffuth,* " we hope we shall do the a privy " thing; a rope, a ladder, and a ryng; high on gallows for to " hinge. And thus shall be your endynge; and he that made " the be the so helpynge; and we on our behalf, shall be well " willynge."—In which fine poesy of the true time of chivalry, be it observed, in passing, there is some little trace of the versification of its modern eulogists and imitators. But we deem the remains of less savage animals more befitting the degenerate taste and fallen nature of the present age to contemplate; and, therefore, pass at once some centuries downward in the series, from the Plantagenet to the Tudor and the Stuart.

In " that infamous year," as Lord Clarendon justly terms 1572, the news of the massacre at Paris excited a natural sympathy and alarm in England; and we now find, that the foul murder of Mary Queen of Scots, was first suggested by the base and cruel councillor—Fear. Female jealousy may have smoothed the way to its execution, by one of the most cold-blooded and perfidious of her sex; but its origin was in alarm, the cause of most of the evils that afflict nations. A Right Reverend Prelate has, it now appears, the singular honour of having first suggested this great crime, as an expedient " for the safety of our " Quene and Realme"—to which the canting miscreant dares to add blasphemously, " *yf God will.*" The following letter, from Edwin Sandys, Bishop of London, to the Lord Burghley, substantiates his claim to the honour of inventing the greatest

blot upon Elizabeth's fame; and it is fit so singular a wretch should be made known to posterity for what he did.

"Theese evill tymes trouble all good mens headdes, and make their hearte sake, (heartes ake,) fearinge that this barbarous treacherie will not ceasse in Fraunce, but will reach over unto us. Neither feare we the mangling of our body, but we sore dreade the hurt of our Head: for therin consisteth our lief and saftie. We shall dutiefullie praie. Give you good advise. And God, I trust, will deliver us owt of the mouthe of the warringe Lyon. The Citizens of London in theese dangerous daies had need prudentlie to be dealt withall; the preachers appointed for the Crosse in this vacacion are but yonge men, unskilfull in matters politicall, yet so carried with zeale that they will enter into them and poure furthe their opinions. Yf the league standeth firme betwixt her Matie. and the Frenche Kinge, (as I suppose it dothe,) they may perhappes, beinge not directed, utter speache to the breache therof. Howe that will be liked of I dowte. Yf I may receave from yor. L. some direction or advise herin, I will not faill to directe them so well as I canne. The Deane of Paules and I will first occupie the place, givinge example howe others may followe. Sundrie have required a publique Faste and Praier to be had, for the confoundinge of theese and other cruell enemies of Goddes gospell; but this I will not consent unto, withowt warraunt from hir Matie. Thus am I bolde to unfolde a peece of my myde on the sudden, and to make you pertaker of my simple cogitacions, knowinge that according to yor. olde wonte, you will toke the same in good parte. Hasten hir Matie. homewarde, hir safe returne to London will comforth many heartes oppressed with feare. God preserve yow, and directe yow with his spirite to counsell to his glorie. In haste from my howse at Fulham this vth. of September 1572

"yor. L. humble at commandment.

"Ed. London.

"The saftie of our Quene and Realme,
yf God will.

"1. Furthwith *to* cutte of the SCOTTISH QUENE'S heade: *ipsa est nostri fundi calamitas.*

"2. To remove from our Quene Papistes, and suche as by private persuasion overthrowe good counsell.

"3. The Q. ma^{tie}. to be garded stronglie with Protestants, and others to be removed.

"4. Order must be taken for the safe kepinge of the Tower, and for good order to be had in London for strengtheninge of the Citie, and that they receave no Papistes of strengthe to sojourne there this winter.

"5. A firme League to be made with the yonge Scottish Kinge and the Protestants there.

"6. A League to be made with the Princes Protestants of Germanie, offensive and defensive.

"7. The chiefe Papistes of this realme are to be shutte uppe in the Tower, and the popishe olde Bushoppes to be returned thither.

"8. The Gospell earnestlie to be promoted, and the Churche not burdened with unnecessarie ceremonies.

"9. The Protestants, which onlie are faithfull subjectes, are to be comforted, preferred, and placed in autoritie, the Papistes to be displaced.

"Theese put in execution, wolde twrne to Goddes glory, the saftie of the Quene's Matie. and make the Realme florishe and stande.

"To the right honourable my singuler good Lorde the Lorde of Burghley, highe Treasurer of Englande."

"My singular good Lorde" served a jealous and spiteful woman, or he would have spurned the Right Reverend assassin from him, and told him, "tarry thou for life in Paul's chain, "for never shalt thou set in Lambeth thy cleft hoof."

The birth of "our most religious and gracious sovereign," Charles II., is thus announced by Lord Dorchester, with exemplary piety, and not quite as great a gift of prophecy:

"Sir,

"I receaved this morning by M^r^. Hopton your last Letters, and though I had allready written to you by this bearer, the cause of publick joy, since hapned, occasions the addition of these lynes to let yow know that yesterday before noone the Queene was made the happy mother of a Prince of Wales. Herselfe (God be thanked) is in good estate, and what a child can promise that reckons yet but two dayes, is allready visible, as a gratious pledge from Heaven of those blessings which are convayed and assured to Kingdomes in the issue of their Princes. As this hath sett on worke here whatsoever may serve to speake the fullnes of our harts in the language of publicke rejoysing, soe His Majestie hath thought fitt to communicate his contentment to the King and Queenes of France by his owne letters, whereof M^r^. Montague is the bearer, and hath commission to invite that King and the Queene mother to joyne with the King of Bohemia in christning of the yong Prince. And soe in hast I rest

"Y^rs^. to be commaunded

"Dorchester.

"From Whitehall
The 30 of May 1630.

"To my very loving frend M^r^. De Vic remayning for his Majesties affaires at Paris."

We are tempted to extract the letter which immediately follows, touching a peculiarity in that great man, and venerable patriot, Lord Coke. It is from Mr Mead to Sir Martin Stuteville:

"Sir Edward Coke being now very infirme in body, a freind of his sent him two or three Doctors to regulate his health; whom he told, that he had never taken phisick since he was borne, and would not now begin; and that he had now upon him a disease, which all the drugges

of Asia, the gold of Africa, the silver of America, nor all the Doctors of Europe could cure, Old Age. He therefore both thankt them and his friend that sent them, and dismist them nobly with a reward of twenty pieces to each man."

A letter from one Mr Pary (Dec. 2, 1632) to Sir Thomas Puckering, gives the news of Gustavus Adolphus's death at the battle of Lutzen, near Leipsic, with some particulars of that memorable catastrophe.

"On Fryday Dalbier a German (who was Count Mansfeld's paymaster in all his warres, hee that should have fetch't over the Dutch for the late Duke from Embden, and which hath served sometimes under the King of Sweden since his coming into Germany) Dalbier, I say, came to the court. And Burlamacki that accompanied him thither told me, the newes he brought out of Dutchland were as followeth: That hee was four dayes in the Swedish army, after the battell was fought. That hee sawe the dead body of the king of Sweden. That Papenheim, the bravest commander that ever serv'd the Emperour was slaine in the same battell. That the Swedish army gott the victory. That Walstein left his ordinance behinde him. That Bernard Duke of Saxon Weymar pursued Walstein towards Bohemia: that Dalbier, as hee passed through Frankford, understood the Chancelour Oxeinstern was gone up to consult with the Duke Elector of Saxony about carriage of the maine busines: and that when Dalbier was come to Mentz, hee found the King of Bohemia dead there of the plague which hee had gotten at Frankford.* Thus farre Burlamacki.

"The manner of the king of Swedens death he thus describeth; I mean Dalbier; the King (saith hee) being shott on the arme with a pistoll call'd to his cousin Bernard Duke of Weymar, to make way for his retreat, that hee might goe and dresse his wound. But as the word was in his mouth, an horseman of the enemy prying the king steadfastly in the face, said, you are the birde wee have so long lookt, and with that shott him through the boddy with a brace of bulletts; so that the King fell off his horse stark dead, and Duke Bernard slewe the man that had thus kill'd him. But that which soundes harshe and incredible in all mens eares, is, that the Kinges body, thus falling, should bee so much neglected as to be left all day and all night in the field, and to be found next morning stript stark naked among the promiscuous carcasses. But Browne that arrived here on Saturday, being sent post by Curtius the kinges Agent from Frankford, contradictes Dalbier in this, saying, the Kinges corpse, as soon as ever it fell, was layd in a waggon, and that being since embalmed it is carried along with the army as an incentive to stirre up his soldiers to revenge his blood.

"Both doe agree, that the King by his last will and testament con-

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* The King of Bohemia died at Mentz Nov. 29th. 1632; as it was subsequently said, of a malignant fever.

stituted the Queene his wife to succeed him in authority, and ordered a councill of warre continually to attende her, that shee might signe and firme all their dispaches and resolutions.

"If the King of Bohemia bee dead, the Emperour hath a great advantage therby, because there is none now living but himselfe that hath any title to that so long controverted Crowne. Besides, upon that Kinges death, our King and State are obliged to doe more for a Nephew then for a brother in lawe; and more likewise for a widdow then for a wife.

"Well, the mourning here in Court for both Kinges began on Sunday, and is to continue till Newyeares daye: and yet some (and those not a fewe) are so incredulous, as they will not beleeve the death of either. For yesterday there came letters to town from Amsterdam, Haerlem, the Haghe, & Delft, which affirmed the king of Sweden to be alive, though those from Antwerp said the contrary. Yesterday there was at least 200li. layd in wagers that he is still alive. Mr James Maxwells brother hearing them there yesterday affirme the kinges life so confidently, said hee would lay ten to one, the king was dead. Wherupon suche a throng of people came about him with golde in their handes as almost putt him out of countenance; and made him glad to accept no more but three pieces.

"At night, with the tide, arrived from Delft a servant of one Mr. Berrington, a merchant adventurer, who saith that letters from Leipsig & Magdeburg doe avowe the king to be alive, and that the reason why it was generally thought he was dead, was, because so soon as hee was hurte he retired into his tent, and kept himselfe close there for twoe dayes under the surgeons hand."

The devoted admirers of Charles I., we doubt not, will be much edified with the title of Letter CCLXXXIX. "*King* "*Charles I. to Dr Juxon, Bishop of London: the King sends him* "*a Case of Conscience.*" The amiable, good, and dear King! so conscientious! so scrupulous! sending to the Bishop "a Case "of Conscience," while other kings would send his Lordship a request for a living! We extract this *conscientious* effusion for the edification of the Jacobite reader, who venerates our Royal Martyr; subjoining, reluctantly, a few Hanoverian comments thereupon.

"Newcastle 30 Sept. 1646.

"My Lord,

"My knowledge of your worth and learning, and particularly in resolving Cases of Conscience, makes me at this time (I confess) put to you a hard and bold task, nor would I do it, but that I am confident you know not what fear is in a good cause. Yet I hope You believe that I shall be loath to expose you to a needless danger, assuring you that I will yield to none of your friends in my care of your preservation. I need not tell You the many persuasions and threatnings that hath been used to me for making me change Episcopal into Presbiterial Government, which absolutely to do, is so directly against

my conscience, that, by the Grace of God no misery shall ever make me: but I hold myself obliged by all honest means to eschew the mischief of this too visible storm, and I think some kind of compliance with the iniquity of the times may be fit, as my Case is, which, at another time, were unlawful. These are the grounds that have made me think of this inclosed Proposition, the which as one way it looks handsome to us, so in another I am fearful least I cannot make it with a safe conscience; of which I command you to give me your opinion upon your Allegiance. Conjuring you, that you will deal plainly and freely with me, as you will answer it at the dreadful day of Judgement.

"I conceive the Question to be, whether I may with a safe Conscience give way to this proposed temporary compliance, with a resolution to recover and maintain that doctrine and discipline wherein I have been bred. The duty of my Oath is herein chiefly to be considered; I flattering myself that this way I better comply with it, than being constant to a flat denial, considering how unable I am by force to obtain that which this way there wants not probability to recover, if accepted, (otherwise there is no harm done) for my Regal authority once settled, I make no question of recovering Episcopal government, and God is my witness my chiefest end in regaining my power, is, to do the Church service. So expecting your reasons to strengthen your opinion, whatsoever it be, I rest

"Your most asseured, reall, faithfull,
"constant frend
"Charles R.

"I desire your opinion in the particulars, as well as in the general scope of it; and yet mend much in the penning of it. I give you leave to take the assistance of the Bishop of Salisbury and Dr. Sheldon, and either of them. But let me have your answer with all convenient speed. None knows of this but Will Murray, who promises exact secrecy.

"If your opinions and reasons shall confirm me in making of this Proposition, then you may some way be seen in it, otherwise I promise you, that your opinion shall be concealed."

Now, we conceive that a greater instance of perfidy than this letter discloses, cannot be pointed out in the whole history of intrigues, even among cardinals and other Romish priests themselves. Let it be carefully remarked, that the doubt raised in the King's mind, is not whether he can conscientiously deceive the Presbyterians, but whether he can, conscientiously towards the Church, give a temporary and seeming acquiescence to its disadvantage. This is quite clear, from these two passages:—"To change Episcopal into Presbiterial government absolutely, "is so directly against my conscience, that no misery shall ever "make me; but I hold myself obliged, by all honest means, to "eschew the mischief of this too visible storm; and I think some "kind of *compliance with the iniquity of the times* may be fit, as my "case is, *which, at another time, were unlawful.*"—Again:—"*The*

"*duty of my oath* is herein chiefly to be considered; I flatter "myself that, in this way, I better comply with it." So that he never once dreamt of considering whether he was acting a fair, an honest, or *conscientious* part, by the Presbyterians, in pretending to be against Episcopacy, and for Presbytery, with the secret design of restoring Episcopacy, and putting down Presbytery, which he says, "God is his witness, is his chiefest "end in regaining his power!" His only scruple arises from the fear of doing wrong by the Church, if he should, even in outward appearance, and in seeming breach of his oath, favour her adversaries. It is remarkable, that Lord Clarendon, in allusion to Charles's ultimate refusal, says, "He was too conscientious to "buy his peace at so profane and sacrilegious a price." But the candid and reflecting reader of the above memorable letter, cannot well have any doubt as to the measure of the blessed martyr's conscientious scruples; and without any want of charity, we must take leave to suspect, that even the scruples which he puts forward, are fabricated for the occasion, and that his real fears were lest his apparent compliance, misunderstood, might alienate the Church, while it conciliated the sectaries. He probably addressed cases of conscience to other bishops; and if he could have obtained the concurrence of a sufficient number to quiet the whole body, by letting his real motives be understood, he would infallibly have tricked the Presbyterians as he plainly wished, and he was fully prepared to do, without any scruples or hesitation at all.

Our worthy Editor is, on all occasions, so abundantly hostile to the Commonwealth, and devotedly loyal to the Stuarts, that we question if he would have inserted this very decisive letter of the Royal Martyr, had he exactly perceived its drift, and not been led away by the phrase of the King—"Case of Conscience." His notes on this period of the collection, are full of whatever he could collect most favourable to the Royal cause, and most injurious to the Republicans. He gives anecdotes and remarks in plenty, and letters expressing abhorrence of the deed which was done on the 30th of January. Thus, he cites Evelyn, who "was so struck with horror, that he kept the day of his martyr-"dom apart, and *would not be present* at that execrable wicked-"ness." He relates, from a weekly newspaper of the 7th March, that "most of the gentry of Scotland are clothed in mourning, "and the chair of State in the Parliament House, and upper-"most seats in the kirks, and the pulpits, are clothed black." But, somehow or other, he seems to have found none of those symptoms of general and excessive grief so faithfully described by Hume, and with such minuteness of detail—nothing about pul-

pits flowing with unsuborned tears—women casting forth the untimely fruit of the womb, and some, "as if they could not or "would not survive their beloved Monarch," actually giving up the ghost.—Yet the letters published by Mr Ellis tell several tales not at all founded in fact, and which, in the notes, he contradicts as exaggerations. The grief of one person is indeed described; and Mr Ellis seems to regard it as something extraordinary, and very creditable to the party. We doubt if son ever wept less for death of father, even when he had not fallen under the hand of public justice.

"Feb. 7. Letters from Southampton say, that on Friday, Feb. "2d. the Prince received intelligence of his Father's death, and "being much astonish'd thereat, declared himself with a sad de-"jected countenance to divers gentlemen attending his person, "saying, '*O unfortunate Prince, that ever I should live to see this* "*day; now woe be unto the Kingdome of England.*' With that "the tears trickled down his cheeks, and his Highness betook "himself to *some privacy, for a while.*"

The hatred and contempt of the Republicans govern both the selections in the text, and the commentary in the notes. Differing widely from Mr Ellis in our views of these men, we fear not to extract the letters given by him as samples of their peculiarities. The following is Harrison's letter to Cromwell, from which Hume has quoted a famous passage. Our Editor calls it in the title, "*A Letter of Cant.*"

"My Deare Lord

"To spare your trouble I forbeare to give yow my excuse for not waiting on yow to Ware. I know yow love me, therefore are not apt to except, though in this particular I had not failed, but that Orders from the Councell superseded me.

"Considering under how many and greate burdens yow labour I am afraid to saie anie more, that I maie not add to them, but love and duty makes me presume.

"The buisines yow goe upon is weightie, as ever yett yow undertooke: the issue plainly and deeply concernes the life or death of the Lords people, his owne name and his Sons: nevertheless maie yow rejoyce in God (whose affaire itt is) who, having heretofore given yow numberlesse signall testimonies to other parts of the worke, will in mercie prosper this, that Hee maie perfect what hee hath begun. And to omitt other Arguments, that in Deut. 32. 27. hath much force on my hearte, especially the last words, 'And the Lord hath not done all this.' I beleive if the present enemy should prevail, Hee would as certainly reproach God and all that hitherto hath beene done as aforesaid, even as I now write, but the Jealousie of the Lord of Hosts for his greate name will not admitt itt.

"My Lord bee carefull for nothing, but praie with thanksgiving (to witt in faith), Phill. 4. 6, 7. I doubt not your successe, but I

thinke Faith and Praier must bee the cheife engines, as heretofore the ancient Worthies through Faith subdued Kingdomes, out of weakness were made strong, waxed valiaunt in fight, and turned to flight the armies of the Aliens. Oh, that a spirit of Faith and Supplication maie bee poured forth on yow and your Armie! There is more to bee had in this poore simple waie than even most Saints expect.

"My Lord lett waiting upon Jehovah bee the greatest and most considerable business yow have every daie; reckon itt soe more then to eate, sleepe, or councell together. Run aside some times from your Companie, and gett a word with the Lord. Why should not yow have three or four precious soules allwaies standing att your elbow, with whom yow might now and then turne into a corner: I have found refreshment and mercie in such a waie. Ah, the Lord of compassion owne, pittie your burdens, care for yow, stand by and refreshe your hearte each moment. I would I could in anie kind doe yow good, my heart is with yow, and my poore praiers to my God for yow. The Allmightie Father carrie yow in his very bossome, and deliver yow (if itt bee his will) from touching a very haire of anie for whom Jesus hath bled. I expect a very gracious returne in this particular; but I am sorry to bee thus tedious, pardon mee. Here is little newes, onely Charles Vane retorned from Portugall, who left our Fleet indifferently well, and that they had seised nine of the Portugall's Shipps.

"The Father of Mercies visitt, and keepe your Soule close to him continually, protect, preserve, and prosper yow, is the praier of, my Lord,

"Your excellencie's loving Servant
"whilst I breath,
"T. Harrison.

"Whitehall
3d July 1650.

"For His Excellency the Lord
General Cromwell
humbly present
Theis."

We add one from Bradshawe to Cromwell, designated as "*Another Letter of Cant*:"

"My Lord,

"By the hands of this trustie bearer, accept I pray you of this paper remembrance and salutation from him who both upon the publique and his owne pryvate account is verie much your dettor, and with other your poore friends here prayes for and adores the manifestation of Gods gracious presence with you in all your weyghty affaires; which as they are undertaken in zeale to God's glory and his peoples good, will, through contynuance of the same dyvine presence and mercy, be crowned with answerable successe; and whosoever belong to God in the Nation where you are, will in the close of all, have cause to say *periissemus nisi periissemus*. In the mean tyme, God can and will tame those stubborne spirits, and convince them of their hypocrysy who create you all this trouble, and give a mercifull testimony

to the sinceritie of his poor servants hearts who have appealed unto him.

"My Lord

"I forbeare particularizing things here: only this, God is gracious to us in dyscovery of many of our enemies desygnes (which thereby have proved abortive), and delyvering their Councels in a good measure into our hands; and in watching over the common safetie, there is much acknowledgment due to the indefatigable industry of M. Generall Harrison, your faithfull servant and substitute in that worke here. Your Lordship will shortly heare of some numbers of godly persons in a regimentall forme here in London whose example will be followed by others of like good mynd in Norwich, Kent, and other places, who have sent for Commissions to us for that purpose, and our resolution is they shall not want Incouragement.

"My Lord, I will trespasse no further upon your tyme. The Lord of Hosts be with you: the God of Jacob be your refuge.

"The humblest of your welwillers,
"ffryends and servants
"Jo. Bradshawe.

"Whytehall
"30 Aug. 1650.
"For his Excellencie
The Lord Generall Cromwell
Theise."

Now, we are aware that this is not the style of the present day, nor even of the Cavaliers, although most of that party quoted Scripture when it suited them. But let us pause before we, on that account, condemn it as all "cant." It is much the style of the age; at least, of thoughtful persons, in those pious and God-fearing times; and men as liberal and philosophical as Mr Ellis, or any who now laugh at the old leaven of the Harrisons and the Bradshawes, ay, such men as John Locke and Sir Isaac Newton, hardly ever indited a letter to one another on scientific subjects, without some reference to Scripture. Cant means pretence to piety, which the speaker feels not. Who denies that Harrison felt the piety he expresses? If he did not, and if Cromwell was as great a hypocrite as himself, why fill a letter, meant for no eye but the Lord General's, with what both must have laughed at? Is any one hardy enough to deny, that in all those men, those great men, the most illustrious warriors and statesmen of their age, how widely soever we may differ from some of their doctrines, and how much soever reprobate their excesses, the spirit of religion brought forth great and good works? It knit them together, and sustained their courage both civil and military; and led their raw levies and inexpert factions in triumph over a host of abuses and legions of disciplined troops. "Harrison (says our Editor) had recourse to what was "called the sword of the spirit." But surely it is the Apostle

in the Bible, not the Major-General at "Whytehall," who calls it so. "He was much given to 'prayer and preaching.'" But who taught him to pray alway? Not the Lord General, certainly; but another Lord, whom we really think a man might be permitted to own without being accused of cant. It is quite consistent in a man to say, "I am above the vulgar errors of "religion: I believe not in Christ crucified; I regard the Bible "as a parcel of silly fables; and I despise foolish old Harrison's "advice to his friend, that he should let waiting upon Jehovah "be the greatest and most considerable business he had every "day." Even such a man, however, would have no more right to charge the old military saint with canting about religion, than the saint would have to accuse him of canting about infidelity; but at least such a man would be consistent in impiety, and might intelligibly impute weakness, and error, to the Major-General. But Mr Ellis is a loyal friend of things established in Church and State, and would turn with horror from so unholy an ally as we have been raising up to him; he views the Bible as the word of God; and would hand over all who deny it and ridicule it to the civil power. Then what right can *he* have to laugh at or vituperate those who only act up to what himself professes—who show forth in their lives, that they truly believe and heartily feel the faith which he mutters over once a-week after the parson, without curses—and, on great occasions, accompanies with curses on all who differ with him? As to the sincerity of those great men of "the olden time," he has himself added to the facts that bear witness unto it. At the Restoration, Harrison suffered as a regicide, for a deed, which, he justly said, "had not been done in a corner." Pepys saw him executed; and he candidly admits, that, "upon the scaffold, he looked as cheerful as any man "could do in that condition;" and Grainger says, he "died "exulting in the cause he suffered for." These accidental particulars record the good faith and free conscience of the Republicans far better than Mr Hume's inconsistent tales of a man calmly hearing the noise of the preparations for his death the night before, when he is also to be praised for walking undismayed from another part of the town just before he is executed. For Bradshawe, he died in exile; but firm in the faith, after twelve years, and declaring on his death-bed, that "were the King to be tried and condemned again, he "would be the first man that should do it." What would our Editor, and that class of chivalrous persons whom he represents, have said of the republicans and saints, had he caught one of *them* giving up to the block the head of his fastest friend, who was only accused of going too far in his service,—of Cromwell, for instance, had he made his peace with Charles by giving up

Harrison, whom the King had hated only because of his devotion to Oliver? Or what would he have said, by way of note or comment, to a letter of Cromwell, proposing secretly the re-establishment of bishops, for the purpose of more effectually subverting the whole church six months after? This letter might have contained very little Scripture—might have dealt sparingly in allusions to the Spirit—and might yet have deserved the name of cant and hypocrisy, and fraud and perjury, more especially if it affected a mighty scrupulousness about seeming even for a short season indifferent to the opinions of the Independents, whom he had sworn to support, and no care at all about grossly and foully deceiving the church by a deliberate plot.

We shall close this part of the subject, with two letters of Oliver himself,—one to Colonel Hacker, and the other to "the "Lady Elizabeth, his wife:"

"Sir,

"I have the best consideration I can for the præsent in this businesse, and although I believe Capt. Hubbert is a worthy man, and heere soe much, yett as the case stands, I cannott with satisfaction to my selfe and some others revoake the Commission I had given to Capt. Empson, without offence to them, and reflection upon my owne judgement. I pray lett Capt. Hubbert knowe I shall not bee unmindefull of him, and that noe disrespect is intended to him. But indeed I was not satisfied with your last speech to mee about Empson, that he was a better præcher then a fighter or souldier or words to that effect. Truly I thinke Hee that prayes and præches best will fight best. I know nothing will give like courage and confidence as the knowledge of God in Christ will, and I blesse God to see any in this Armye able and willinge to impart the knowledge they have for the good of others. And I expect itt bee encouraged by all Chiefe Officers in this Armye especially: and I hope you will doe soe. I pray receave Capt. Empson lovinglye. I dare assure you hee is a good man and a good officer. I would wee had noe worse. I rest

"Your lovinge friend,

"Dec. 25, 1650. "O. Cromwell.

"For Col. Francis Hacker att Pebles or else where.

Thiese."

"My Deerest

"I could not satisfie my selfe to omitt this poast, although I have not much to write, yett indeed I love to write to my Deere whoe is very much in my heart. It joyes mee to heere thy soule prospereth; the Lord increase his favours to thee more and more. The great good thy soule can wish is that the Lord lift upon thee the light of his countenance which is better than life. The Lord blesse all thy good counsell and example to those about thee, and heere all thy prayers, and accept thee alwayes. I am glad to heere thy Sonn and Daughter are with

thee. I hope thou wilt have some good opportunitye of good advise to him. Present my duty to my Mother, my Love to all the familye. Still pray for

"thine
"O. CROMWELL.

"Edenburgh
3d of May, 1651.

"For my beloved wife Elizabeth Cromwell att the Cockpitt in Westminster, theise."

These volumes, if they show the workings of the Spirit in the example and councils of the saints, are not without samples of the opposite influence, which inspired the proceedings of the cavaliers. The accomplished and amiable Charles, after his father's death, and the loss of three kingdoms, seems to have soothed his moments of exile in a pleasant, if not a very dignified or interesting manner. The following letter is written to his aunt, the Queen of Bohemia, during the time which he passed at Cologne, where, says Lord Clarendon, he contended with the rigour of his fortune with *great temper and magnanimity.*

"Collen, Aug. 6.

"MADAME,

"I am just now begining this Letter in my Sisters Chamber, wher ther is such a noise that I never hope to end it, and much lesse write sence. For what concernes my sisters journey and the accidents that happened on the way, I leave to her to give your Ma^ty^. an account of. I shall only tell your Ma^ty^. that we are now thinking how to passe our time; and in the first place of danceing, in which we find to* difficultyes, the one for want of the fidelers, the other for some body both to teach and assist at the danceing the new Dances: and I have gott my sister to send for Silvius as one that is able to performe both: for the fideldedies my L^d^. Taafe does promise to be there convoy, and in the meane time we must contente our selves with those that makes no difference between a himme and a coranto. I have now receaved my Sisters pickture that my deare cousin the Princess Louise was pleased to draw, and do desire your Ma~ty~. thank her for me, for 'tis a most excellent pickture, which is all I can say at present, but that I am,

"Madame,
"Your Maties. most
"humble and most affectionate
"nephew and servant
"CHARLES R.

"To the Queen of Bohemia,
my deerest Aunte."

Pepys bears a cheering testimony to his Sacred Majesty's edifying care for "*fidelers*" and "*fideldedies*" in after life; showing that he did not merely resort to them in "his magnanimity" to

* Two.

beguile the hours of exile, but that they formed a choice portion of the royal existence, even when in prosperity: "May 31st. "1664. I was told to-day, that upon Sunday night last, being "the King's birth-day, the King was at my Lady Castlemaine's "lodgings (over the hither gate at Lambert's lodgings) dancing "*with fiddlers* all night almost; and all the world coming by, "taking notice of it."

The reign of Charles II. opens with some curious and affecting letters upon the great plague, of which Mr Ellis justly observes, no adequate account has yet been given,—Defoe's, which deceived Dr Mead, being universally allowed to be a fiction. The following to Dr Sancroft, then Dean of St Paul's, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, we select from the rest:—

"Sept. 14th. 1665.

"REVEREND SIR,

* * * * * * *

"We are in good hopes that God in his mercy will put a stop to this sad calamity of Sickness; but the desolation of the City is very great. That heart is either steel or stone that will not lament this sad Visitation, and will not bleed for those unutterable sorrows.

"It is a time, God knows, that one woe courts another; those that are sick are in extreme sorrow; the poor are in need; those that are in health are in fear of infection on the one side, and the wicked inventions of hellish rebellious spirits to put us in an uproar on the other side.

"What eye would not weep to see so many habitations uninhabited; the poor sick not visited; the hungry not fed; the Grave not satisfied! Death stares us continually in the face in every infected person that passeth by us; in every coffin which is daily and hourly carried along the streets. The bells never cease to put us in mind of our mortality.

"The custom was, in the beginning, to bury the dead in the night only; now, both night and day will hardly be time enough to do it.

"For the last week, mortality did too apparently evidence that, that the dead was piled in heaps above ground for some hours together, before either time could be gained or place to bury them in.

"The Quakers (as we are informed) have buried in their piece of ground a thousand for some weeks together last past.

"Many are dead in Ludgate, Newgate, and Christ Church Hospital, and many other places about the town which are not included in the bill of mortality.

"The disease itself (as is acknowledged by our practitioners in physic) was more favourable in the beginning of the contagion; now more fierce and violent; and they themselves do likewise confess to stand amazed to meet with so many various symptoms which they find amongst their patients. One week the general distempers are botches and boils; the next week as clear-skinned as may be; but death spares neither. One week, full of spots and tokens; and perhaps the suc-

ceeding, none at all. Now taken with a vomiting and looseness, and within two or three days almost a general raging madness. One while patients used to linger four or five days, at other times not forty-eight hours; and at this very time we find it more quick than ever it was. Many are sick, and few escape. Where it has had its fling, there it decreases; where it has not been long, there it increases. It reigned most heretofore in alleys, &c. now it domineers in the open streets. The poorer sort was most afflicted; now the richer bear a share.

" Captain Colchester is dead. Fleetham and all his family are clearly swept away, except one maid. Dr Burnett, Dr Glover, and one or two more of the College of Physicians, with Dr O'Dowd, which was licensed by my Lord's Grace of Canterbury, some surgeons, apothecaries, and Johnson the chemist, died all very suddenly. Some say (but God forbid that I should report it for truth) that these, in a consultation together, if not all, yet the greatest part of them, attempted to open a dead corpse which was full of the tokens; and being in hand with the dissected body, some fell down dead immediately, and others did not outlive the next day at noon.

" All is well and in safety at your house, God be thanked. Upon Tuesday last I made it my day's work to kindle fires in every room of the house where I could do it, and aired all the bedclothes and bedding at the fires, and so let them all lie abroad until this morning; the feather bed in the back chamber was almost spoiled with the heavy weight of carpets and other things upon it. I am afraid I have been too tedious, and therefore beg your pardon and take my leave, who am,

" Reverend Sir,

" your most faithful humble servant,

" JO. TILLISON.

" Brimstone, hops, pepper, and frankincense, &c. I use to fume the rooms with.

" For yourself."

We perceive that the regular Church dignitaries, the favourites of Mr Ellis and the Cavaliers, and men who of course never fall into any cant, speak very much the language of the saints, in some of these letters on the plague. Thus: " The Lord extend the " yearnings of his bowels of compassion towards us, that we be " not consumed by the means of his heavy hand, and give us " grace to depart from the plague of our hearts, that this plague " and grievous sickness may be withdrawn from us, for Christ " Jesus his sake, that so we may have the blessed happiness again " of meeting together in his howse, with one accord to record his " name:" (Vol. IV. p. 24.) So writes and so prays the Reverend Stephen Bing, of the Cathedral Church of St Paul, to his Very Reverend Dean. Again prays the same reverend person, on hearing of some sedition: " May all their devices be frustrated, and " the devisers caught in their own traps, that seek ill to Zion and " the King. The Lord be gracious to his Church and nation; " and down with them that would down with governors and go- " vernment. They hope that this his hand of displeasure will

" work much for them; but we trust he will correct us in his " fatherly judgment, and not in his fury, that we may be the " better fitted to meet him once more in the beauty of holiness, " to praise his name; which, God grant, for his mercy's sake, " in Christ Jesus." (Vol. IV. p. 29.) Now this, it must be confessed, is wonderfully like the derided language of the saints. But the difference is, that the saints said such things not in their extremity. The Cavaliers, it seems, could pray when they were sick, as fast as the Roundheads—and so could another Cavalier of very high descent, and most courtly acquirements! But, as soon as he got well, he is said to have laughed at those who prayed, and himself to have abandoned the monastic state altogether.

The letters during the Prince of Orange's advance, are not so interesting as might have been expected at so eventful a moment; but they tally with all that was heretofore known, in showing that illustrious and virtuous person's consummate prudence and firmness, and the almost incredible contrast of the unhappy James's imbecility, and alternate rashness and indecision. The seizure of the infamous Jeffries is chronicled in the following letter:—

" Yesterday the Lord Chancellor, in a black wig and other contrivances to disguise, offered a Collier fifty guineas to carry him to Hamburgh; the Mate, having seen him formerly, suspected who he was, and consulting with a merchant, he advised them to repair to the Lord Mayor for an order to seize him; but not meeting with satisfaction there, they repaired to the Council at Whitehall, and orders being accordingly given, he was taken and brought amid universal execration of the People before the Lord Mayor, who upon sight of the Prisoner fell into a violent paralytique fit, so as to hinder him from examining him, and still continues ill. Nevertheless, upon the directions of the Council at Whitehall, the Lord Chancellor was committed Prisoner to the Tower.

" The Bishop of Chester is said to have been seized near Dover."

It appears clear, from many testimonies, that the phlegmatick temper of King William was, upon one occasion, so irritated by the opposition made to maintaining his Dutch guards, as to make him meditate seriously his retirement from England. Mr Ellis has printed in a note, the draft of the speech which he had prepared to make upon this memorable step—a step which, in all likelihood, would have led to the tyrant's restoration. It is a most curious document, and well worthy of an attentive perusal:

" 'M^r^. a Ge.

" 'Je suis venu icy dans ce Royaume au desir de cette Nation pour la sauver de ruine, et pour preserver vostre Religion vostre Lois et Libertes, et pour ce subjet j'ay este oblige de soutenir une longue et tres onereuse geurre pour ce Royaume, laquelle par la grace de Dieu et la bravoure de cette Nation est a present terminée par une bonne

Paix; dans laquelle vous poures vivre heureusement, et en repos, si vous voulies contribuer a vostre propre seurete, ainsi que je vous l'avois recommande a l'ouverture de cette Session; mais voyent au contraire, que vous aves si peu de guard a mes advis, et que vous ne prenez auquun si peu* de soin de vostre seurete, et vous exposes a une ruine evidente, vous destituant des sules et uniques moiens que pouroit servir des moiens necessaire pour† vostre defense. Il ne seroit pas juste ou raisonable que je fusse temoin [de] vostre perte, ne pouvant rien faire de mon coste, pour l'eviter [sans vous pouvoir defendre et proteger]‡ ce que a este la seule veu que j'ai eu en venant en ce Paiis; ainsi je dois vous requerir de choisir et me nommer telles personnes, que vous jugeres capable auquels je puisse laissé [l'administration du]§ gouvernement en mon absence, vous asseurant que quoyque je suis oblige|| a present de *me retirer* HORS DU ROYAUME. Je concerveres toujours la mesmes inclination pour son adventage et prosperité; et que quandt je poures juger que ma presence y seroit necessaire pour vostre defense, et que je jugeres le pouvoir entreprendre aux succes, vous vous me feres en estat que je seres dont porté a y revenir et hasarde ma vie pour voste seurete, comme je l'ay fait par le passé: priant le bon Dieu de benir vos deliberations, et de vous inspirer ce que est necessaire pour le bien et la seurete du Royaume.'

"The words placed in the lower part of the page, with letters of reference, are King William's marginal alterations."

There are several letters of Lord Chatham in this collection, and all containing marks of that prompt decision, frank disposition, and warmth of feeling, even to rashness, by which this great man was eminently distinguished. There is little of courtier-like precision, for example, and less of official formality and caution, in the following despatch from the Foreign Secretary to the English Ambassador at Berlin, upon the Earl Marischal's pardon:—

"SIR,

"You will be informed by the Earl of Holdernesse, now returned from Bath, of the pleasure His Majesty took in complying with the wishes of the King of Prussia in favour of Lord Marshal; and I have only to add on the subject, that nothing was left for the King's servants to do on the occasion but to admire the generosity and clemency of two great monarchs displaying themselves so amiably, and to be happy in the growing harmony and confidential friendship which daily manifest themselves between their Majesties.

"The approbation the King of Prussia is pleased to express to you of the measures pursued, and of the fair and honest proceedings of the King's servants, fills me with the deepest satisfaction and sincerest joy

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* auquun. † a.

‡ Estant hors d'estat de vous defendre et proteger.

§ administre le. || forcé.

for the public; at the same time that the distinguished protection and infinite condescension of that heroic monarch towards the least amongst them have indeed left me under impressions beyond the power of words, and in addition to all the warmest sentiments which my heart has long devoted to the greatest of Kings and pride of human nature, gratitude, that can only cease with my life, has completed the ties of inviolable attachment.

"I have the pleasure to acquaint you that, this day, the pecuniary succour to Prussia, and the subsidy to the Landgrave, together with nineteen thousand Hessians for this year, passed the Committee, with one voice only against it. I return you many thanks for your obliging presents, and desire you will be persuaded that I shall be happy in the occasions of testifying the great truth and consideration with which I remain,

"Dear Sir,

"Your most obedient, humble servant,

"W. PITT.

"Whitehall,
Jan. 26th. 1759."

The same language of high admiration for Frederick II. marks all Lord Chatham's correspondence.

"What I sat down only to do, is to acknowledge the favour of your very obliging private Letter of the 20th. past, and to give some expressions in a short word to the deep and lively sentiments of most respectful gratitude and veneration which such a testimony from such a Monarch must engrave for ever in a heart already filled with admiration and devotion.

"Truly dear as His Prussian Majesty's interests are to me, it is my happiness to be able to say, that if any servant of the King could forget (a thing, I trust, is impossible) what is due by every tie to such an Ally, I am persuaded His Majesty would soon bring any of us to our memory again. In this confidence I rest secure that whenever Peace shall be judged proper to come under consideration, *no* PEACE *of* UTRECHT will again stain the annals of England."

The following is in a somewhat different style; and though a private letter, written to a private friend, by a person who had just been brought from his retirement and cabbage-planting in the country, breathes a good deal more of the air of a court than the Secretary of State's despatch to the Ambassador:—

"Strelitz, Aug. 17th. 1761.

"DEAR MITCHELL,

"How unfortunate am I to lose the opportunity of meeting you at Perleberg! but still more concerned for the accident that has deprived me of that pleasure of introducing you to the most amiable young Princess I ever saw. You may imagine what Reception I have met with at this Court coming upon such an errand as brought me here, where the great honour the King has done this Family is seen in its proper light.

"I reached this place on the 14th. On the 15th. the Treaty was

concluded, and dispatched away to England. *L'Affaire en verité n'etoit pas bien epineuse.*

"This little Court has exerted its utmost abilities to make a figure suitable to the occasion, and I can assure you they have acquitted themselves not only with magnificence and splendour, but with a great deal of good taste and propriety.

"Our Queen that is to be, has seen very little of the World, but her very good sense, vivacity, and cheerfulness, I dare say will recommend her to the King, and make her the darling of the British nation. She is no regular beauty, but she is of a very pretty size, has a charming complexion, very pretty eyes, and finely made. In short she is a very fine girl.

"I can't finish my Letter, dear Mitchell, without giving you the strongest assurances of my affection and good wishes for the recovery of your health, and that you may live to return to your Country, and receive rewards adequate to the important and dangerous services you have been employed in.*

"I must detain you a little longer to give you a short account of the very unexpected honour His Majesty has done me. I was in the country *à planter des choux,* when I received an order to attend the Privy Council in which His Majesty declared his intention to marry. Lord Bute, whom I honour, and to whom I am personally obliged, desired me to call upon him, and he declared to me His Majesty's gracious intention to send me upon this honourable commission, and to appoint me her Majesty's Master of the Horse, which honours I expected as much as I did the Bishoprick of London just vacant.

"There was no room to hesitate one moment whether I was to accept such a mark of distinction. I waited upon the King immediately, whose goodness to me was such as ought for ever to attach me to his service, if I had not already looked upon myself as one of the most zealous of his subjects. I happened to be one of the few, perhaps the only man of quality that did not solicit some favour of him upon his Accession to the Crown. He took notice of it, and was pleased with it. After what happened to me some years ago, it was beneath me to become a solicitor for favours and employment. If the King thought me worthy to be employed I knew I should receive some mark of favour; if not, I was sure no solicitation would signify.

"I have troubled you with this Account because I am sure you will be pleased to see an old friend receive such marks of His Majesty's regard.

"If I can be of any service to you at my return to England, you may for ever command

"your most sincere, and affectionate friend,

"HARCOURT.

"I will take care that not only the Princess shall be convinced of your attention to her, but His Majesty also and Lord Bute shall be apprized of it."

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* Mr Mitchell often rode by the side of the King of Prussia in his Battles. He was created K. B. in 1765. EDIT.

We had forgotten to mention, that the fair young Princess here commemorated, was soon afterwards the Queen of England; and filled that station for half a century.

There are many letters of Lord Barrington upon the changes of ministry, so frequent during the early years of the late King's reign: they are remarkable for nothing but the jobbing character of their courtier-like, place-loving writer, and for the light they throw upon the conduct of the Duke of Newcastle, whose retirement from office, and general disinterestedness, form a remarkable contrast to the prevailing baseness of statesmen in those days. We regret, however, not having room to extract one, No. DIV. in which Mr Erskine gives a minute account of Lord Chatham's negotiation with the King in 1763, and in which that Prince's steadiness, bearing him through great difficulties, prevented him from being dictated to, and ended in supporting the administration against a truly formidable opposition.

There are some letters from General Conway and Lord Chatham, in 1766, upon the subject of a northern confederacy, to resist the power of France. It was apparently a plan, and a favourite one, of Lord Chatham. He wished Russia and Prussia to join England in heading this defensive league; and a special envoy being sent to Russia, the minister at Berlin was desired to lay the project before Frederick. The following cabinet minute contains the outline of this scheme:—

"Resolved, That his Majesty be advised to take the proper measures for forming a Triple defensive Alliance for the maintenance of the public Tranquillity, in which the Crown of Great Britain, the Empress of Russia, and the King of Prussia, to be the original contracting Parties, with provision for inviting to accede thereto, the Crowns of Denmark, and Sweden, and the States General, together with such of the German, or other Powers, as the Original Contracting Parties shall agree upon, and as are not engaged in the Family Compact of the House of Bourbon.

"Resolved, That it is the opinion of his Majesty's Servants, that Mr. Secretary Conway do take his Majesty's pleasure on a Letter to be immediately writ to Sir Andrew Mitchell, to acquaint him with the above Plan, and to inform him at the same time, it is the King's intention, that Mr Stanley, appointed his Majesty's Ambassador at the Court of Russia, shall go by way of Berlin, with a proper Credential to his Prussian Majesty; then in concert and conjunction with Sir A. Mitchell, more fully to open this measure; and will set out for that purpose, as soon as Sir A. Mitchell shall have transmitted hither an Account, that his Prussian Majesty will view with pleasure this very confidential step on the part of His Majesty."

The success of this proposal at Berlin was little flattering to its authors; and we close our extracts with two passages from Sir Andrew Mitchell's letters upon the subject, which show both

how deeply Frederick felt the treatment he had received from England in the peace of Paris, and how distrustful he was of a cabinet, which, after committing him with his neighbours, might be changed in a day, and thus leave him to escape as he could, while they remained safe in their own insular position. This consideration must ever cripple English negotiators; and, as it follows of necessity from our two great advantages—our physical situation and our popular constitution—there is no use in repining at it: on the contrary, it should point out to us the wisdom of keeping as clear as possible from Continental entanglements, and only following that line of liberal policy towards all foreign nations, which must at once secure to our rulers the esteem of the people abroad, and the affections of their subjects at home.

"As I found the King of Prussia averse to enter into new and stricter connexions with England, as well on account of the usage he met with towards the end of the late war, as of the unsettled and fluctuating state our government has been in since the conclusion of the Peace, I made a proper use of your Lordship's *Secret Letter* of the 8th. of August, and urged his Prussian Majesty upon this point, that now by your Lordship's taking a share in Government the cause of his distrust was taken away, and therefore his diffidence ought to cease. He answered, I fear my friend has hurt himself by accepting of a Peerage at this time.

"I replied that though I did not know your motives, I was persuaded you could give a good reason for what you had done; that I was not at all alarmed by the clamour and abuse thrown out against you on that account, as it was the effect of the arts and malice of your enemies, on purpose to discredit you with the People, who were easily misled by first impression and misrepresentations, but were as easily brought back again to their senses by right actions and a steady conduct; that I was persuaded this would be the case with your Lordship; and to confirm what I said I mentioned to him what I had been a witness to, when by your Speech in Parliament you saved the American Colonies, and was abused most scurrilously as a traitor to your Country for so doing; that in a very short space of time, the People saw they had been deceived, acknowledged their error, and expressed their esteem, gratitude, and attachment to you in a stronger manner than ever they had done before; that this I hoped would be the case now, which brought to my mind what I had observed in the Field when certain great Officers never appeared in their full lustre but by recovering what was deemed desperate.

"His Prussian Majesty, smiling, said, I understand your allusion, and hope it will be so.

"After the Audience was ended, I took the liberty of observing to the King of Prussia that I remarked with regret, in the course of the conversation, that he had not spoke to me with the same freedom and openness he was wont to do on former occasions, and that I suspected he had only given the specious not the real reasons for his disinclination to the Treaty proposed.

"He answered with good-humour, that my conjecture was not absolutely without some foundation, and that he would own to me as a private man, that it was not easy for him to forget the ill-usage and injustice he had met with from our Nation at the time of making the last Peace, and he then enumerated particulars. I replied, that it was not candid to impute to the Nation the faults of private Men who were then unhappily Ministers; that there was now a fixed and settled Administration, whose way of thinking and acting was very different from that of their Predecessors; that whilst your Lordship was at the head of it, he could reasonably have no sort of diffidence; that the Triple alliance proposed was a favourite measure of your Lordship's, which you had much at heart, for preserving the public tranquillity, and for uniting the interests of the King with those of his Prussian Majesty.

"The King of Prussia answered, I have a very high opinion of Lord Chatham, and great confidence in him; but what assurances can you give me that he has power, and will continue in Office? I replied, I had not the least doubt of either, as your Lordship was now the darling of the King and People. His Prussian Majesty said, that does not agree with my accounts from England. I assured him of the truth of what I had advanced, and that I believed the contrary reports had been raised by your Lordship's enemies. He said he wished it might be so, but till he saw more stability in our Administration he did not choose farther connexions; and he concluded by adding, I have spoke to you with freedom as a private man, and expect, upon your honour, that you will not make a bad use of it; which I am sure of not doing in communicating this to your Lordship only, and desiring at the same time the most perfect secrecy.

"I own the King of Prussia's conduct amazes me. I had hopes a little reflection would have shewn him his real interest, but vanity and caprice are often too strong for reason; and to these motives I ascribe the Answer he has given to the King's salutary Proposal, for I do not even suspect his having Views to an Alliance in another Quarter. If he is cool to our Nation, He has the French in abhorrence and contempt, of which he makes no secret. His Plan seems to be (if he has any) to stand unconnected upon his own Bottom, which experience might have taught him, is far from being a safe one."

We rise from the study of these very interesting volumes with renewed gratitude to the learned Editor, and new wishes that he may speedily continue his researches and selections. Where we differ with him, we have frankly stated our dissent; but of the usefulness of his labours, there can be but one opinion. We still observe many verbal inaccuracies—and could easily fill no small space with proofs of the transcriber's ignorance of the language of the times, and of the Editor's want of skill or diligence in correcting him. If he himself disdains the obscure labour of such a correction, we would earnestly advise him to submit his future selections to the revisal of some more exact and minute antiquary.

Art. IX. *Report of the African Institution for* 1827. 8vo. Hatchard. 1827.

The great field of Colonial Policy offers few matters to our view, more important at all times, but in the existing posture of affairs more peculiarly pressing upon our attention, than the situation of the people of colour. Those unfortunate persons form a very numerous class of our fellow subjects; and their industry and general good conduct render them still more worthy than their numbers to attract our notice. They are highly important in respect of wealth; and they suffer under privations entailed upon them by no fault of their own, but arising from the crimes and follies of others, and affixed to their colour by the decrees of colonial wisdom and humanity. Dr Lushington, the able, enlightened, and honest friend of oppressed men, of what colour soever, has lately added to the very great obligations he had before conferred upon the cause of justice and sound policy, by bringing before Parliament and the country this interesting subject, in a speech replete with enlarged views, animated by a spirit of true philanthropy, and tempered by an extraordinary portion of moderation. The same question which Dr Lushington so ably raised in the Commons, was afterwards most admirably stated in the Lords, and with great effect, by Lord Harrowby, President of his Majesty's Council. That enlightened, accomplished, and virtuous nobleman, has always approved himself the firm and powerful friend of the oppressed negro, in all the situations where his eminent talents have been exerted. We shall proceed, without further preface, to state the case which so lamentably adds one to the numberless examples heretofore given of the unfitness of West Indian Legislators to discharge their high functions, and of the absolute necessity which exists for the prompt and efficacious interference of the mother-country, in order to preserve her colonial empire from all the worst mischiefs that can result from power abused on the one hand, and vengeance long deferred and signally exacted on the other.

The important island of Jamaica was conquered from Spain during the brilliant period of the Protectorate, in the year 1655. Charles the Second, soon after his restoration in 1661, granted the island a charter, under which the House of Assembly was constituted. By that document, it is solemnly declared, that "the children of subjects of England, to be born in Jamaica, "shall, from their respective births, be reputed to be, and shall "be, free denizens of England, holding the same privileges, to "all intents and purposes, as the freeborn subjects of England;"

—a superfluous grant, it is true, because, long before the Restoration, at the accession of the King's grandfather to the English Crown, the general principle had been solemnly recognised by the Judges in the famous case of the *Post nati*, (commonly called *Calvin's Case*,) that all persons born within the King's allegiance are natural-born subjects of the English Crown. Nevertheless, to remove all doubts, the grant is thus expressly made to all persons, without distinction of colour or race, and by the self-same instrument which constituted the Jamaica Legislature a lawful body.

Nothing appears to have been done against these rights during the reigns of Charles, James II., and King William; but, as if the good Queen Anne's time were fated to be in all parts of the world, America as well as Ireland, and to all subdivisions of persons, mulattoes as well as Catholics, the era of disqualification, either for opinions which they should not, and for complexion which they could not, change, in 1711 an act was passed, (10. *Ann. cap.* 4.) excluding from all public offices all persons of colour, Indians, and Jews. In 1733 this policy was further followed up by the act 6. *Geo. II.* disqualifying all persons of colour not in the fourth degree from the negro stock, from voting at elections. Previous to this period, a custom had been introduced of rejecting the evidence of coloured people against whites in every case; but it was doubted whether or not they could bear witness against one another. This doubt was solved in 1748, by the 21. *Geo. II. cap.* 7. which legalized the customary exclusion of coloured evidence in all cases against whites, but let it in as against each other.

Notwithstanding these serious disabilities, the mixed race grew rapidly in numbers and in wealth; for it was found by the House of Assembly in 1762, that property of between L.200,000 and L.300,000 in value, including four estates, had devolved to them by devise and bequest at different times. Men's affections, not to mention their feelings of justice, towards the innocent offspring of their love, lawful or illicit, were found not to obey exactly the dictates of West Indian policy; and legislative measures were required to force them into courses more congenial to the savage spirit which presided over those councils. The Assembly, accordingly, which derived its own existence and authority entirely from the same charter that gave the mulattoes all the rights of English subjects, "to all intents and purposes, from the dates of their respective births," passed a law, restraining their power of taking, by devise or bequest, to the value of L.2000 currency, and limiting their power of purchasing landed property to the same inconsiderable sum.

In 1713 the first attempt was made to exclude mulattoes

from all employment on plantations, by a general act, which, being transmitted to England, was refused the Royal assent; and thus began the system of *annual bills,* to defraud the Crown of its negative voice. Each bill bound the planters, under severe penalties, to fill every situation in their employ with a white person. Those bills continued up to the last year, when the Governor refused his assent to the deficiency law, because it contained provisions of peculiar hardship respecting the absentees.

In all this history of exclusion and disqualification, it is cheering to meet with one exception. After the Maroon war in 1796, when the men of colour had distinguished themselves, so as to extort the unqualified approbation of the Assembly, and to command the hearty gratitude of the whole community, a bill was passed, allowing them to give evidence against white persons,—in cases of assault upon the witnesses themselves! It graciously pleased those lords of the world to decree that the race, so nearly allied to themselves by blood, and to whose gallantry and faithful attachment they owed their existence, should no longer be kicked and beaten like dogs, without redress; but the privilege of giving evidence was strictly confined to the case of the person himself who was assaulted; and no mulatto could call another as his witness, if tried for any offence. These restrictions, and all others on the evidence of free people of colour, were done away in 1813; and in 1816 they were permitted to navigate their own vessels coastwise, which, ever since 1712, had been prohibited, by a law requiring vessels of a certain burden to be manned by whites. They were now also allowed to drive carts and hackney coaches, a right formerly withheld by the same spirit of curious and niggardly legislation. The restrictions upon bequests and devises were also repealed in 1813.

There still remain, however, the most grievous of all the disabilities under which the coloured race have been laid. They cannot exercise the elective franchise; they are excluded from all offices and places of trust; and, worse than all, they cannot serve in any case upon juries. Let us for a moment consider the effects of these disqualifications.

The mulattoes are subject to the laws made by the House of Assembly. By those laws they are regulated, governed, and taxed. But, rich and accomplished and intelligent as many of them are, they can neither sit in that house, nor exercise their voice in saying who shall sit there; nor in any way lift that voice, as free men should do, in any other than the notes of suppliant petition. And to whom is the unchecked dominion confided over this race of men, who must have no voice, either direct or indirect, in the councils that are to rule their destiny? To a

rival colour; to a *hostile* caste; to the men who have created all these disabilities, in order to exclude them; to those who prove, by the very act of engrossing all the power over the degraded race, that they hate and fear them, and feel their subjection as necessary for their own security and ease. Let Christian people make the case their own, according to the favourite maxim of their religion—the maxim so often quoted, and so seldom followed. How would the people of England like to be ruled and taxed by a parliament all Irish—still more, by one all French or all American? But that bears a faint semblance to our case. Peace and fashion may reconcile us to Frenchmen; our interest, the fear of losing Ireland, and having England crippled, may even reconcile us to Irishmen; and the interests of trade may almost make us friends with the Americans. But between the people of colour and their representatives and rulers, there is no common tie, except that of humanity, which is outraged by the one party, and only remembered in the other, to show that it exasperates all animosities, and that cattle would be better treated than human beasts of burden. The hand of Providence has stamped on the oppressed a mark that cannot be effaced, and the Ethiopian must be washed white before his lot in being subject to the hostile caste can become so gentle as the case we have been supposing, of the English nation ruled by an American parliament, chosen in America, and not in England.

The exclusion from all places renders the deprivation of the elective franchise still more severe. The mulatto only feels the ruling powers, by coming in contact with his natural enemy; he only sees the constituted authorities of his country, when he looks at the hostile colour. Power is never mitigated by kindred feelings; on the contrary, it is exasperated by the instinctive sense of natural diversity, by all the factitious prejudices of customs and laws, and by all the feelings of fear which tyranny creates at once for its own augmentation, and its own punishment.

But look to the worst of all these disabilities. Whatever mulatto comes into a court of justice—a court by outward form resembling what elsewhere are courts in which justice presides—he comes among judges and jurors who are his natural enemies and oppressors. He is injured in his person, he is despoiled of his property, he is restrained of his liberty by a white man; his child or his wife is taken from him; his feelings are outraged; his sense of honour—for all our cruelty has not rooted all sense of honour from the dingy bosom—his sense of honour is wounded—a sense the more exquisite that it has survived every effort of his oppressor to extinguish it. In mockery, he is bid to bend

his footsteps towards the halls of Justice, and tauntingly told that they fling open wide their gates to men of every complexion and every race. He hurries thither; the doors are blackened with the white clouds—of his foes; the ermine decks the shoulders—of his foes; the jury-box is filled with twelve—of his foes,—selected from the motley population he lives in, for the express purpose of doing injustice between him and his adversary. But we hear it said, " this is insidious—there is no such pur-" pose in the selection." Why then, we would ask, is the selection made? Answer us this, ye who charge us with distorting facts, or rather with perverting inferences. Answer and tell us, *why* the jury is to be purged of all colour, when the man of colour is tried?—freed from all community of feeling and opinion with him, and made up of men expressly and avowedly taken because they have a common colour and origin with the mulatto's antagonist? Who can name another reason for choosing them all whites, except that, if chosen indiscriminately of the two hues, there would be jurors of the same race with the man of colour; whereas the principle is, to have them all of the white man's blood and lineage? Again, let the Christian wrong-doer—for whoso consents to wrong, doeth wrong—resort to the golden rule of his Master, and put himself in the place of his tawny brother. How should we, in Old England, like being tried for our lives by a French or an American jury, sitting under the superintendence of a French or American judge? But that is a poor approximation to the case in hand. Rather let us ask, how would you—Englishmen and whites as you are—like being tried by a jury all brown mulattoes, or all black negroes, with an African in the seat of the presiding judge? How would you like being told, not only that all your judges were not to be whites like yourself, but that not one of them was to be other than aliens to your name, and complexion, and race? You have already answered the question; you have, wherever you had the power, refused to be tried by judges, any one of whom bore the marks of the hostile colour; and yet you desire the mulatto to think he has justice, when you try him by judges, every one of whom is taken from among his enemies and oppressors! In England, you suffer not the meanest foreigner, of the most hostile nation, or the most barbarous, to be tried by a jury of Englishmen; he must have at least one half of foreign race and birth. No matter from what lineage he is sprung, be it ever so base; from what coast he has come hither, be it ever so hostile; before what gods he bends, be they ever so savage; by what barbarities his caste is disfigured, be they ever so revolting—he may be a rude idolater from New Holland, or a barbarous soldier of Mahomet, or a vile and pros-

tituted adorer of the Juggernaut—he cannot be tried by an English tribunal. But the civilized mulatto, begotten by an English father, born in the bosom of an English settlement, trained, it may be, in the refinements of English society, is condemned by his fellow Christian, to be tried by a jury far more likely to do him injustice than the English could by possibility be to wrong any infidel on whose superstitious rites the sun ever rose; and he is yet further condemned to hear this fellow Christian boast, that he has done his unfortunate and unoffending brother justice.

It may now be fit, as principles alone, how incontrovertible soever, are rarely appealed to with effect, to ask what *interest* we have in perpetuating such grievances as these—what safety there is in keeping up such a cause of offence in all people of colour? And this question may best be solved by inquiring into the importance of the coloured order. Their numbers in Jamaica alone are said to exceed 30,000, and those of the free blacks 10,000. They therefore greatly exceed the whites in numerical force; and the mulattoes form one half of the militia—being, from the necessity of the case, freely intrusted with the possession of arms. But how much more important an aspect do those numbers—those armed numbers—wear, when we reflect that they stand between a handful of whites and the sable myriads of African slaves by whom they are surrounded, daily and nightly, in town and in country, in the house and in the field, and to whose divisions and want of concert, but, more than all, want of arms and of leaders, that handful owes its prolonged existence in the Charaibean Seas. Moreover, by natural and political causes, the numbers of the whites are daily decreasing; by the like causes, the mulattoes are on the increase. Then let the wealth of the degraded caste be taken into account. Their property is now reckoned at upwards of three millions. One gentleman of that colour has L.150,000 of his own; another, a white planter, left as much to his coloured children; a third left L.200,000 in the same way, and a fourth gave L.200,000 to a mulatto friend who survived him, and L.50,000 to a black woman. Among the petitioners who made the late forcible appeal to Parliament, through Dr Lushington, three inhabitants of one parish were possessed of property to the amount of L.120,000. This is a body of men, we may rest assured, who will wax great in wealth as well as strong in numbers; and it becomes us to think betimes whether it consists best with our interest, and with our safety, to have them for our allies or our enemies.

The existence of the grievance is too palpable to be denied; the planters, therefore, essay to mitigate the asperity of its features; and, failing in this too, they would fain persuade us that the true

remedy is by sending the coloured men to seek redress individually at the hands of the Colonial Assemblies, from which they are by law excluded. "Go," say they, "and bring in private "naturalization bills, as if you were aliens. The fees are now "diminished, and by paying your attorneys, heavy costs, you "may gradually, and one by one, succeed to the enjoyment of your "just and natural rights." To this the answer is easy, and it is decisive. If the remedy be fit to mention, it must be commensurate with the mischief. Who, then, recommends bringing in eight thousand naturalization bills? But all—all would pass as a matter of course. Is it so? Then what better reason can you give for the obvious process of consolidating all the 8000 bills into one general act? The honourable-minded among the mulattoes feel an honest repugnance to seek this kind of relief, which the wealthy only can obtain; while, from partaking in it at all, the poor are for ever excluded—the poor upon whom the oppression of the disabling laws presses by far the most severely.

We have said much on this painfully interesting question; yet the subject remains unexhausted. The Legislature of the mother country has been powerfully appealed to; the whites of the colonies have begun to feel its pressure; there have, within the two last years, been petitions from the whites in parishes of Jamaica, bearing to their Assembly, and to us at home, the unsuborned testimony of most unsuspected witnesses against one of the worst practical evils which the destruction of the grand evil of all, the African Slave Trade, has left behind it. Threats are much objected to by the Islands, and justly, if any one ever launched such threats at them. But there is a difference between a threat and a warning—a vain, braggart menace, and a fair, open, timely notice. The duty of the Imperial Legislature is to act as the rights of its colonial subjects and the safety of the state demand; and to discharge its own functions for the common good, if the Colonial Assemblies forget or abandon theirs. Incident to this high duty towards the Empire, is another towards the Assemblies, the neglect whereof would give these jealous bodies just cause of complaint. It is fitting to give them due intimation of *what must be done in England*, if nothing be done in the West Indies. Then, there is a wide difference between acting upon this solemn warning and doing the just things which will render all proceedings here unnecessary, and basely yielding to the menace of an adversary, and doing wrong to escape from his anger. Let not the Assemblies then any longer neglect this warning. It has oftentimes been given, no doubt, and by a power most slow to follow it up—but followed up it will and it must be, unless right and justice have ceased to find favour in the sight of England.

ART. X. *Library of Useful Knowledge. Preliminary Treatise. The Objects, Advantages, and Pleasures of Science.* Published under the Superintendence of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge. 8vo. pp. 48. 5th Edit. London. Baldwin. 1827.

THE important measure which we had the singular gratification of announcing in our last number but one, has now been fully carried into execution; and the "*Society for Diffusing Useful Knowledge*" may be regarded as established, and in active operation for the good of the country and mankind. Some delay occurred to retard its opening: But on the first of March, its series of Treatises began, and one has since been published every fortnight. The subjects have hitherto been those of Natural Philosophy; and before proceeding to more general matters, it is understood that there will be a few others published upon different branches of physical science. This arrangement cannot be too highly commended. It disarms all prejudices against the design in its origin; it follows the natural and convenient order of instruction; it establishes the Institution and its plans in the confidence of all classes of the community; and it affords time for maturely preparing those treatises which, handling subjects of a more delicate nature, and going over ground not yet made so smooth by former labour, require a more diligent study in those to whom their execution is committed, than the beaten and familiar branches of Natural science. We trust, however, that the appearance of the Ethical and Political treatises will not be unnecessarily delayed. The Society may be assured, that when they are ready, the public is well prepared, and most kindly disposed, to receive them. It is said that they are to be ushered in by some useful Histories, and those of Greece and Rome are stated to be in a forward state of preparation. We rejoice to hear this, and still more to learn that a celebrated philosopher and statesman, who is now understood to devote all his leisure to historical researches and composition, has undertaken to usher these works in with "a Discourse of the Study and Kinds of History." A more interesting or more useful work cannot be imagined, nor one more sure to be ably executed.

If we look forward with real delight to its appearance, we contemplate with proportionable pleasure the approach of the works which it will introduce. In two important particulars all our received Histories fail. They make no distinction between authentic and fabulous; and they turn the feelings of the reader,

the youthful reader especially, into a wrong channel. Those who treat of ancient history, indeed, do tell us where the fabulous times, as they are termed, end; and they now and then express a doubt as to an extravagant and incredible fact that meets their course. But long after giants and dragons have ceased to infest the path of the historian; long after the gods and goddesses have left the haunts of men; long after the heroes who succeeded their divine sires, and claimed immortality for their actions only, have retired from the stage; there are, in the traditions of every country, whole ages quite as fabulous as those that preceded, although the events that fill them are possible without a miracle. Those traditions, treasured up by national vanity, and swallowed by vulgar curiosity, are gravely recited by one historian after another; palmed upon this age, only because that had believed or repeated them; and sucked in by all persons who read, while their minds are tender, the impressions upon them easy to be made and hard to be effaced; until the world, of all ages and classes, has become as convinced of the reality of a series of fables in the early history of nations, as if they had seen the events, or at least heard them recounted by eye-witnesses:—And yet nothing can be more certain than that there is little or no evidence even for the existence of the persons who are spoken of as the actors in those scenes. Now, to destroy all belief in such tales, is a sacred duty of those who would promote truth, and soundly instruct the people; to preserve their memory at all, is only desirable, because, from having been so long current, they form the basis of many poetical and rhetorical allusions, which would cease to be understood, if the traditions, how fabulous soever, were entirely forgotten. They occupy, however, in the ranks of history, no other place than the fables of the heathen gods; their only importance arising from the fact, that they were once believed—that they throw some light on the genius or propensities of the age which invented them—and that they then and since afforded the subject of embellishment to the cultivators of the Fine Arts.

The other particular is far more important; and here we do hope and trust, that we shall find the Society speaking the language of a manly and sound philosophy. Those in whose hands the historic pen has hitherto been, and they who have superintended the education of youth in modern times, have written as if they sate and taught in "Athens or old Rome," before a purer system of morals and religion had diffused right principles and humane feelings among mankind. As they have respected Livy too much to make their readers and pupils ever doubt that Curtius leapt into a great hole in the market-place of Rome, for

the purpose of making it close suddenly, so they have venerated both Livy and the Romans too much to question that violence, and bloodshed, and fraud, were just subjects of admiration, when perpetrated (as they always must be, in the nature of things, if successful) by brave and clever men—men regardless of their own as of others' lives, and cunning to deceive those who trusted in their honour. A savage people, plunged in the depths of the most barbarous superstition—devoted to pursuits the most ferocious and blood-thirsty for ages—boasting that the oldest man among them never remembered an interval of innocence, when the murderous sword was sheathed—whose ignorance, for centuries most profound, was only at last enlightened to be replaced by treachery yet more profound, the single lesson they learnt from the civility of those they conquered—whose utmost refinement of manners instigated in them an appetite for blood so inordinate, that their choicest recreations, the sports which feasted the eyes of their matrons and their virgins, and trained betimes the feelings of their children, were the public exhibition of the most inhuman murders—this people is still presented to the admiration of all young persons, in all civilized and Christian countries, unqualified by a single remark upon the habitual enormity of their whole conduct.

We might illustrate this remark by numberless other instances; some we may not even pollute our own page by alluding, however remotely, to;—but we have said enough to lay the foundation of the remark, that beyond all question the early association thus established in the minds of youth in all stations, between glory and cruelty, implants the seeds, which, in all countries, sprout up so fruitfully in bloody and disastrous wars. What can so effectually reconcile men's minds to the course of conduct most incompatible with their best interests—what steel their feelings against the horrors of bloodshed on the largest scale, and for the most insignificant pretext, as the very course which a thoughtless or perverted mode of studying history now teaches the sentiments of young people to take? It is most important, that without neglecting the genius and the valour displayed in those cruel scenes, the virtuous and philosophic historian should reclaim mankind from an exaggerated admiration of such dazzling qualities, to a sober contemplation of their dreadful consequences; and should fix the eyes of learners upon the true glories of the illustrious benefactors of their kind—the "pride, pomp, and circumstance" of Glorious Peace—the vast merits of those who have improved life by inventing new arts, or set to men the example of years spent in purity of living, or left a name consecrated in the memory of a grateful posterity, by the benefits which their

labours and their sacrifices bestowed on the world. We look to the labours of the Society for the history of all nations thus stript of their false colours, and the actions of all great men thus reduced to their true and just proportions.

As long as the Society confines its exertions to the walks of natural science and ancient history, we expect to hear of no opposition arising to its proceedings. But when the more important and interesting field of Modern History, and especially its greatest branch the History of England, is entered, then we shall probably hear the objector lift his voice, and predict the appearance of political matter, tinged with peculiar, perhaps with party opinions. That political, as well as other Science will be handled, and that not merely incidentally in the course of English History, but in separate treatises, avowedly intended to unfold the doctrines of civil polity in all its branches, we certainly can entertain no doubt; for the Society's prospectus distinctly announces it, and enumerates many divisions of the science, which are to be formally and fully treated of in succession. From the Society's labours in this great department, we expect the highest advantages to the country; the dissipation of much ignorance in all classes of society—the extinction of many bad feelings, and the overthrow and dispersion of a host of powerful but groundless prejudices, to which all classes, but the highest most remarkably, are at present enslaved. But it is said that the opinions prevalent among the leading members of the Society will tinge the treatises published under their patronage. We trust that all the facts will be unfolded in each subject; that the various opinions will be fairly stated which divide reasoners upon disputed points; that the arguments advanced in support of each will be fully explained; and that the reader will, in this way, be enabled to judge for himself, after being made acquainted with the merits of each controversy. If this candour and justice be not displayed, a great duty will be violated, and the Society will lose that confidence which is at present secured to it by the bare promulgation of its plan, and of the names of its members. But there can be no harm in each author stating his own opinion,—nor in the Society announcing its preference of one side of any question discussed; and the remedy for this, if a mischief it be, must be always at hand. Any individual who differs may defend his own doctrines attacked by the Society, or impugn those avowed by it; or any number of individuals, holding sentiments opposite to those of the Society, may associate and act as an opposing body, in favour of their own principles.

The leading members of the Society, whose proceedings we are now canvassing, are men whom we may suppose attached to liberal

opinions,—the glory of the age we live in. If their works support the doctrines of liberty and liberal policy in Government and in Trade, and in our conduct towards Foreign states, and if this moves the bile of those to whom the very name of freedom is hateful; there is no reason why they should burst for lack of a vent to such workings of the passions. Let them combine and form a "Society "for the diffusion of *useless* knowledge"—or "for the propaga-"tion of *ignorance*"—or, "for the extinguishment of light"—or, by whatever name they may deem their plans the best described—or, let them barely call themselves "The Constitution-"al Society"—or "The National Society;" and leave us by their fruits to know them. Then we shall have the dangers of learning displayed in good set phrases, the road to science made thorny, and all its pit-falls described, to scare the adventurous learner. We shall have treatises on the perils of freedom to prince and people—the ruinous effects of free trade—the enriching virtue of excessive taxation—the wholesome tendency of wasteful expenditure—the degrading and vulgar position of national Independence, contrasted with the dignity of place and precedence in the Holy Alliance—the benefits of Colonial Slavery and the Slave Trade—the usefulness of a restoration of Spanish tyranny over South America—and the incalculable glory accruing to England from espousing the cause of despotism all over the world. That the publication of such works will, to a certain degree, succeed in England, we in no wise doubt; there are many persons among the English laity, and a larger body, we fear, of the clergy, to whom the glad tidings of narrow-minded and ignorant doctrine are mainly acceptable. The body of readers who support the weekly publications of slander, and obscenity, and impiety, will possibly spare a few shillings more to encourage the zeal of such a series of treatises as we have been describing. In this part of the island, it is true, we can give less encouragement to their hopes. Their time is gone by with us; but if their nostrums sell in England, they have no cause to complain; and if they do not, the fault is not in the Society already established, but in the public; or rather it is the misfortune of the ingenious personages to whom we are referring, that they have been born a century or so too late. They should have lived in the time of Dean Swift; and, though they would have failed in assailing Newton and Locke with dulness, as much as he did with wit, they at least would have been more sure of readers for their serious lucubrations, while the wits might have helped to get the laugh on their side.

If further argument were wanting in favour of the extensive plan which the Society has announced, and is steadily pursuing,

and if a vindication of its immediately announcing it were desired, we have it in a circumstance that occurred at the very commencement of the Institution. The prospectus first put forth, had not appeared a week, when the opposite, or illiberal party appear to have taken the alarm—although not a subject was announced excepting on mathematics and the various branches of natural philosophy. It should seem that the Society had then not determined upon embracing moral and political subjects within its plan—or did not deem the season arrived for declaring such an intention, if it was entertained. But the safe and prudent politicians—they who so dread the over-education of the common people—they who would, above everything, avoid circulating cheap tracts on political subjects—nay, who have actually called in the aid of the legislature, at divers times and in various ways, to put down such dangerous publications by manifold restrictions, and even by actual prohibitions—embodied themselves, or made their known publisher announce that they had embodied themselves, into a Society to publish *a rival series* of treatises;—and they set to work in their accustomed way. As the Lancaster, or British and Foreign Schools were first opposed by the High Church party; and as, when opposition was found vain, the same party took them up, to use them for their own purposes, forming a "National Society for Educating the People," and planting "National Schools in connexion with the Established Church"—so now, as soon as the Society had announced its *Library of Useful Knowledge*, forth came, within a little week, the advertisement of a "*National Library*," to be published by Mr Murray; and, with the advertisement, a detailed prospectus, giving a list of the subjects of which the works were to treat. The *Society* had confined *its* prospectus to the safe grounds of natural and mathematical science, avoiding even any of the matters connected with history. But the *National Library* was proclaimed to embrace all subjects, from arithmetic to party politics and religious controversy. Nay, the announcement plainly indicated that those debateable grounds were to be far more favourite paths for the footsteps of the High Church Tory writers, than the pure and sequestered haunts of the severer sciences; and the side on which the opinions and facts were to be delivered, was pretty significantly disclosed by a sounding quotation in favour of the Church establishment, and a catalogue of British statesmen, from King Alfred to William Pitt. Thus the party were seen *patronizing cheap publications on politics and religion for the common people*—the same party which had always vehemently opposed any political or contro-

versial instruction to the lower orders, and had uniformly excited the energies of the Law, the Government, and the Legislature, in preventing the dissemination of such information altogether. It followed, as a matter of course, that this example set by the opposite party should be followed by the Society; and accordingly they were compelled to embrace the whole field of moral science as well as the mathematics and natural philosophy. They were suddenly defied, as it were, into ethics, history, and politics, by their adversaries; and had no choice but either to follow into those matters, or leave them in the hands of men sure to misinform those they undertook to teach. The new prospectus of the Society, accordingly, contains a full arrangement of all the branches of human knowledge. The moral as well as the natural sciences—the intellectual as well as the ethical and political—all the branches of politics and of jurisprudence—and the history of sciences and of arts, of nations and of individuals—every branch, in short, of knowledge, except theology, is announced as coming within the plan of the Society, and as to be treated of in the course of its publications. The outline is as complete as it is magnificent; and if the filling up is marked by the same genius, and if the future treatises are executed with the same talent as those already published, and display the same deep knowledge of the subjects handled, and the same extraordinary didactic powers—the same faculty of conveying information in the most plain language and perspicuous method upon the most profound subjects—of being at once popular and scientific, we may safely number this as among the most important, as well as the happiest, efforts that have ever been made to enlighten mankind, and to promote the interests of science.

The reader may be curious to know *what became* of the rival work announced by the *national* folks—through their known organ, Mr Murray. They advertised that their first number was to appear on the 1st of March, and one each succeeding fortnight; and they affirmed that arrangements on an extensive scale had been made by a society of eminent literary and scientific men, for carrying the plan through. No doubt there were such arrangements; though they must have been made in singular haste, not to say hurry; for the National Prospectus clearly showed, that the hint was taken from the Prospectus of the *Society for Diffusing Useful Knowledge*, and yet it came out in a few days after that appeared; consequently the extensive arrangements of the eminent men must all have been planned and completed in the course of these few days. Their eminences swiftly took the alarm, and speedily conglomerated in a learned mass:

But it is to be lamented that so much preparation, having led to nothing, has been thrown away,—*for not a single number of the National Library has as yet seen the light*, nor has any repetition of the advertisement been risked! Doubtless, too, there was a society formed; but the names of its members are among the secrets—the special *arcana* of the bookselling craft. The *trade* may be acquainted with them, and may know how many Bishops and Lords of the Bedchamber—General and Staff Officers and Contractors—and other regular friends of Popular Instruction, had classed themselves in a band to bring politics home to every man's door, as cheap as air, and thus introduce into the cottage the mysteries of the palace. But we have, as yet, been unable to hear of one name—one person—clerical or lay—who is a member of any such society. The whole body, and its doings, seem to be wrapt in thick secrecy,—peradventure, is it a secret society! and possibly within the acts of Parliament in such case made and provided. Pray we the gods, that the pit dug by the high Tory party for their popular adversaries, may not be first tenanted by those worthies themselves!

The attempt of another rival has not been quite so abortive: it, at least, was made more in earnest, and has produced some signs of actual operations. As some very unfounded statements have been published by the tradesmen concerned in it, we are desirous of stating what is known to us respecting its history, and authenticated by published documents.

The plan of the Society of Useful Knowledge, and of the Library to be published by it, was first announced to the world by Mr Brougham's Treatise on Popular Education, written in the end of the year 1824, and published in January 1825. The following passages, from the eighteenth edition of that work, we extract as proving that the plan was then nearly matured, and as showing what claim to it any one else can have:—

"In the *third* place, it is evident that as want of time prevents the operative classes from pursuing a systematic course of education in all its details, a more summary and compendious method of instruction must be adopted by them. The majority must be content with never going beyond a certain point, and with reaching that point by the most expeditious route. A few, thus initiated in the truths of science, will no doubt push their attainments much further; and for these the works in common use will suffice; but for the multitude it will be most essential that works should be prepared adapted to their circumstances. Thus, in teaching them geometry, it is not necessary to go through the whole steps of that beautiful system, by which the most general and remote truths are connected with the few simple definitions and axioms; enough will be accomplished, if they are made to perceive the nature of geometrical investigation, and learn the lead-

ing properties of figure. In like manner, they may be taught the doctrines of mechanics with a much more slender previous knowledge both of geometry and algebra, than the common elementary works on dynamicks presuppose in the reader. Hence, a most essential service will be rendered to the cause of knowledge by him who shall devote his time to the composition of elementary treatises on the Mathematics, sufficiently clear, and yet sufficiently compendious, to exemplify the method of reasoning employed in that science, and to impart an accurate knowledge of the most useful fundamental propositions, with their application to practical purposes; and treatises upon Natural Philosophy, which may teach the great principles of physics, and their practical application, to readers who have but a general knowledge of mathematics, or who are even wholly ignorant of the science beyond the common rules of arithmetic. Nor let it be supposed, that the time thus bestowed is given merely to instruct the people in the rudiments of philosophy, though this would of itself be an object sufficiently brilliant to allure the noblest ambition; for what higher achievement did the most sublime philosophy ever aspire after, than to elevate the views and refine the character of the great mass of mankind —at least in later times, when science no longer looks down as of old upon the multitude, supercilious, and deeming that great spirits alone perish not with the body? But if extending the bounds of science itself be the grand aim of all philosophers in all ages, they indirectly, but surely, accomplish this object, who enable thousands to speculate and experiment for one to whom the path of investigation is now open. It is not necessary that all who are taught, or even any large proportion, should go beyond the rudiments; but whoever feels within himself a desire and an aptitude to proceed further, will press forward; and the chances of discovery, both in the arts and in science itself, will be thus indefinitely multiplied. Indeed, those discoveries immediately connected with experiment and observation, are most likely to be made by men, whose lives being spent in the midst of mechanical operations, are at the same time instructed in the general principles upon which these depend, and trained betimes to habits of speculation. He who shall prepare a treatise simply and concisely unfolding the doctrines of Algebra, Geometry, and Mechanics, and adding examples calculated to strike the imagination, of their connexion with other branches of knowledge, and with the arts of common life, may fairly claim a large share in that rich harvest of discovery and invention which must be reaped by the thousands of ingenious and active men, thus enabled to bend their faculties towards objects at once useful and sublime.

“ Although much may be done by the exertions of individuals, it is manifest that a great deal more may be effected by the labours of a body, in furthering this important measure. The subject has for some time past been under consideration, and I am not without hopes of seeing formed a Society for promoting the composition, publication, and distribution of Cheap and Useful works. To qualify persons for becoming efficient members of this association, or co-operating with

it all over the country, neither splendid talents, nor profound learning, nor great wealth, are required. Though such gifts, in their amplest measure, would not be thrown away upon so important a design, they are by no means indispensable to its success. A well-informed man of good sense, filled with the resolution to obtain for the great body of his fellow-creatures, that high improvement which both their understandings and their morals are by nature fitted to receive, may labour in this good work, either in the central institution or in some remote district, with the certainty of success, if he have only that blessing of leisure for the sake of which riches are chiefly to be coveted. Such a one, however averse by taste or habit to the turmoil of public affairs, or the more ordinary strifes of the world, may in all quiet and innocence enjoy the noblest gratification of which the most aspiring nature is susceptible; he may influence by his single exertions the character and the fortunes of a whole generation, and thus wield a power to be envied even by vulgar ambition for the extent of its dominion—to be cherished by virtue itself for the unalloyed blessings it bestows."

That the subjects of the Society's publications were to be very extensive, is proved both by these passages, and by the following remarks upon teaching Politics and Political Economy to the common people:—

"Why should not political, as well as all other works, be published in a cheap form, and in numbers? That history, the nature of the constitution, the doctrines of political economy, may safely be disseminated in this shape, no man now-a-days will be hardy enough to deny. Popular tracts, indeed, on the latter subject, ought to be much more extensively circulated for the good of the working classes, as well as of their superiors. The interests of both are deeply concerned in sounder views being taught them; I can hardly imagine, for example, a greater service being rendered to the men, than expounding to them the true principles and mutual relations of population and wages; and both they and their masters will assuredly experience the effects of the prevailing ignorance upon such questions, as soon as any interruption shall happen in the commercial prosperity of the country, if indeed the present course of things, daily tending to lower wages as well as profits, and set the two classes in opposition to each other, shall not of itself bring on a crisis. To allow, or rather to induce the people to take part in those discussions, is therefore not merely safe, but most wholesome for the community, and yet some points connected with them are matter of pretty warm contention in the present times; but these may be freely handled, it seems, with safety; indeed, unless they are so handled, such subjects cannot be discussed at all. Why then may not every topic of politics, party as well as general, be treated of in cheap publications? It is highly useful to the community that the true principles of the constitution, ecclesiastical and civil, should be well understood by every man who lives under it. The great interests of civil and religious liberty are mightily promoted by such wholesome instruction; but the good order of society gains to the full as much by it.

The peace of the country, and the stability of the government, could not be more effectually secured than by the universal diffusion of this kind of knowledge. The abuses which through time have crept into the practice of the constitution, the errors committed in its administration, and the improvements which a change of circumstances requires even in its principles, may most fitly be expounded in the same manner. And if any man or set of men deny the existence of such abuses, see no error in the conduct of those who administer the government, and regard all innovation upon its principles as pernicious, they may propagate their doctrines through the like channels. Cheap works being furnished, the choice of them may be left to the readers. Assuredly, a country which tolerates every kind, even the most unmeasured, of daily and weekly discussion in the newspapers, can have nothing to dread from the diffusion of political doctrines in a form less desultory, and more likely to make them be both well weighed at the time, and preserved for repeated perusal. It cannot be denied, that the habit of cursory reading, engendered by finding all subjects discussed in publications, which, how great soever their merits may be, no one looks at a second time, is unfavourable to the acquisition of solid and permanent information."*

Soon after,—that is, in April 1825,—Mr Brougham, with Lord John Russell, Dr Lushington, Mr Crawford, William Allan, and other known friends to the education and improvement of mankind, formed themselves into a society, under the name of the "*Society for Promoting the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge;*" and raised a fund by subscription. Among others, the Duke of Bedford evinced his wonted liberality, and that desire of promoting the best interests of his country which, in all times, has ennobled his illustrious house. The agitations of the times, however, that year and the next, impeded the Society's progress; and they did little more than institute inquiries, and make preparations for prosecuting their grand object with effect. But in the month of December 1825, about a year after Mr Brougham's tract appeared, a prospectus was put forth by some booksellers, whom we decline naming, purporting to be from the "*Society* "*for Diffusing Useful Knowledge,*" and announcing a work consisting of treatises on all subjects, and to be called, "*The* "*Library of the People.*" Now we happen to know, that not one member of the Society had ever spoken or written to those booksellers; or directly or indirectly communicated with them on that, or on any other subject. It was a scandalous imposition, therefore, thus practised on the community, and a usurpation upon the Society, to use their name in addressing

* At the end of the tract, Mr B. alludes to the scientific education of the *higher classes*, and proposes the establishment (p. 32) of a University in London.

the public; and when complaint was made, and, we believe, proceedings of a different kind threatened, the booksellers defended themselves by proving, satisfactorily enough, that they had been themselves deceived by another tradesman, who pretended to have thought first of the plan, and even *sold* the *title* for a sum of money to the present undertakers! This person, being applied to, said he never meant to use the Society's name, but that, in fact, there existed *another society* under the same name, of which he was, he said, a member!—and on being asked where it met, and who belonged to it, he could only name Sir John Sinclair, who was living in Scotland. The worthy Baronet certainly printed, some time afterwards, a list of persons out of whom he proposed forming some kind of Association. They were chiefly old Scotch peers and placemen, with some English Lords of the Bedchamber, and other public functionaries; and the only operation pointed out as the proposed labour of the society, was, circulating copies, at their own expense, of the "*Code of Health and Longevity*," and other works of Sir John's,—whose reputation and circulation are, we imagine, believed very sincerely by him to be far inferior to their merits. The invention of a society by the bookseller was a manœuvre wholly unexpected, and not perhaps to be paralleled in the history of inventions. It was as if the same learned wight (for he writes as well as sells) had published an address from *The Royal Society*, stating, that they highly approved his refutation of the Newtonian Theory, and on being asked by Sir H. Davy what authority he had, were to say, he never meant the Royal Society of which Sir H. was president, but one held by himself and Sir J. Sinclair, in their cups. This, however, was the whole amount of the defence made for assuming the title of the "Society for "Diffusing Useful Knowledge," announcing works in its name, and publishing an address from it in favour of those works.

When the preparations of the Society were at length completed, its prospectus came forth; and soon after appeared a prospectus by those same booksellers, repeating the announcement of their "*Library of the People*," but dropping the address, and suppressing all mention of any society, except that sometimes there was reference to a society of gentlemen "of the first literary distinction." Nothing, we will venture to say, ever appeared less calculated to command respect by its style, than this prospectus;—and some of the works which it ushered into public notice, were of the kind that might have been expected from such an introduction.

The title is, "Library for the People,—calculated at once to "amuse and interest, and to instruct and enlighten, the entire

"population of the United Kingdom." An assertion is then made, that the first prospectus was published in 1825, (we have stated under what auspices, and with what honesty,) and that the delay in bringing out the work had "furnished a well-known "party with an opportunity *of taking up the plan*, with all the "imperfections, which never fail to distinguish between imita-"tion and originality!" The Society, certainly, is in no condition to retort the description of "a *well-known* party" upon those who put forth this charge,—for nothing, we presume, can be more obscure than the quarter it proceeds from; and the kind of originality claimed is as little likely to be disputed by any author, as the example of style and method here set is to be imitated. It is then laid down as an *original* principle, that a work of this kind must be popular from the selection of subjects, as well as in its *display* and execution. "Cold mathematical pro-"ductions, and formal scientific disquisitions," it is said, "may "properly issue from the London University, but they will ne-"ver reach the firesides *of the universal population*." The modesty of these pretensions to originality, as far as regards the plan, and the fairness of the charge of imitation, we have already illustrated by written documents. Any attempt to imitate the execution of such works as we are citing would be hopeless. But it seems, after all, that even the plans of the two works are wholly different, not to say opposite. The one before us professes to amuse, and only to teach what may be conveyed in the shape of entertainment. The Society's plan is, to convey instruction upon all subjects. The scheme of the prospectus before us is more fully given in the arrangement announced for the Library of the People. It is to consist of four divisions, entitled,—"*The Arts of Life and Society*;"—"*The Wonders of* "*Nature and Art*;"—"*The Worthies of the United Kingdom*;" and, "*The Chimney Corner Companion*." We defy any head but the writer of this arrangement of human knowledge to match it. The two first classes plainly run into each other,—there being hardly anything of the first that belongs not to the second, unless arts are to be classed by the degree of wonder they excite—a standard somewhat difficult of application. The Worthies are confined to this country; and the last head may—indeed *must*—contain matter common to all the other three. The description given of the Chimney Corner Companion (the division plainly most relied on for attraction) is entertaining certainly, though not very dignified or philosophic. "An *exhaustless* and *ever-* "*lasting* magazine of the curiosities and *good things* in the entire "circle of literature, books, and knowledge, adapted to all "tastes, fancies, ages, and conditions, and containing the quint-

" essence of many thousand volumes, and *everything worthy of* " *being read that ever was printed* in history, biography, natural " history," &c. &c. &c. We are then told that, " To make " promises of *perfection*, would be empirical; but it may be wise " and just to *declare, that all that ingenuity and learning can* " *effect*, shall be honestly and honourably performed, to render " the Library for the People a work of unparalleled popularity " and sterling permanent worth." A declaration, we presume, not at all empirical.

We are very happy to find that this most unpromising announcement has not been followed by works nearly so bad as there was every reason to expect. The arrangement is, no doubt, as absurd as possible, and indeed is wholly unintelligible. Thus, under " *The Arts of Life and Society*," we have the science of Astronomy, with Cookery, Gymnastics, Oil-painting, Road-making, Chemistry, Brewing, and Chronology. The execution too, is, in most places, of a very depraved taste;—take, for example, the following passage with which the Treatise on Astronomy opens—after a tawdry engraving, which represents an old man in a nightcap, or Welsh wig, poring over a globe,—a young man looking through a telescope, and a lady reading a book—" The Earth, out of the dust of which man was originally " formed, the scene of our joys and our sorrows during life, and " the receptacle of our remains when its brief measure is run " out, and the Heavens which are spread over us as a dome of " the most stupendous magnitude, and the most lively colour, " lighted up by the glories of the sun during the day, and glit- " tering with the countless myriads of the starry host during " night, and beyond which every good man hopes to find an " everlasting abode, when the earth shall have gone into obli- " vion, and all its history been forgotten, are subjects to which " even the most incurious of the human species cannot remain " indifferent." It is shameful in those who pretend to instruct the people, or even undertake to provide amusement for them, to debase and corrupt their taste by such trash as would be rejected from the rhapsodies of a tenth-rate preacher, and is as truly disgusting as it is misplaced in a work of science. The Treatise of the Atmosphere is begun by an effusion in the same wretched taste, about the " oak building its lofty tower in the " sky," and " the eagle leaning motionless on the breast of the " sky," occupying about one-eighth part of the number. The Series of Lives is really much better, because more plainly executed; and the Wonders contain much entertainment, and even information, which cannot fail of improving the reader. The selection is, of course, perfectly miscellaneous, and merely

extracted or abridged from known books. The Chimney Corner Companion might be, for the subject, the same series—it is a collection of scraps of all kinds, from every sort of work.

Humble as the merits of this publication appear to be, with the exception of the bad and vulgar taste of which we have complained, it is wholly innocent, and must be of considerable benefit in encouraging habits of useful reading.

Upon one thing, however, we certainly must express our opinion very frankly and without reserve: The public are not dealt fairly by, in the prospectus, where it announces the extreme cheapness of these tracts:—"Every number will contain as much "matter as is usually sold for five shillings, even in elementary "works, but for twice that sum in ordinary works." Never was a more scandalous misrepresentation. Each number consists of 24 pages of single column—and there being under sixty letters in a line, and 44 lines in a page, there are in each page at the amount of 2600 letters, and in each number under 63,000 letters. Now, take the reviews, which sell for six shillings, and are certainly not at all cheap publications, but among the dearest;—the page has 45 lines, of 50 letters each; consequently, each page contains 2250 letters, and therefore there is equal to 28 pages of the review in each number of the Library, which is equal to one-ninth part of a number sold for six shillings. Printed at the rate of the Library, then, the review would sell for four and sixpence instead of six shillings. This is the whole difference; that is, 25 per cent., or one-fourth cheaper, instead of being, as is most untruly pretended, ten times cheaper than some books, and twenty times cheaper than others. The review being a dear book, it follows that the Library is not at all a cheap one; and if we compare the bulk of volume, this will appear still more plainly:—An octavo of 500 pages sells for six or seven shillings; 500 pages of the Library sell for ten shillings, and the engravings are, generally speaking, below contempt. Compare the work with any of the really cheap publications, and the deception is at once perceived. The Mechanics' Magazine has nearly as much matter in one of its numbers as the Library, and the plates are both numerous and beautifully executed. We have made the calculation—there are in the Magazine 57,000 letters; in the Library 63,000. But the Library sells for sixpence, and the Magazine for threepence. Taking quantity and execution together, the Library is much more than twice as dear as the Magazine. The Library of Useful Knowledge published by the Society is also twice as cheap, without making any allowance for its vast superiority of execution, in every respect. Each treatise has 32 pages, and each page two

columns, of 62 lines, and 60 letters; making for each page about 3700 letters, and for each treatise nearly 120,000 letters; and yet it is sold at the same price with the Library for the People. In order to realize the promise of containing in each number as much as is sold for five shillings of some works, and ten of others, the numbers should contain between nine and ten times as much as they do.

We now come to describe, somewhat more in detail, the Library published by the Society, and which realises every promise held out by that most distinguished body.

These publications were introduced by a Discourse upon the Objects, Advantages, and Pleasures of Scientific Pursuits, designed to prepare the reader for the series of treatises upon all branches of physical science. After dividing the whole of human knowledge into its grand classes, it gives a plain and most easily understood description of the nature of the pure mathematical sciences, with many illustrations of their use in practice; a full account of the difference between necessary and contingent truth, and the evidence upon which mathematical and physical propositions rest; and a copious illustration of the various branches of natural philosophy, with a variety of examples of their application to the animal and vegetable world. It closes with a discourse upon the advantages and pleasures to be derived from the study of those sublime and interesting sciences. This subject is placed in an original and striking light in the following passage:—

"That every man is capable of being delighted with extending his information upon matters of science, will be evident from a few plain considerations.

"Reflect how many parts of the reading, even of persons ignorant of all sciences, refer to matters wholly unconnected with any interest or advantage to be derived from the knowledge acquired. Every one is amused with reading a story: a romance may please some, and a fairy tale may entertain others; but no benefit beyond the amusement is derived from this source: the imagination is gratified; and we willingly spend a good deal of time, and a little money, in this gratification, rather than in rest after fatigue, or in any other bodily indulgence. So we read a newspaper, without any view to the advantage we are to gain from learning the news, but because it interests and amuses us to know what is passing. One object, no doubt, is to become acquainted with matters relating to the welfare of the country; but we read the occurrences which do little, or not at all, regard the public interests, and we take a pleasure in reading them. Accidents, adventures, anecdotes, crimes, and a variety of other things, amuse us, independent of the information respecting public affairs, in which we feel interested as citizens of the state, or as members of a particular body. It is of little importance to inquire how and why these things excite our attention, and wherefore the reading about them is a pleasure: the fact is

certain; and it proves, clearly, that there is a positive enjoyment in knowing what we did not know before; and this pleasure is greatly increased when the information is such as excites our surprise, wonder, or admiration. Most persons who take delight in reading tales of ghosts, which they know to be false, and feel all the while to be silly in the extreme, are merely gratified, or rather occupied, with the strong emotions of horror excited by the momentary belief, for it can only last an instant. Such reading is a degrading waste of precious time; and has even a bad effect upon the feelings and the judgment. But true stories of horrid crimes, as murders, and pitiable misfortunes, as shipwrecks, are not much more instructive. It may be better to read these than to sit yawning and idle—much better than to sit drinking or gaming, which, when carried to the least excess, are crimes in themselves, and the fruitful parents of many more. But this is nearly as much as can be said for such vain and unprofitable reading. If it be a pleasure to gratify curiosity, to know what we were ignorant of, to have our feelings of wonder called forth, how pure a delight of this very kind does Natural Science hold out to its students? Recollect some of the extraordinary discoveries of Mechanical Philosophy. How wonderful are the laws that regulate the motions of fluids! Is there anything in all the idle books of tales and horrors more truly astonishing than the fact, that a few pounds of water may, by mere pressure, without any machinery, by merely being placed in a particular way, produce an irresistible force? What can be more strange, than that an ounce weight should balance hundreds of pounds, by the intervention of a few bars of thin iron? Observe the extraordinary truths which Optical Science discloses. Can anything surprise us more, than to find that the colour of white is a mixture of all others—that red, and blue, and green, and all the rest, merely by being blended in certain proportions, form what we had fancied rather to be no colour at all, than all colours together? Chemistry is not behind in its wonders. That the diamond should be made of the same material with coal; that water should be chiefly composed of an inflammable substance; that acids should be almost all formed of different kinds of air, and that one of those acids, whose strength can dissolve almost any of the metals, should be made of the self-same ingredients with the common air we breathe; that salts should be of a metallic nature, and composed, in great part, of metals, fluid like quicksilver, but lighter than water, and which, without any heating, take fire upon being exposed to the air, and, by burning, form the substance so abounding in saltpetre and in the ashes of burnt wood: these, surely, are things to excite the wonder of any reflecting mind—nay, of any one but little accustomed to reflect. And yet these are trifling when compared to the prodigies which Astronomy opens to our view: the enormous masses of the heavenly bodies; their immense distances; their countless numbers, and their motions, whose swiftness mocks the uttermost efforts of the imagination."

"To pass our time in the study of the sciences, in learning what others have discovered, and in extending the bounds of human know-

ledge, has, in all ages, been reckoned the most dignified and happy of human occupations; and the name of Philosopher, or Lover of Wisdom, is given to those who lead such a life. But it is by no means necessary that a man should do nothing else than study known truths, and explore new, in order to earn this high title. Some of the greatest philosophers in all ages have been engaged in the pursuits of active life; and an assiduous devotion of the bulk of our time to the work which our condition requires, is an important duty, and indicates the possession of practical wisdom. This, however, does by no means hinder us from applying the rest of our time, beside what nature requires for meals and rest, to the study of science; and he who, in whatever station his lot may be cast, works his day's work, and improves his mind in the evening, as well as he who, placed above such necessity, prefers the refined and elevating pleasures of knowledge to the low gratification of the senses, richly deserves the name of a True Philosopher.

"One of the most gratifying treats which science affords us is the knowledge of the extraordinary powers with which the human mind is endowed. No man, until he has studied philosophy, can have a just idea of the great things for which Providence has fitted his understanding, the extraordinary disproportion which there is between his natural strength and the powers of his mind, and the force which he derives from those powers. When we survey the marvellous truths of Astronomy, we are first of all lost in the feeling of immense space, and of the comparative insignificance of this globe and its inhabitants. But there soon arises a sense of gratification and of new wonder at perceiving how so insignificant a creature has been able to reach such a knowledge of the unbounded system of the universe—to penetrate, as it were, through all space, and become familiar with the laws of nature at distances so enormous as baffle our imagination—to be able to say, not merely that the Sun has 329,630 times the quantity of matter which our globe has, Jupiter 308$\frac{2}{10}$, and Saturn 93$\frac{1}{2}$ times; but that a pound of lead weighs at the Sun 22 lbs. 15 ozs. 16 dwts. 9 grs. and $\frac{3}{4}$ of a grain; at Jupiter 2 lbs. 1 oz. 19 dwts. 1 gr. $\frac{29}{43}$; and at Saturn 1 lb. 3 ozs. 8 dwts. 20 grs. $\frac{1}{11}$ part of a grain; and what is far more wonderful, to discover the laws by which the whole of this vast system is held together and maintained through countless ages in perfect security and order. It is surely no mean reward of our labour to become acquainted with the prodigious genius of those who have almost exalted the nature of man above its destined sphere; and, admitted to a fellowship with those loftier minds, to know how it comes to pass that by universal consent they hold a station apart, rising over all the Great Teachers of mankind, and spoken of reverently, as if NEWTON and LAPLACE were not the names of mortal men."

The treatises which have followed this introductory discourse, are upon Hydrostatics, Hydraulics, Pneumatics, and Heat, and the series is regularly continued. It is difficult to praise too highly the admirable union of plain and pure English diction, with profound scientific views, which distinguishes these works.

One or two errors, which had crept into the early numbers, have since been rectified in new editions; and we learn that the circulation has already reached ten thousand, and is rapidly increasing. The Society have announced, that as soon as a few more treatises upon Natural Philosophy are published, a few upon general subjects will be introduced, and then a series on the different branches of Mathematics. We cannot help wishing that the desire for these works may be gratified, by publishing the Mathematical treatises, which are understood to be nearly ready, out of their turn, while the historical series is going on, in order that a preparation may be made for completing the series of Physical treatises, by pursuing the more abstract and mathematical parts of these sciences. When this great work is completed, if finished as it has been begun, it will undoubtedly form by far the most important of the contributions from men of science and letters to the instruction and improvement of mankind.

It is quite impossible to contemplate the efforts thus making for the improvement of mankind, without feeling the mind elevated with an extraordinary hope, and even a lively faith, in the success of so grand a work. The Society, which has nobly undertaken to provide the means of self-instruction for all classes, has adopted the true method of remedying the prevailing ignorance. It has set before the world the advantages and pleasures of science, and it has taken upon itself to enable all men, with a little patience and attention, to learn every branch of useful knowledge. To the common people, including inferior tradesmen and artisans, this gift is invaluable; there is no class of them, from the mechanist down to the day-labourer in husbandry, who may not both improve their understanding and better their hearts, and also mend their circumstances, by studying some branch or other of Natural Philosophy. Can any one doubt that a knowledge of Chemistry is practically useful and immediately profitable to the bleacher, the dyer, the painter, the glassmaker, the brewer? or that those who work in the line of engineers will gain by knowing the nature of the mechanical powers? or that bankers and canal men must be the better at their craft for knowing hydraulics? But the peasant has to deal with plants, and with cattle, and with manure,—surely he will be the better at *his* craft for knowing something of vegetation, of zoology, and of mineralogy. These works of the Society are most important to these classes; because, especially in villages and hamlets, and farm houses, they cannot have the aid of teachers, and must, if they learn at all, rely on their own reading for instruction. The Society has, first, brought science down to the

level of the most ordinary capacity, and enabled the reader, how ignorant soever, to master it by merely attending to what he reads. If any of its treatises should still be found not adapted to teach the peasant, hands far inferior to those which prepared them, may make their contents still more simple and familiar.

But there is another class, far higher in society, though, generally speaking, not more versed in scientific matters, who must soon feel the desire of repairing the defects of education, and, though late, of becoming acquainted with the laws and structure of the universe they live in. Philosophy has only of late years made its way into the higher orders of the community; and now, that its lessons are so much better relished, and the learning of them is so much more in vogue than it used to be twenty or thirty years ago, persons of a certain station and age, how desirous soever of understanding them, are unwilling to go to school again, and are prevented from attempting to teach themselves, by the want of books, so planned and so written, as to make what they contain intelligible to ignorant readers, who have not the aid of a tutor in their studies. This defect is now in the course of being supplied by the Society; and any one who regrets having neglected science in early youth, when few patricians thought of pursuing it, will now be able to taste its gratifications. He may take up any of the treatises that strikes his fancy: he will find it easy to learn the branch of science handled in it. He will then learn his own force of acquirement, and be desirous of exerting it in gaining some other branch.

After thus mastering all the departments, as far as a popular knowledge goes, he will probably have found that his taste and capacity lead him to one division by preference; to this he will addict himself peculiarly, and, no longer satisfied with a general and somewhat superficial knowledge of it, he will again study these works, and be led from them to deeper and more detailed treatises. His time being his own, he may even discover new truths, or new applications of the truths thus learned; and for one devoted to science, that we now have, we may live to see hundreds, who, despising the frivolous amusements, or less innocent occupations of their station, shall deem it their highest joy and chiefest good to shed a light upon the dark places of philosophy, and live after death in the reverence and gratitude of posterity—for one now capable of relishing the PRINCIPIA and the MECHANIQUE CELESTE, we may have hundreds who shall deem their education as accomplished gentlemen imperfect, until they can follow and enjoy the most sublime of all the efforts of human genius.

ART. XI. *The New Antijacobin Review.—Nos. I. and II.* 8vo. London. 1827.

WE ought to apologize to our readers for prefixing to this article the name of such a publication. The two numbers which lie on our table contain nothing which could be endured, even at a dinner of the Pitt Club, unless, as the newspapers express it, the hilarity had been continued to a very late hour. We have met, we confess, with nobody who has ever seen them; and, should our account excite any curiosity respecting them, we fear that an application to the booksellers will already be too late. Some tidings of them may perhaps be obtained from the trunk-makers. In order to console our readers, however, under this disappointment, we will venture to assure them, that the only subject on which the reasonings of these Antijacobin Reviewers throw any light, is one in which we take very little interest—the state of their own understandings; and that the only feeling which their pathetic appeals have excited in us, is that of deep regret for our four shillings, which are gone and will return no more.

It is not a very cleanly, or a very agreeable task, to rake up from the kennels of oblivion the remains of drowned abortions, which have never opened their eyes on the day, or even been heard to whimper, but have been at once transferred from the filth in which they were littered, to the filth with which they are to rot. But unhappily we have no choice. Bad as this work is, it is quite as good as any which has appeared against the present administration. We have looked everywhere, without being able to find any antagonist who can possibly be as much ashamed of defeat as we shall be of victory.

The manner in which the influence of the press has, at this crisis, been exercised, is, indeed, very remarkable. All the talent has been on one side. With an unanimity which, as Lord Londonderry wisely supposes, can be ascribed only to a dexterous use of the secret-service money, the able and respectable journals of the metropolis have all supported the new government. It has been attacked, on the other hand, by writers who make every cause which they espouse despicable or odious,—by one paper which owes all its notoriety to its reports of the slang uttered by drunken lads who are brought to Bow Street for breaking windows—by another, which barely contrives to subsist on intelligence from butlers, and advertisements from perfumers. With these are joined all the scribblers who rest their claim to orthodoxy and loyalty on the perfection to which they have carried the arts of ribaldry and slander. What part these gentle-

men would take in the present contest, seemed at first doubtful. We feared, for a moment, that their servility might overpower their malignity, and that they would be even more inclined to flatter the powerful than to calumniate the innocent. It turns out that we were mistaken; and we are most thankful for it. They have been kind enough to spare us the discredit of their alliance. We know not how we should have borne to be of the same party with them. It is bad enough, God knows, to be of the same species.

The writers of the book before us, who are also, we believe, the great majority of its readers, can scarcely be said to belong to this class. They rather resemble those snakes with which Indian jugglers perform so many curious tricks: The bags of venom are left, but the teeth are extracted. That they might omit nothing tending to make them ridiculous, they have adopted a title on which no judicious writer would have ventured; and challenged comparison with one of the most ingenious and amusing volumes in our language. Whether they have assumed this name on the principle which influenced Mr Shandy in christening his children, or from a whim similar to that which induced the proprietors of the most frightful Hottentot that ever lived, to give her the name of Venus, we shall not pretend to decide; but we would seriously advise them to consider, whether it is for their interest, that people should be reminded of the celebrated imitations of Darwin and Kotzebue, while they are reading such parodies on the Bible as the following:—" In those days, a strange " person shall appear in the land, and he shall cry to the people, " Behold, I am possessed by the Demon of Ultra-Liberalism; I " have received the gift of incoherence; I am a political philo- " sopher, and a professor of paradoxes."

We would also, with great respect, ask the gentleman who has lampooned Mr Canning in such Drydenian couplets as this—

> " When he said if they would but let him in,
> He would never try to turn them out again,"—

whether his performance gains much by being compared with New Morality? and, indeed, whether such satire as this is likely to make anybody laugh but himself, or to make anybody wince but his publisher?

But we must take leave of the *New Antijacobin Review;* and we do so, hoping that we have secured the gratitude of its conductors. We once heard a schoolboy relate, with evident satisfaction and pride, that he had been horsewhipped by a Duke: we trust that our present condescension will be as highly appreciated.

But it is not for the purpose of making a scarecrow of a ridi-

culous publication, that we address our readers at the present important crisis. We are convinced, that the cause of the present Ministers is the cause of liberty, the cause of toleration, the cause of political science,—the cause of the people, who are entitled to expect from their wisdom and liberality many judicious reforms,—the cause of the aristocracy, who, unless those reforms be adopted, must inevitably be the victims of a violent and desolating revolution. We are convinced, that the government of the country was never intrusted to men who more thoroughly understood its interest, or were more sincerely disposed to promote it—to men who, in forming their arrangements, thought so much of what they could *do*, and so little of what they could *get.* On the other side, we see a party which, for ignorance, intemperance, and inconsistency, has no parallel in our annals,—which, as an Opposition, we really think, is a scandal to the nation, and, as a Ministry, would speedily be its ruin. Under these circumstances, we think it our duty to give our best support to those with whose power are inseparably bound up all the dearest interests of the community,—the freedom of worship, of discussion, and of trade,—our honour abroad, and our tranquillity at home.

In undertaking the defence of the Ministers, we feel ourselves embarrassed by one difficulty: we are unable to comprehend distinctly of what they are accused. A statement of facts may be contradicted; but the gentlemen of the Opposition do not deal in statements. Reasonings may be refuted; but the gentlemen of the Opposition do not reason. There is something impassive and elastic about their dulness, on which all the weapons of controversy are thrown away. It makes no resistance, and receives no impression. To argue with it, is like stabbing the water, or cudgelling a woolpack. Buonaparte is said to have remarked, that the English soldiers at Waterloo did not know when they were beaten. The Duke of Wellington, equally fortunate in politics and in war, has the rare felicity of being supported a second time by a force of this description,—men whose desperate hardihood in argument sets all assailants at defiance,—who fight on, though borne down on every side by overwhelming proofs, rush enthusiastically into the mouth of an absurdity, or stake themselves with cool intrepidity on the horn of a dilemma. We doubt whether this unconquerable pertinacity be quite as honourable in debate as in battle; but we are sure, that it is a very difficult task for persons trained in the old school of logical tactics to contend with antagonists who possess such a quality.

The species of argument in which the members of the Opposition appear chiefly to excel, is that of which the Marquis, in

the *Critique de l'Ecole des Femmes*, showed himself so great a master:—"Tarte à la crême—morbleu, tarte à la crême!" "Hé "bien, que veux tu dire, tarte â la crême?" "Parbleu, tarte à "la crême, chevalier!" "Mais encore?" "Tarte â la crême!" "Dî-nous un peu tes raisons." "Tarte à la crême!" "Mais "il faut expliquer ta pensée, ce me semble." "Tarte à la crême, "Madame." "Que trouvez-vouz là à redire?" "Moi, rien; "—tarte â la crême!" With equal taste and judgment, the writers and speakers of the Opposition repeat their favourite phrases,—"deserted principles," "unnatural coalition," "base "love of office." They have not, we must allow, been unfortunate in their choice of a topic. The English are but too much accustomed to consider every public virtue as comprised in consistency; and the name of coalition has to many ears a startling and ominous sound. Of all the charges brought against the Ministry, this alone, as far as we can discover, has any meaning; and even to this we can allow no force.

To condemn coalitions in the abstract, is manifestly absurd: Since in a popular government, no good can be done without concert, and no concert can be obtained without compromise. Those who will not stoop to compliances which the condition of human nature renders necessary, are fitter to be hermits than to be statesmen. Their virtue, like gold which is too refined to be coined, must be alloyed before it can be of any use in the commerce of society. But most peculiarly inconsistent and unreasonable is the conduct of those who, while they profess strong Party-feelings, yet entertain a superstitious aversion to Coalitions. Every argument which can be urged against coalitions, as such, is also an argument against party connexions. Every argument by which party connexions can be defended, is a defence of coalitions. What coalitions are to parties, parties are to individuals. The members of a party, in order to promote some great common object, consent to wave all subordinate considerations:—That they may co-operate with more effect where they agree, they contrive, by reciprocal concessions, to preserve the semblance of unanimity, even where they differ. Men are not thought unprincipled for acting thus; because it is evident that without such mutual sacrifices of individual opinions, no government can be formed, nor any important measures carried, in a world of which the inhabitants resemble each other so little, and depend on each other so much,—in which there are as many varieties of mind as of countenance, yet in which great effects can be produced only by combined exertions. We must extend the same indulgence to a coalition between parties. If they agree on every important practical question, if they differ only about

objects which are either insignificant or unattainable, no party man can, on his own principles, blame them for uniting. These doctrines, like all other doctrines, may be pushed to extremes by the injudicious, or employed by the designing as a pretext for profligacy. But that they are not in themselves unreasonable or pernicious, the whole history of our country proves.

The Revolution itself was the fruit of a coalition between parties, which had attacked each other with a fury unknown in later times. In the preceding generation their hostility had covered England with blood and mourning. They had subsequently exchanged the sword for the axe: But their enmity was not the less deadly because it was disguised by the forms of justice. By popular clamour, by infamous testimony, by perverted law, they had shed innocent and noble blood like water. Yet all their animosities were forgotten in the sense of their common danger. Whigs and Tories signed the same associations. Bishops and field-preachers thundered out the same exhortations. The doctors of Oxford and the goldsmiths of London sent in their plate with equal zeal. The administration which, in the reign of Queen Anne, defended Holland, rescued Germany, conquered Flanders, dismembered the monarchy of Spain, shook the throne of France, vindicated the independence of Europe, and established the empire of the sea, was formed by a junction between men who had many political contests and many personal injuries to forget. Somers had been a member of the ministry which had sent Marlborough to the Tower. Marlborough had assisted in harassing Somers by a vexatious impeachment. But would these great men have acted wisely or honourably if, on such grounds, they had refused to serve their country in concert? The Cabinet which conducted the seven years' war with such distinguished ability and success, was composed of members who had a short time before been leaders of opposite parties. The Union between Fox and North is, we own, condemned by that argument which it will never be possible to answer in a manner satisfactory to the great body of mankind,—the argument from the event. But we should feel some surprise at the dislike which some zealous Pittites affect to entertain for coalitions, did we not know that a Pittite means, in the phraseology of the present day, a person who differs from Mr Pitt on every subject of importance. There are, indeed, two Pitts,—the real and the imaginary,—the Pitt of history, a Parliamentary reformer, an enemy of the Test and Corporation Acts, an advocate of Catholic Emancipation and of free trade,—and the canonized Pitt of the legend,—as unlike to his namesake as Virgil the magician to Virgil the poet, or St

James the slayer of Moors to St James the fisherman. What may have been the opinions of that unreal being whose birthday is celebrated by libations to Protestant Ascendency, on the subject of coalitions, we leave it to his veracious hagiographers, Lord Eldon and Lord Westmoreland, to determine. The sentiments of the real Mr Pitt may be easily ascertained from his conduct. At the time of the revolutionary war he admitted to participation in his power those who had formerly been his most determined enemies. In 1804 he connected himself with Mr Fox, and, on his return to office, attempted to procure a high situation in the government for his new ally. One more instance we will mention, which has little weight with us, but which ought to have much weight with our opponents. They talk of Mr Pitt;—but the real object of their adoration is unquestionably the late Mr Percival, a gentleman whose acknowledged private virtues were but a poor compensation to his country for the narrowness and feebleness of his policy. In 1809 that minister offered to serve, not only *with* Lord Grenville and Earl Grey, but even *under* them. No approximation of feeling between the members of the government and their opponents had then taken place: there had not even been the slightest remission of hostilities. On no question of foreign or domestic policy were the two parties agreed. Yet under such circumstances was this proposition made. It was, as might have been anticipated, rejected by the Whigs and derided by the country. But the recollection of it ought certainly to prevent those who concurred in it, and their devoted followers, from talking of the baseness and selfishness of coalitions.

These general reasonings, it may be said, are superfluous. It is not to coalitions in the abstract, but to the present coalition in particular, that objection is made. We answer, that an attack on the present coalition can only be maintained by succeeding in the most signal way in an attack on coalitions in the abstract. For never has the world seen, and never is it likely to see, a junction between parties agreeing on so many points, and differing on so few. The Whigs and the supporters of Mr Canning were united in principle. They were separated only by names, by badges, and by recollections. Opposition, on such grounds as these, would have been disgraceful to English statesmen. It would have been as unreasonable and as profligate as the disputes of the blue and green factions in the Hippodrome of Constantinople. One man admires Mr Pitt, and another Mr Fox. Are they therefore never to act together? Mr Pitt and Mr Fox were themselves willing to coalesce while they were alive; and it would therefore be strange, if, after they have been

lying for twenty years in Westminster Abbey, their names should keep parties asunder. One man approves of the revolutionary war. Another thinks it unjust and impolitic. But the war is over. It is now merely a matter of historical controversy. And the statesman who should require his colleagues to adopt his confession of faith respecting it, would act as madly as Don Quixote when he went to blows with Cardenio about the chastity of Queen Madasima. On these points, and on many such points as these, our new Ministers, no doubt, hold different opinions. They may also, for aught we know, hold different opinions about the title of Perkin Warbeck, and the genuineness of the Εικὼν Βασιλικὴ. But we shall hardly, on such grounds as these, pronounce their union a sacrifice of principle to place.

It is, in short, of very little importance whether the parties which have lately united entertain the same sentiments respecting things which have been done and cannot be undone. It is of as little importance whether they have adopted the same speculative notions on questions which could not at present be brought forward with the slightest chance of success, and which, in all probability, they will never be required to discuss. The real questions are these: Do they differ as to the policy which present circumstances require? Or is any great cause, which they may have heretofore espoused, placed in a more unfavourable situation by their junction?

That this is the case, no person has even attempted to prove. Bold assertions have indeed been made by a class of writers, who seem to think that their readers are as completely destitute of memory as they themselves are of shame. For the last two years they have been abusing Mr Canning for adopting the principles of the Whigs; and they now exclaim that, in joining Mr Canning, the Whigs have abandoned all their principles! "The Whigs," said one of their writers, but a few months ago, "are exercising more real power by means of the present Ministers than if they were themselves in office." "The Ministers," said another, "are no longer Tories. What they call conciliation is mere Whiggism." A third observed that the jest of Mr Canning about Dennis and his thunder had lost all its point, and that it was a lamentable truth, that all the late measures of the government seemed to have been dictated by the Whigs. Yet these very authors have now the effrontery to assert that the Whigs could not possibly support Mr Canning without renouncing every opinion which they had formerly professed.

We confidently affirm, on the other hand, that no principle whatever has been sacrificed. With respect to our foreign re-

lations and our commercial policy, the two parties have for years been perfectly agreed. On the Catholic question the views of the Whigs are the same with those of a great majority of their new colleagues. It is true that, in an illustrious assembly, which was formerly suspected of great dulness and great decorum, and which has of late effectually redeemed itself from one half of the reproach, the conduct of the Whigs towards the Catholics has been represented in a very unfavourable light. The arguments employed against them belong, we suppose, to a kind of logic which the privileged orders alone are qualified to use, and which, with their other constitutional distinctions, we earnestly pray that they may long keep to themselves. An ingenious member of this assembly is said to have observed, that the Protestant alarmists were bound to oppose the new Ministers as friends to the Catholic cause, and that the Catholics ought to oppose them as traitors to the same cause. He reminded the former of the infinite danger of trusting power to a Cabinet composed principally of persons favourable to emancipation: and, at the same time, pointed the indignation of the latter against the perfidy of the pretended friends who had not stipulated that emancipation should be made a ministerial measure! We cannot sufficiently admire the exquisite dexterity of an assailant who, in the same breath, blames the same people for doing, and for *not* doing the same thing. To ordinary plebeian understandings we should think it undeniable that the Catholic question must be now—either in the same situation in which it was before the late change; or it must have lost; or it must have gained. If it have gained, the Whigs are justified; if it have lost, the enemies of the claims ought zealously to support the new government; if it be exactly where it was before, no person who acted with Lord Liverpool can, on this ground, consistently oppose Mr Canning.

In this view, indeed, the cause of the Whigs is the cause of the ministers who have seceded from the Cabinet. Both parties have put in the same plea; and both must be acquitted or condemned together. If it be allowed that the elevation of Mr Canning was not an event favourable to the Catholic cause, the Whigs will certainly stand convicted of inconsistency. But at the same time, the only argument by which the ex-Ministers have attempted to vindicate their secession, must fall to the ground; and it will be difficult to consider that proceeding in any other light than as a factious expedient to which they have resorted, in order to embarrass a colleague whom they envied. If, on the other hand, the effect of the late change were such, that it became the duty of those who objected to Catholic

Emancipation, to decline all connexion with the Ministry, it must surely have become, at the same time, the duty of the friends of Emancipation to support the Ministry. Those who take the one ground, when their object is to vindicate the seceders, and the other, when their object is to blacken the Whigs, who, in the same speech, do not scruple to represent the Catholic cause as triumphant and as hopeless, may, we fear, draw down some ridicule on themselves, but will hardly convince the country. But why did not the Whigs stipulate that some proposition for the relief of the Catholics should be immediately brought forward, and supported by the whole influence of the Administration? We answer, simply because they could not obtain such conditions, and because, by insisting upon them, they would have irreparably injured those whom they meant to serve, and have thrown the government into the hands of men who would have employed all its power and patronage to support a system which, we do not scruple to say, is the shame of England, and the curse of Ireland. By the course which they have taken, they have insured to the sister kingdom every alleviation which its calamities can receive from the lenient administration of an oppressive system. Under their government, it will at least be no man's interest to espouse the side of bigotry. Truth will have a fair chance against prejudice. And whenever the dislike with which the majority of the English people regard the Catholic claims shall have been overcome by discussion, no other obstacle will remain to be surmounted.

The friends of the Catholics have, indeed, too long kept out of sight the real difficulty which impedes the progress of all measures for their relief. There has been a nervous reluctance —perhaps a natural unwillingness, to approach this subject. Yet it is of the utmost importance that it should at last be fully understood. The difficulty, we believe, is neither with the King nor with the Cabinet,—neither with the Commons nor with the Lords. It is with the People of England; and not with the corrupt, not with the servile, not with the rude and uneducated, not with the dissolute and turbulent, but with the great body of the middling orders;—of those who live in comfort, and have received some instruction. Of the higher classes, the decided majority is, beyond all dispute, with the Catholics. The lower classes care nothing at all about the question. It is among those whose influence is generally exerted for the most salutary purposes,—among those from whom liberal statesmen have, in general, received the strongest support,—among those who feel the deepest detestation of oppression and corruption, that errone-

ous opinions on this subject are most frequent. A faction with which they have no other feeling in common, has, on this question, repeatedly made them its tools, and has diverted their attention more than once from its own folly and profligacy, by raising the cry of No Popery. They have espoused their opinions, not from want of honesty, not from want of sense, but simply from want of information and reflection. They think as the most enlightened men in England thought seventy or eighty years ago. Pulteney and Pelham would no more have given political power to Papists than to ourang-outangs. A proposition for mitigating the severity of the penal laws would, in their time, have been received with suspicion. The full discussion which the subject has since undergone, has produced a great change. Among intelligent men in that rank of life from which our ministers and the members of our legislature are selected, the feeling in favour of concession is strong and general. But, unfortunately, sufficient attention has not been paid to a lower, but most influential and respectable class. The friends of the Catholic claims, content with numbering in their ranks all the most distinguished statesmen of two generations, proud of lists of minorities and majorities adorned by every name which commands the respect of the country, have not sufficiently exerted themselves to combat popular prejudices. Pamphlets against Emancipation are circulated, and no answers appear. Sermons are preached against it, and no pains are taken to obliterate the impression. The rector carries a petition round to every shopkeeper and every farmer in his parish, talks of Smithfield and the inquisition, Bishop Bonner and Judge Jeffries. No person takes the trouble to canvass on the other side. At an election, the candidate who is favourable to the Catholic claims, is almost always content to stand on the defensive. He shrinks from the odium of a bold avowal. While his antagonist asserts and reviles, he palliates, evades, and distinguishes. He is unwilling to give a pledge: he has not made up his mind: he hopes that adequate securities for the Church may be obtained: he will wait to see how the Catholic States of South America behave themselves! And thus, as fast as he can, he gets away from the obnoxious subject, to retrenchment, reform, or negro slavery. If such a man succeeds, his vote does not benefit the Catholics half so much as his shuffling injures them. How can the people understand the question, when those whose business it is to enlighten them, will not state it to them plainly? Is it strange that they should dislike a cause of which almost all its advocates seem to be ashamed? If, at the late election, all our public men who are favourable to Emancipation had dared to

speak out, had introduced the subject of their own accord, and discussed it day after day, they might have lost a few votes; they might have been compelled to face a few dead cats; but they would have put down the prejudice effectually. Five or six friends of the claims might have been unseated, but the claims would have been carried.

The popular aversion to them is an honest aversion; according to the measure of knowledge which the people possess, it is a just aversion. It has been reasoned down wherever the experiment has been fearlessly tried. It may be reasoned down everywhere. The war should be carried on in every quarter. No misrepresentation should be suffered to pass unrefuted. When a silly letter from Philo-Melancthon, or Anti-Doyle, about the Coronation Oath, or divided allegiance, makes its appearance in the corner of a provincial newspaper, it will not do merely to say, "What stuff!" We must remember that such statements constantly reiterated, and seldom answered, will assuredly be believed. Plain, spirited, moderate treatises on the subject, should find their way into every cottage;—not such rancorous nonsense as that for which the Catholics formerly contracted with the fiercest and basest libeller of the age, the apostate politician, the fraudulent debtor, the ungrateful friend, whom England has twice spewed out to America; whom America, though far from squeamish, has twice vomited back to England. They will not, they may be assured, serve their cause by pouring forth unmeasured abuse on men whose memory is justly dear to the hearts of a great people;—men mighty even in their weaknesses, and wise even in their fanaticism;—the goodly fellowship of our reformers,—the noble army of our martyrs. Their scandal about Queen Elizabeth, and their wood-cuts of the devil whispering in the ear of John Fox, will produce nothing but disgust. They must conduct the controversy with good sense and good temper, and there cannot be the slightest doubt of the issue. But of this they may be fully assured, that, while the general feeling of the Nation remains unchanged, a Ministry which should stake its existence on the success of their claims, would ruin itself, without benefiting them.

The conduct of the Catholics, on the present occasion, deserves the highest praise. They have shown that experience has at last taught them to know their enemies from their friends. Indeed there are few scenes in this tragicomic world of ours more amusing than that which the leaders of the Opposition are now performing. The very men who have so long obstructed Emancipation,—who have stirred up the public feeling in England against Emancipation,—who, in fine, have just resigned

their offices, because a supporter of Emancipation was placed at the head of the government,—are now weeping over the disappointed hopes of the poor Papists, and execrating the perfidious Whigs who have taken office without stipulating for their relief! The Catholics are, in the meantime, in the highest spirits, congratulating themselves on the success of their old friends, and laughing at the condoling visages of their new champions.

Something not very dissimilar is taking place with respect to Parliamentary Reform. The reformers are delighted with the new Ministry. Their opponents are trying to convince them that they ought to be dissatisfied with it. The Whigs, we suppose, ought to have insisted that Reform should be made a Ministerial measure. We will not at present inquire whether they have, as a body, ever declared any decided opinion on the subject. A much shorter answer will suffice. Be Reform good or bad, it is at present evidently unattainable. No man can, by coming into office, or by going out of office, either effect it or prevent it. As we are arguing with people who are more influenced by one name than by ten reasons, we will remind them of the conduct pursued by Mr Pitt with regard to this question. At the very time when he publicly pledged himself to use his whole power, "*as a man and as a minister, honestly and boldly*" to carry a proposition of Parliamentary Reform, he was sitting in the same Cabinet with persons decidedly hostile to every measure of the kind. At the present juncture, we own that we should think it as absurd in any man to decline office for the sake of this object, as it would have been in Sir Thomas More to refuse the Great Seal, because he could not introduce all the institutions of Utopia into England. The world would be in a wretched state indeed, if no person were to accept of power, under a form of government which he thinks susceptible of improvement. The effect of such scrupulosity would be, that the best and wisest men would always be out of place; that all authority would be committed to those who might be too stupid or too selfish to see abuses in any system by which they could profit, and who, by their follies and vices, would aggravate all the evils springing from defective institutions.

But were we to admit the truth of every charge which personal enemies or professional slanderers have brought against the present ministers of the Crown, were we to admit that they had abandoned their principles, that they had betrayed the Catholics and the Reformers, it would still remain to be considered, whether we might not change for the worse. We trust in God that there is no danger. We think that this country never will, never can, be subjected to the rule of a party so weak, so

violent, so ostentatiously selfish, as that which is now in Opposition. Has the Cabinet been formed by a coalition? How, let us ask, has the Opposition been formed? Is it not composed of men who have, all their lives, been thwarting and abusing each other, Jacobins, Whigs, Tories, friends of Catholic Emancipation, enemies of Catholic Emancipation,—men united only by their common love of high rents, by their common envy of superior abilities, by their common wish to depress the people and to dictate to the throne? Did Lord Lansdowne at any time differ so widely from Mr Canning as Lord Redesdale from Lord Lauderdale—sometime needle-maker, and candidate for the shrievalty of London? Are the Ministers charged with deserting their opinions? and can we find no instances of miraculous conversion on the left of the woolsack? What was the influence which transformed the *Friend of the People* into an aristocrat, "resolved to stand or fall with his order?" Whence was the sudden illumination which at once disclosed to all the discarded Ministers the imperfections of the Corn Bill? Let us suppose that the Whigs had, as a party, brought forward some great measure before the late changes, that they had carried it through the Commons, that they had sent it up, with the fairest prospect of success, to the Lords, and that they had then, in order to gratify Mr Canning, consented, in the face of all their previous declarations, to defeat it, what a tempest of execration and derision would have burst upon them! Yet the conduct of the Ex-Ministers, according to the best lights we can obtain upon it, was even more culpable than this. Not content with doing a bad thing, they did it in the worst way. The bill which had been prepared by the leader for whom they professed boundless veneration, which had been brought in under their own sanction, which, as they positively declared, had received their fullest consideration, which one of themselves had undertaken to conduct through the House of Lords, that very bill they contrived to defeat:—and, in the act of defeating it, they attempted to lay upon the colleagues whom they had deserted, the burden of public resentment which they alone had incurred. We would speak with indulgence of men who had done their country noble service before—and of many of whom, individually, it must be impossible to think otherwise than with respect. But the scene lately passed in that great assembly has afflicted and disgusted the country at large; and it is not the least of its evil consequences, that it has lessened in the public estimation, not only a body which ought always to be looked up to with respect, but many individuals of whose motives we cannot bring ourselves to judge unfavourably, and from whose high qualities

we trust the country may yet receive both benefit and honour. Mr Peel fortunately did not expose himself quite as effectually as his associates; though we regret that the tone he adopted was so undecided and equivocal. It was not for him to pronounce any judgment on the wisdom of their conduct. He was fully convinced of the purity of their motives. And finally it was the eighteenth of June!—a day on which, it seems, the Duke of Wellington is privileged to commit all sorts of mischief with impunity to the end of his life. The Duke of Wellington, however, though the part which he took was unfortunately prominent, seems to have been comparatively innocent. He might not, while in office, have paid much attention to the measure in its original form. He might not have understood the real nature of his own unlucky amendment. But what were the motives of Earl Bathurst? Or where were they when he undertook the care of the bill in its former shape? Nothing had been changed since, excepting his own situation. And it would be the very madness of charity to believe, that, if he had still been a colleague of Lord Liverpool, or had been able to come to terms with Mr Canning, he would have pursued such a line of conduct. Culpably as all his coadjutors have acted in this transaction, his share of it is the most indefensible.

And it is for these men,—for men who, before they have been two months out of office, have retracted the declarations which they made on a most important subject just before they quitted office,—that we are to discard the present ministers, as inconsistent and unprincipled! And these men are the idols of those who entertain so virtuous a loathing for unnatural coalitions, and base compromises. These men think themselves entitled to boast of the purity of their public virtues, and to repel, with indignant amazement, any imputation of interested or factious motives.

We dwell long on this event; because it is one which enables the country to estimate correctly the practical principles of those who, if the present ministers should fall, will assuredly take their places. To call their conduct merely factious, is to deal with it far too mildly. It has been factious at the expense of consistency, and of all concern for the wishes and interests of the people. Was there no other mode of embarrassing the government? Could no other opportunity be found or made for a division? Was there no other pledge which could be violated, if not with less awkwardness to themselves, at least with less injury to the state? Was it necessary that they should make a handle of a question on which the passions of the people were roused to the highest point, and on which its daily bread might

depend, that they should condemn the country to another year of agitation, and expose it to dangers, which, only a few months before, they had themselves thought it necessary to avert, by advising an extraordinary exercise of the prerogative? There is one explanation, and only one. They were out, and they longed to be in. Decency, consistency, the prosperity and peace of the country, were as dust in the balance. They knew this question had divided men who were generally united, and united others who were usually opposed; and though they themselves had already taken their part with their colleagues in office and the more intelligent part of their habitual opponents, they did not scruple, for the sake of embarrassing those they had deserted, to purchase the appearance of a numerous following, by opposing a measure which they had themselves concocted, and pledged themselves to support. From the expedients to which they have resorted in Opposition, we may judge of what we have to expect if they should ever return to office.

They will return too, it must be remembered, not, as before, the colleagues of men by whose superior talents they were overawed, and to whose beneficial measures they were often compelled to yield a reluctant consent. The late change has separated the greater part of them from all such associates for ever: it has divided the light from the darkness: it has set all the wisdom, all the liberality, all the public spirit on one side; the imbecility, the bigotry, and the rashness on the other. If they rule again, they will rule alone.

They will return to situations which they will owe neither to their talents nor to their virtues, neither to the choice of their King nor to the love of their country; but solely to the support of an Oligarchical Faction, richly endowed with every quality which ensures to its possessors the hatred of a nation,—a faction arbitrary, bigoted, and insolent,—a faction which makes parade of its contempt for the dearest interests of mankind, which loves to make the people feel of how little weight, in its deliberations, is the consideration of their happiness.

On this party, and on this alone, must such ministers, returning from such a secession, rely to uphold them against the public opinion, against the wishes of a King who has wisely and nobly performed his duty to the state, against the most beloved and respected portion of the aristocracy, against a formidable union of all the great statesmen and orators of the age. It was believed by those of whose wisdom Lord Eldon and the Duke of Newcastle think with reverence, that, in the bond between a sorcerer and his familiar demon, there was a stipulation that the gifts bestowed by the Powers of Evil should

never be employed but for purposes of evil. Omnipotent for mischief, these obligors of the fiend were powerless for good. Such will be the compact between the Ex-Ministers, if ever they should return to power, and the only party which can then support them. That they may be masters, they must be slaves. They will be able to stand only by abject submission and by boundless profusion—by giving up the People to be oppressed, first for the profit of the Great, and then for their amusement,—by corn-laws, and game-laws, and pensions for Lord Robert, and places for Lord John.

They will return pledged to oppose every reform, to maintain a constant struggle against the spirit of the age, to defend abuses to which the nation is every day becoming more quick-sighted. Even Mr Peel, if, unluckily, he should at last identify himself with their faction, must restrain his propensity to innovation. Mutterings have already been heard in high places against his tendencies to liberality; and all his schemes for the reformation of our code or our courts must be abandoned.

Then will come all those desperate and cruel expedients of which none but bad governments stand in need. The press is troublesome. There must be fresh laws against the press. Secret societies are formed. The Habeas Corpus act must be suspended. The people are distressed and tumultuous. They must be kept down by force. The army must be increased; and the taxes must be increased. Then the distress and tumult are increased: and then the army must be increased again! The country will be governed as a child is governed by an ill-tempered nurse,—first beaten till it cries, and then beaten because it cries!

Our firm conviction is, that if the seceders return to office, they will act thus; and that they will not have the power, even if they should have the inclination, to act otherwise. And what must the end of these things be? We answer, without hesitation, that, if this course be persisted in, if these counsels and these counsellors are maintained, the end must be, a revolution, a bloody and unsparing revolution—a revolution which will make the ears of those who hear of it tingle in the remotest countries, and in the remotest times. The middling orders in England are, we well know, attached to the institutions of their country, but not with a blindly partial attachment. They see the merits of the system; but they also see its faults; and they have a strong and growing desire that these faults should be removed. If, while their wish for improvement is becoming stronger and stronger, the government is to become worse and worse, the consequences are obvious. Even now, it is impos-

sible to disguise, that there is arising in the bosom of that class a Republican sect, as audacious, as paradoxical, as little inclined to respect antiquity, as enthusiastically attached to its ends, as unscrupulous in the choice of its means, as the French Jacobins themselves,—but far superior to the French Jacobins in acuteness and information—in caution, in patience, and in resoluti. They are men whose minds have been put into training for violent exertion. All that is merely ornamental—all that gives the roundness, the smoothness, and the bloom, has been exsuded. Nothing is left but nerve, and muscle, and bone. Their love of liberty is no boyish fancy. It is not nourished by rhetoric, and it does not evaporate in rhetoric. They care nothing for Leonidas, and Epaminondas, and Brutus, and Cocles. They profess to derive their opinions from demonstration alone; and are never so little satisfied with them as when they see them exhibited in a romantic form. Metaphysical and political science engage their whole attention. Philosophical pride has done for them what spiritual pride did for the Puritans in a former age; it has generated in them an aversion for the fine arts, for elegant literature, and for the sentiments of chivalry. It has made them arrogant, intolerant, and impatient of all superiority. These qualities will, in spite of their real claims to respect, render them unpopular, as long as the people are satisfied with their rulers. But under an ignorant and tyrannical ministry, obstinately opposed to the most moderate and judicious innovations, their principles would spread as rapidly as those of the Puritans formerly spread, in spite of their offensive peculiarities. The public, disgusted with the blind adherence of its rulers to ancient abuses, would be reconciled to the most startling novelties. A strong democratic party would be formed in the educated class. In the lowest, and the most numerous order of the population, those who have any opinions at all are democrats already. In our manufacturing towns, the feeling is even now formidably strong; and it is not strange that it should be so: For it is on persons in this station that the abuses of our system press most heavily; while its advantages, on the other hand, are comparatively little felt by them. An abundant supply of the necessaries of life is, with them, almost the only consideration. The difference between an arbitrary and a limited monarchy vanishes, when compared with the difference between one meal a-day and three meals a-day. It is poor consolation to a man who has had no breakfast, and expects no supper, that the King does not possess a dispensing power, and that troops cannot be raised in time of peace, without the consent of Parliament. With this class, our government, free as it is, is even now as unpopular as if it were

despotic,—nay, much more so. In despotic states, the multitude is unaccustomed to general speculations on politics. Even when men suffer most severely, they look no further than the proximate cause. They demand the abolition of a particular duty, or tear an obnoxious individual to pieces. But they never think of attacking the whole system. If Constantinople were in the state in which Manchester and Leeds have lately been, there would be a cry against the Grand Vizier or the bakers. The head of the Vizier would be thrown to the mob, over the wall of the Seraglio—a score of bakers would be smothered in their own ovens; and everything would go on as before. Not a single rioter would think of curtailing the prerogatives of the Sultan, or of demanding a representative divan. But people familiar with political inquiries carry their scrutiny farther; and, justly or unjustly, attribute the grievances under which they labour, to defects in the original constitution of the government. Thus it is with a large proportion of our spinners, our grinders, and our weavers. It is not too much to say, that in a season of distress, they are ripe for any revolution. This, indeed, is acknowledged by all the Tory writers of our time. But all this, they tell us, comes of education—it is all the fault of the Liberals. We will not take up the time of our readers with answering such observations. We will only remind our gentry and clergy, that the question at present is not about the *cause* of the evil, but about its *cure;* and that, unless due precaution be used, let the fault be whose it may, the punishment will inevitably be their own.

The history of our country, since the peace of 1815, is almost entirely made up of the struggles of the lower orders against the government, and of the efforts of the government to keep them down. In 1816, immense assemblies were convened, secret societies were formed, and gross outrages were committed. In 1817, the Habeas Corpus Act was twice suspended. In 1819, the disturbances broke out afresh. Meetings were held, so formidable, from their numbers and their spirit, that the Ministry, and the Parliament, approved of the conduct of magistrates who had dispersed one of them by the sword. Fresh laws were passed against seditious writings and practices. Yet the following year commenced with a desperate and extended conspiracy for the assassination of the cabinet, and the subversion of the government. A few months after this event, the Queen landed. On that occasion, the majority of the middling orders joined with the mob. The effect of the union was irresistible. The Ministers and the Parliament stood aghast; the bill of pains and penalties was dropped; and a convulsion, which seemed

inevitable, was averted. But the events of that year ought to impress one lesson on the mind of every public man,—that an alliance between the disaffected multitude and a large portion of the middling orders, is one with which no government can venture to cope, without imminent danger to the constitution.

A government like that with which England would be cursed, if the present Ministry should fall before the present Opposition, would render such an alliance not only inevitable, but permanent. In less than ten years, it would goad every Reformer in the country into a Revolutionist. It would place at the head of the multitude, persons possessing all the education, all the judgment, and all the habits of co-operation, in which the multitude itself is deficient. That great body is physically the most powerful in the state. Like the Hebrew champion, it is yet held in captivity by its blindness. But if once the eyeless Giant shall find a guide to put his hand on the props of the State—if once he shall bow himself upon the pillars, woe to all those who have made him their laughing-stock, or chained him to grind at their mill!

We do, therefore, firmly believe, that, even if no external cause were to precipitate a fatal crisis, this country could not be governed for a single generation by such men as Lord Westmoreland and Lord Eldon, without extreme risk of revolution. But there are other symptoms in the body politic, not less alarming than those which we have described. In Ireland, there are several millions of Catholics, who do not love our government; and who detest, with all their heart, with all their soul, with all their mind, and with all their strength, the party now in Opposition. The accession of that party to power, would be a death-blow to their hopes of obtaining their demands by constitutional means: and we may fairly expect, that all the events which followed the recall of Lord Fitzwilliam, will take place again, on a greater and more formidable scale. One thing, indeed, we have no right to expect, that a second Hoche will be as unfortunate as the former. A civil war in Ireland will lead almost necessarily to a war with France. Maritime hostilities with France, and the clash of neutral and belligerent pretensions, will then produce war with America. Then come expeditions to Canada and expeditions to Java. The Cape of Good Hope must be garrisoned. Lisbon must be defended. Let us suppose the best. That best must be, a long conflict, a dear-bought victory, a great addition to a debt already most burdensome, fresh taxes, and fresh discontents. All these are events which may not improbably happen under any government—events which the next month may bring forth—events, against

which no minister, however able and honest, can with perfect certainty provide,—but which Ministers, whose policy should exasperate the people of Ireland, would almost unavoidably bring upon us. A Cabinet formed by the Ex-Ministers could scarcely exist for a year, without incensing the lower classes of the English to frenzy, by giving them up to the selfish tyranny of its aristocratical supporters, without driving Ireland into rebellion, and without tempting France to war.

There is one hope, and one hope only for our country; and that hope is in a liberal Administration,—in an Administration which will follow with cautious, but with constantly advancing steps, the progress of the public mind; which, by promptitude to redress practical grievances, will enable itself to oppose with authority and effect, the propositions of turbulent theorists; which by kindness and fairness in all its dealings with the People, will entitle itself to their confidence and esteem.

The state of England, at the present moment, bears a close resemblance to that of France at the time when Turgot was called to the head of affairs. Abuses were numerous; public burdens heavy; a spirit of innovation was abroad among the people. The philosophical Minister attempted to secure the ancient institutions, by amending them. The mild reforms which he projected, had they been carried into execution, would have conciliated the people, and saved from the most tremendous of all commotions the Church, the Aristocracy, and the Throne. But a crowd of narrow-minded nobles, ignorant of their own interest, though solicitous for nothing else, the Newcastles and the Salisburys of France, began to tremble for their oppressive franchises. Their clamours overpowered the mild good sense of a King who wanted only firmness to be the best of Sovereigns. The Minister was discarded for councillors more obsequious to the privileged orders; and the aristocracy and clergy exulted in their success.

Then came a new period of profusion and misrule. And then, swiftly, like an armed man, came poverty and dismay. The acclamations of the nobles, and the *Te Deums* of the church, grew fainter and fainter. The very courtiers muttered disapprobation. The Ministers stammered out feeble and inconsistent counsels. But all other voices were soon drowned in one, which every moment waxed louder and more terrible,—in the fierce and tumultuous roar of a great people, conscious of irresistible strength, maddened by intolerable wrongs, and sick of deferred hopes! That cry, so long stifled, now rose from every corner of France, made itself heard in the presence-chamber of her King, in the saloons of her nobles, and in the refectories of her luxu-

rious priesthood. Then, at length, concessions were made which the subjects of Louis the Fourteenth would have thought it impious even to desire,—which the most factious opponent of Louis the Fifteenth had never ventured to ask,—which, but a few years before, would have been received with ecstasies of gratitude. But it was too late!

The imprisoned Genie of the Arabian Tales, during the early period of his confinement, promised wealth, empire, and supernatural powers to the man who should extricate him. But when he had waited long in vain, mad with rage at the continuance of his captivity, he vowed to destroy his deliverer without mercy! Such is the gratitude of nations exasperated by misgovernment to rulers who are slow to concede. The first use which they make of freedom is to avenge themselves on those who have been so slow to grant it.

Never was this disposition more remarkably displayed than at the period of which we speak. Abuses were swept away with unsparing severity. The royal prerogatives, the feudal privileges, the provincial distinctions, were sacrificed to the passions of the people. Everything was given; and everything was given in vain. Distrust and hatred were not to be thus eradicated from the minds of men who thought that they were not receiving favours but extorting rights; and that, if they deserved blame, it was not for their insensibility to tardy benefits, but for their forgetfulness of past oppression.

What followed was the necessary consequence of such a state of feeling. The recollection of old grievances made the people suspicious and cruel. The fear of popular outrages produced emigrations, intrigues with foreign courts; and, finally, a general war. Then came the barbarity of fear; the triple despotism of the clubs, the committees, and the commune; the organized anarchy, the fanatical atheism, the scheming and far-sighted madness, the butcheries of the Chatelet, and the accursed marriages of the Loire. The whole property of the nation changed hands. Its best and wisest citizens were banished or murdered. Dungeons were emptied by assassins as fast as they were filled by spies. Provinces were made desolate. Towns were unpeopled. Old things passed away. All things became new.

The paroxysm terminated. A singular train of events restored the house of Bourbon to the French throne. The exiles have returned. But they have returned as the few survivors of the deluge returned to a world in which they could recognise nothing; in which the valleys had been raised, and the mountains depressed, and the courses of the rivers changed,—in which sand

and sea-weed had covered the cultivated fields and the walls of imperial cities. They have returned to seek in vain, amidst the mouldering relics of a former system, and the fermenting elements of a new creation, the traces of any remembered object. The old boundaries are obliterated. The old laws are forgotten. The old titles have become laughing-stocks. The gravity of the parliaments, and the pomp of the hierarchy; the Doctors whose disputes agitated the Sorbonne, and the embroidered multitude whose footsteps wore out the marble pavements of Versailles, —all have disappeared. The proud and voluptuous prelates who feasted on silver, and dozed amidst curtains of massy velvet, have been replaced by curates who undergo every drudgery and every humiliation for the wages of lackeys. To those gay and elegant nobles who studied military science as a fashionable accomplishment, and expected military rank as a part of their birthright, have succeeded men born in lofts and cellars; educated in the half-naked ranks of the revolutionary armies, and raised by ferocious valour and self-taught skill, to dignities with which the coarseness of their manners and language forms a grotesque contrast. The government may amuse itself by playing at despotism, by reviving the names and aping the style of the old court—as Helenus in Epirus consoled himself for the lost magnificence of Troy, by calling his brook Xanthus, and the entrance of his little capital the Scæan gate. But the law of entail is gone, and cannot be restored. The liberty of the press is established, and the feeble struggles of the Minister cannot permanently put it down. The Bastille is fallen, and can never more rise from its ruins. A few words, a few ceremonies, a few rhetorical topics, make up all that remains of that system which was founded so deeply by the policy of the house of Valois, and adorned so splendidly by the pride of Louis the Great.

Is this a romance? Or is it a faithful picture of what has lately been in a neighbouring land—of what may shortly be, within the borders of our own? Has the warning been given in vain? Have our Mannerses and Clintons so soon forgotten the fate of houses as wealthy and as noble as their own? Have they forgotten how the tender and delicate woman,—the woman who would not set her foot on the earth for tenderness and delicateness, the idol of gilded drawing-rooms, the pole-star of crowded theatres, the standard of beauty, the arbitress of fashion, the patroness of genius,—was compelled to exchange her luxurious and dignified ease for labour and dependence, the sighs of Dukes and the flattery of bowing Abbés for the insults of rude pupils and exacting mothers;—perhaps, even to draw an infamous and

miserable subsistence from those charms which had been the glory of royal circles—to sell for a morsel of bread her reluctant caresses and her haggard smiles—to be turned over from a garret to a hospital, and from a hospital to a parish vault? Have they forgotten how the gallant and luxurious nobleman, sprung from illustrious ancestors, marked out from his cradle for the highest honours of the State and of the army, impatient of control, exquisitely sensible of the slightest affront, with all his high spirit, his polished manners, his voluptuous habits, was reduced to request, with tears in his eyes, credit for half-a-crown, —to pass day after day in hearing the auxiliary verbs mis-recited, or the first page of Télémaque misconstrued, by petulant boys, who infested him with nicknames and caricatures, who mimicked his foreign accent, and laughed at his thread-bare coat? Have they forgotten all this? God grant that they may never remember it with unavailing self-accusation, when desolation shall have visited wealthier cities and fairer gardens;—when Manchester shall be as Lyons, and Stowe as Chantilly;—when he who now, in the pride of rank and opulence, sneers at what we have written in the bitter sincerity of our hearts, shall be thankful for a porringer of broth at the door of some Spanish convent, or shall implore some Italian money-lender to advance another pistole on his George!

Note on Niebuhr's Roman History.

We have long been desirous of giving an account to our countrymen of *M. Niebuhr's Roman History*,—one of the most justly celebrated works of our times. But finding that the author was employed in preparing a Second Edition, so enlarged and amended as to be a new work, we postponed our criticism until its publication; and having since learned that a Translation from the Second Edition is now preparing, with the approbation and sanction of M. Niebuhr, by Messrs Hare and Thirlwall, of Trinity College, Cambridge, we think it better to defer the criticism till a version thus authorized shall be in the hands of the general reader. A translation has, indeed, appeared; but we understand it to be made from the first edition, and it would be sufficient for us to know, as we do, that it is disapproved and disavowed by M. Niebuhr. The English public are, in common fairness, bound to try him by the edition of this work which he offers as complete, and by the translation which he adopts as a faithful copy of the original. Mr Thirlwall is already known by his Version of Schleiermacher on St Luke's Gospel,—a volume which surpasses most original works in ability and learning. It has been said, but we believe most inaccurately, that the alterations of M. Niebuhr in his second edition, have a political purpose.

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THE

EDINBURGH REVIEW.

OCTOBER, 1827.

No. XCII.

ART. I.—*The Epistolary Correspondence of the Right Honourable* EDMUND BURKE *and Dr* FRENCH LAURENCE. Published from the Original Manuscripts. 8vo. pp. 332. London, Rivingtons. 1827.

THE Letters contained in this volume are extremely interesting, as connected both with the literary and the political history of the last century. They were written in the unrestrained freedom of intimate friendship, without the most distant view of publication, by two men, both highly gifted with natural parts, almost equally distinguished among their most learned contemporaries for extraordinary acquirements; both actively engaged in the great scene of letters and of affairs which the close of the century presented; and if not both persons of the highest celebrity, yet one of them ranking among the greatest names in the philosophy and the history of the country, and the other his approved associate and familiar friend. The subjects upon which we are here presented with their most unreserved thoughts, are the passing events of a period, when every succeeding month was big with changes, each equal in importance to those that formerly used to distinguish one age from another. And those topics are here handled, not merely by near observers, but by actors in the scene, or by those, who, having just ceased to act, continue to counsel and guide their former associates. Great, however, as, on all these accounts, our desire naturally is to begin at once upon the important matter thus laid before us with no common attractions, we must pause for a while to say something more in detail of both the eminent

men, whose epistolary intercourse we are going to examine. The matter is difficult; but it is also high, and it is useful. One of the individuals is much less known and esteemed than he deserves; the other presents, after all that has been spoken of him, a rich field of observation; and his opinions having been by one class of men too much decried, and by a more numerous and powerful body far too highly estimated, not a little remains still to be done in ascertaining the exact value at which his merits are likely to pass current in after times.

Dr Laurence was one of the most singularly endowed men, in some respects, that ever appeared in public life. He united in himself the indefatigable labour of a Dutch Commentator, with the alternate playfulness and sharpness of a Parisian Wit. His general information was boundless; his powers of mastering a given subject, were not to be resisted by any degree of dryness or complication in its details; and his fancy was lively enough to shed light upon the darkest, and to strew flowers round the most barren tracks of inquiry, had it been suffered to play easily and vent itself freely. But, unfortunately, he had only the conception of the Wit, with the execution of the Commentator; it was not Scarron or Voltaire speaking in society, or Mirabeau in public, from the stores of Erasmus or of Bayle; but it was Hemsterhuysius emerging into polished life, with the dust of many libraries upon him, to make the circle gay; it was Grævius entering the Senate with somewhere from one-half to two-thirds of his forthcoming folio at his fingers' ends, to awaken the flagging attention, and strike animation into the lazy debate. He might have spoken with the wit of Voltaire and the humour of Scarron united; none of it could pierce through the lumber of his solid matter; and any spark that by chance found its way, was stifled by the still more uncouth manner. As an author, he had no such defects; his profuse stores of knowledge, his business-like habit of applying them to the point; his taste, generally speaking correct, because originally formed on the models of antiquity, and only relaxed by his admiration of Mr Burke's less severe beauties; all gave him a facility of writing, both copiously and nervously, upon serious subjects; while his wit could display itself upon lighter ones unincumbered by pedantry, and unobstructed by the very worst delivery ever witnessed,—a delivery calculated to alienate the mind of the hearer, to beguile him of his attention, but by stealing it away from the speaker, and almost to prevent him from comprehending what was so spoken. It was in reference to this unvarying effect of Doctor Laurence's delivery, that Mr Fox once said, a man should attend, if possible, to a speech of his, and then speak

it over again himself: it must, he conceived, succeed infallibly, for it was sure to be admirable in itself, and as certain of being new to the audience. But in this saying there was considerably more wit than truth. The Doctor's speech was sure to contain *materials* not for one, but for half a dozen speeches; and a person might with great advantage listen to it, in order to use those materials, in part, afterwards, as indeed many did both in Parliament and at the Bar where he practised, make an effort to attend to him, how difficult soever, in order to hear all that could be said upon every part of the question. But whoever did so, was sure to hear a vast deal that was useless, and could serve no purpose but to perplex and fatigue; and he was equally sure to hear the immaterial points treated with as much vehemence, and as minutely dwelt upon, as the great and commanding features of the subject. In short, the Commentator was here again displayed, who never can perceive the different value of different matters; who gives no relief to his work, and exhausts all the stores of his learning, and spends the whole power of his ingenuity, as eagerly in dethroning one particle which has usurped another's place, as in overthrowing the interpolated verse in St John, or the spurious chapter in Josephus, upon which may depend the foundations of a religion, or the articles of its faith.

It is hardly necessary to add, that they who saw Dr Laurence only in debate, saw him to the greatest disadvantage, and had no means of forming anything like a fair estimate of his merits. In the lighter intercourse of society, too, unless in conversation wholly unrestrained by the desire of distinction, he appeared to little advantage; his mirth, though perfectly inoffensive and good-natured, was elaborate; his wit or drollery wanted concentration and polish; it was unwieldy and clumsy; it was the gamboling of the elephant, in which, if strength was seen, weight was felt still more; nor was it Milton's elephant, recreating our first parents; and who, 'to make them play, would wreathe his lithe 'proboscis;'—but the elephant capered bodily, and in a lumbering fashion, after the manner of his tribe. Yet set the same man down to write, and whose compositions are marked by more perfect propriety, more conciseness, more point, more rapidity? His wit sparkles and illuminates, without more effort than is requisite for throwing it off. It is varied, too, and each kind is excellent. It is a learned wit, very frequently, and then wears an elaborate air; but not stiff or pedantic, not forced or strained, unless we deem Swift's wit, when it assumes this garb, unnatural or heavy—a sentence which would condemn some of his most famous pieces, and sweep away almost all Arbuthnot's together.

In his profession, Dr Laurence filled the highest place. Practising in courts where a single judge decides, and where the whole matter of each cause is thoroughly sifted and prepared for discussion out of court, he experienced no ill effect from the tedious style and unattractive manner which a jury could not have borne, and felt not the want of that presence of mind, and readiness of execution, which enable a Nisi Prius advocate to decide and to act at the moment, according to circumstances suddenly arising and impossible to foresee. He had all the qualities which his branch of the forensic art requires; profound learning, various and accurate information upon ordinary affairs as well as the contents of books, and a love of labour, not to be satiated by any prolixity and minuteness of detail into which the most complicated cause could run—a memory which let nothing escape that it had once grasped, whether large in size or imperceptibly small—an abundant subtlety in the invention of topics to meet an adversary's arguments, and a penetration that never left one point of his own case unexplored. These qualities might very possibly have been modified and blended with the greater terseness and dexterity of the common lawyer, had his lot been cast in Westminster Hall; but in the precincts of St Paul's, they were more than sufficient to place him at the head of his brethren, and to obtain for him the largest share of practice which any Civilian of the time could enjoy without office.

The same fulness of information and facility of invention, which were so invaluable to his clients, proved most important resources to his political associates, during the thirteen or fourteen years that he sat in Parliament; and they were almost equally useful to the great party he was connected with, for many years before that period. It was a common remark, that nothing could equal the richness of his stores, except the liberality with which he made them accessible to all. Little as he for some time before his death had taken part in debates, and scantily as he had been attended to when he did, his loss might be plainly perceived, for a long time, in the want generally felt of that kind of information which had flowed so copiously through all the channels of private intercourse, and been obtained so easily, that its importance was not felt until its sources were closed for ever. It was then that men inquired 'where Laurence was,' as often as a difficulty arose which called for more than common ingenuity to meet it; or a subject presented itself so large and shapeless, and dry and thorny, that few men's fortitude could face, and no one's patience could grapple with it; or an emergency occurred, demanding, on the sudden, access to stores of learning, the col-

lection of many long years, but arranged so as to be available to the most ignorant at the shortest notice. Men lamented the great loss they had experienced, and their regrets were mingled with wonder when they reflected that the same blow had deprived them of qualities the most rarely found in company with such acquirements; for, unwilling as the jealousy of human vanity is to admit various excellence in a single individual, (*mos hominum ut nolint eundem pluribus rebus excellere,*) it was in vain to deny that the same person, who exceeded all others in powers of hard working upon the dullest subjects, and who had, by his life of labour, become as a Dictionary to his friends, had also produced a larger share than any one contributor, to the epigrams, the burlesques, the grave ironies and the broad jokes, whether in verse or in prose, of the Rolliad.

The highest of the praises which Dr Laurence had a right to challenge, remains. He was a man of scrupulous integrity and unsullied honour; faithful in all trusts; disinterested to a weakness. Constant, but rather let it be said, ardent and enthusiastic in his friendships; abandoning his whole faculties with a self-dereliction that knew no bounds, either to the cause of his friend, or his party, or the common-weal—he commanded the unceasing respect of all with whom he came in contact, or even in conflict; for when most offended with his zeal, they were forced to admit, that what bore the semblance of intolerance was the fruit of an honest anxiety for a friend or a principle, and never was pointed towards himself. To the praise of correct judgment he was not so well entitled. His naturally warm temperament, and his habit of entering into whatever he took up with his whole faculties, as well as all his feelings, kindled in him the two great passions which chequered the latter part of Mr Burke's life; he spent some years upon Mr Hastings's Impeachment, and some upon the French Revolution, so absorbed in those subjects that their impression could not be worn out; and he ever after appeared to see one or other of them, and not unfrequently both together, on whatever ground he might cast his eyes. This almost morbid affection he shared with his protector and friend, of whom we are now to speak.

How much soever men may differ as to the soundness of Mr Burke's doctrine, or the purity of his public conduct, there can be no hesitation in according to him a station among the most extraordinary men that have ever appeared; and we think there is now but little diversity of opinion as to the kind of place which it is fit to assign him. He was a writer of the first class, and excelled in almost every kind of prose composition. Possessed of most extensive knowledge, and of the most various de-

scription; acquainted alike with what different classes of men knew, each in his own province, and with much that hardly any one ever thought of learning; he could either bring his masses of information to bear directly upon the subjects to which they severally belonged—or he could avail himself of them generally to strengthen his faculties and enlarge his views—or he could turn any portion of them to account for the purpose of illustrating his theme, or enriching his diction. Hence, when he is handling any one matter, we perceive that we are conversing with a reasoner or a teacher, to whom almost every other branch of knowledge is familiar: His views range over all the cognate subjects; his reasonings are derived from principles applicable to other theories as well as the one in hand: Arguments pour in from all sides, as well as those which start up under our feet, the natural growth of the path he is leading us over; while to throw light round our steps, and either explore its darker places, or serve for our recreation, illustrations are fetched from a thousand quarters; and an imagination marvellously quick to descry unthought of resemblances, points to our use the stores, which a lore yet more marvellous has gathered from all ages, and nations, and arts, and tongues. We are, in respect of the argument, reminded of Bacon's multifarious knowledge, and the exuberance of his learned fancy; while the many-lettered diction recalls to mind the first of English poets, and his immortal verse, rich with the spoils of all sciences and all times.

The kinds of composition are various, and he excels in them all, with the exception of two, the very highest, given but to few, and when given, almost always possessed alone,—fierce, nervous, overwhelming declamation, and close, rapid argument. Every other he uses easily, abundantly, and successfully. He produced but one philosophical treatise; but no man lays down abstract principles more soundly, or better traces their application. All his works, indeed, even his controversial, are so informed with general reflection, so variegated with speculative discussion, that they wear the air of the Lyceum as well as the Academy. His narrative is excellent; and it is impossible more luminously to expose the details of a complicated subject, to give them more animation and interest, if dry in themselves, or to make them bear, by the mere power of statement, more powerfully upon the argument. In description he can hardly be surpassed, at least for effect; he has all the qualities that conduce to it—ardour of purpose, sometimes rising into violence—vivid, but too luxuriant fancy,—bold, frequently extravagant, conception—the faculty of shedding over mere inanimate scenery the light imparted by moral associations. He indulges in bitter invective, mingled with

poignant wit, but descending often to abuse and even scurrility; he is apt moreover to carry an attack too far, as well as strain the application of a principle; to slay the slain, or turn the reader's contempt into pity.

As in the various kinds of writing, so in the different styles, he had an almost universal excellence, one only being deficient, the plain and unadorned. Not but that he could, in unfolding a doctrine or pursuing a narrative, write for a little with admirable simplicity and propriety; only he could not sustain this self-denial; his brilliant imagination and well-stored memory soon broke through the restraint. But in all other styles, passages without end occur of the highest order—epigram—pathos—metaphor in profusion, chequered with more didactic and sober diction. Nor are his purely figurative passages the finest even as figured writing; he is best when the metaphor is subdued, mixed as it were with plainer matter to flavour it, and used not by itself, and for its own sake, but giving point to a more useful instrument, made of more ordinary material; or at the most, flung off by the heat of composition, like sparks from a working engine, not fire-works for mere display. Speaking of the authors of the Declaration of Right, he calls them 'those whose 'penetrating style has engraved in our ordinances and in our 'hearts, the words and spirit of that immortal law.'—(*Reflections on the French Revolution*). So discoursing of the imitations of natural magnitude by artifice and skill—'A true artist should put 'a generous deceit on the spectators, and effect the noblest de- 'signs by easy methods.'—(*Sublime and Beautiful, Part II.* §. 10.) 'When pleasure is over we relapse into indifference, or rather 'we fall into a soft tranquillity, which is tinged with the agree- 'able colour of the former sensation.'—(*Ibid. Part. I.* §. 3.) 'Every age has its own manners, and its politics dependent 'on them; and the same attempts will not be made against a 'constitution fully formed and matured, that were used to de- 'stroy it in the cradle, or resist its growth during its infancy.' (*Thoughts on the Causes of the present Discontents.*) 'Faction 'will make its cries resound through the nation, as if the whole 'were in an uproar.'—(*Ibid.*) In works of a serious nature, upon the affairs of real life, as political discourses and orations, figurative style should hardly ever go beyond this. But a strict and close metaphor or simile may be allowed, provided it be most sparingly used, and never deviate from the subject matter, so as to make it disappear in the ornament. 'The judgment is for 'the greater part employed in throwing stumbling blocks in 'the way of the imagination, (says Mr Burke,) in dissipating 'the scenes of its enchantment, and in tying us down to the

'disagreeable yoke of our reason.'—(*Discourses on Taste.*) He has here at once expressed figuratively the principle we are laying down, and illustrated our remark by the temperance of his metaphors, which, though mixed, do not offend, because they come so near mere figurative language that they may be regarded, like the last set of examples, rather as forms of expression than tropes. 'A great deal of the furniture of ancient tyranny is worn to rags; the rest is entirely out of fashion.'—(*Thoughts on the Discontents.*) A most apt illustration of his important position, that we ought to be as jealous of little encroachments, now the chief sources of danger, as our ancestors were of *Ship Money* and the *Forest Laws.* 'A species of men, (speaking of one constant and baneful effect of grievances,) to whom 'a state of order would become a sentence of obscurity, are 'nourished into a dangerous magnitude by the heat of intestine 'disturbances; and it is no wonder that, by a sort of sinister 'piety, they cherish, in return, those disorders which are the 'parents of all their consequence.'—(*Ibid.*) 'We have not, '(says he of the English Church establishment,) relegated religion to obscure municipalities or rustic villages—No! we 'will have her to exalt her mitred front in courts and parliaments.'—(*Reflections on the French Revolution.*) But if these should seem so temperate as hardly to be separate figures, the celebrated comparison of the Queen of France, though going to the verge of chaste style, hardly passes it. 'And surely, never 'lighted on this orb, which she hardly seemed to touch, a more 'delightful vision. I saw her just above the horizon, decorating 'and cheering the elevated sphere she just began to move in—'glittering like the morning star, full of life, and splendour, 'and joy.'—(*Ibid.*)

All his writings, but especially his later ones, abound in examples of the abuse of this style, in which, unlike those we have been dwelling upon with unmixed admiration, the subject is lost sight of, and the figure usurps its place, almost as much as in Homer's longer *similes*, and is oftentimes pursued, not merely with extravagance and violence, but into details that offend by their coarseness, as well as their strained connexion with the matter in question. The comparison of a noble adversary to the whale, in which the grantee of the crown is altogether forgotten, and the fish alone remains; of one Republican ruler to a cannibal in his den, where he paints him as having actually devoured a king and suffering from indigestion; of another, to a retailer of dresses, in which character the nature of constitutions is forgotten in that of millinery,—are instances too well known to be further dwelt upon; and they were the produce, not of the 'audacity of youth,' but of the last year of his life. It must,

however, be confessed, that he was at all times somewhat tainted with what Johnson imputes to Swift, a proneness to 'revolve 'ideas from which other minds shrink with disgust.' At least he must be allowed to have often mistaken violence and grossness for vigour. 'The anodyne draught of oblivion, thus 'drugged, is well calculated to preserve a galling wakefulness, 'and to feed the living ulcer of a corroding memory. Thus to 'administer the opiate potion of animosity, powdered with all the 'ingredients of scorn and contempt,' &c.—(*Reflections on the French Revolution.*) 'They are not repelled through a fasti-'dious delicacy at the stench of their arrogance and presump-'tion, from a medicinal attention to their mental blotches and 'running sores.'—(*Ibid.*) 'Those bodies, which, when full 'of life and beauty, lay in their arms, and were their joy 'and comfort, when dead and putrid, became but the more 'loathsome from remembrance of former endearments.'—(*Thoughts.*) 'The vital powers, wasted in an unequal strug-'gle, are pushed back upon themselves, and fester to gan-'grene, to death; and instead of what was but just now the 'delight of the creation, there will be cast out in the face of 'the sun, a bloated, putrid, noisome carcase, full of stench and 'poison, an offence, a horror, a lesson to the world.' (*Speech on the Nabob's Debts.*) Some passages are not fit to be cited, and could not now be tolerated in either house of Parliament, for the indecency of their allusions—as in the Regency debates, and the attack upon lawyers on the Impeachment continuation. But the finest of his speeches, which we have just quoted from, though it does not go so far from propriety, falls not much within its bounds. Of Mr Dundas he says—'With six great chop-'ping bastards, (*Reports of Secret Committee,*) each as lusty 'as an infant Hercules, this delicate creature blushes at the 'sight of his new bridegroom, assumes a virgin delicacy; or, to 'use a more fit, as well as a more poetical comparison, the person 'so squeamish, so timid, so trembling, lest the winds of heaven 'should visit too roughly, is expanded to broad sunshine, ex-'posed like the sow of imperial augury, lying in the mud with 'all the prodigies of her fertility about her, as evidence of her 'delicate amour.'—(*Ibid.*)

It is another characteristic of this great writer, that the unlimited abundance of his stores makes him profuse in their expenditure: Never content with one view of a subject, or one manner of handling it, he for the most part lavishes his whole resources upon the discussion of each point. In controversy this is emphatically the case. Indeed, nothing is more remarkable than the variety of ways in which he makes his approaches

to any position he would master. After reconnoitring it with skill and boldness, if not with perfect accuracy, he manœuvres with infinite address, and arrays a most imposing force of general principles mustered from all parts, and pointed, sometimes violently enough, in one direction. He now moves on with the composed air, the even, dignified pace of the historian; and unfolds his facts in a narrative so easy, and yet so correct, that you plainly perceive he wanted only the dismissal of other pursuits to have rivalled Livy or Hume. But soon this advance is interrupted, and he stops to display his powers of description—when the boldness of his design is only matched by the brilliancy of his colouring. He then skirmishes for a space, and puts in motion all the lighter arms of wit—sometimes not unmingled with drollery—sometimes bordering upon farce. His main battery is now opened, and a tempest bursts forth, of every weapon of attack—invective—abuse—irony—sarcasm—simile, drawn out to allegory—allusion—quotation—fable—parable—anathema. The heavy artillery of powerful declamation, and the conflict of close argument alone are wanting; but of this the garrison is not always aware; his noise is oftentimes mistaken for the thunder of true eloquence; the number of his movements distracts, and the variety of his missiles annoys the adversary; a panic spreads, and he carries his point, as if he had actually made a practicable breach; nor is it discovered till after the smoke and confusion is over, that the citadel remains untouched.

Every one of Mr Burke's works that is of any importance, presents, though in different degrees, these features to the view —from the most chaste and temperate, his *Thoughts on the Discontents,* to the least faultless and severe—his richer and more ornate, as well as vehement tracts upon revolutionary politics—his letters on the *Regicide Peace,* and *Defence* of his *Pension.* His speeches differ not at all from his pamphlets; these are written speeches, or those are spoken dissertations, according as any one is over studious of method and closeness in a book, or of ease and nature in an oration. The principal defects which we have hinted at are a serious derogation from merit of the highest order in both kinds of composition. But in his spoken eloquence, the failure which it is known attended him for a great part of his Parliamentary life, is not to be explained by the mere absence of what alone he wanted to equal the greatest of orators.

In fact, he was deficient in judgment; he regarded not the degree of interest felt by his audience in the topics which deeply occupied himself; and seldom knew when he had said enough

on those which affected them as well as him. He was admirable in exposition; in truth, he delighted to give instruction both when speaking and conversing, and in this he was unrivalled. '*Quis in sententiis argutior? in docendo edisserendoque subtilior?*' Mr Fox might well avow, without a compliment, that he had learnt more from him alone than from all other men and authors. But if any one thing is proved by unvarying experience of popular assemblies, it is, that an excellent dissertation makes a very bad speech. The speaker is not the only person actively engaged while a great oration is pronouncing; the audience have their share; they must be excited, and for this purpose constantly appealed to as recognised persons of the drama. The didactic orator (if, as has been said of the poet, it be not a contradiction in terms) has it all to himself; the hearer is merely passive; and the consequence is, he soon ceases to be a listener, and if he can, even to be a spectator. Mr Burke was essentially didactic, except when the violence of his invective carried him away, and then he offended the correct taste of the House of Commons, by going beyond the occasion, and by descending to coarseness.* When he argued, it was by unfolding large views, and seizing upon analogies too remote, and drawing distinctions 'too fine for hearers,' or, at the best, by a body of statements, lucid, certainly, and diversified with flower and fruit, and lighted up with pleasantry, but almost always in excess, and overdone in these qualities as well as in its own substance. He had little power of hard stringent reasoning, as we have more than once remarked; and his declamation was addressed to the head, as from the head it proceeded, learned, fanciful, ingenious, but not impassioned. Of him, as a combatant, we may say what Aristotle did of the old philosophers, when he compared them to unskilful boxers, who hit round about, and

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* The charge of coarseness, or rather of vulgarity of language, has, to the astonishment of all who knew him, and understood pure idiomatic English, been made against Mr Windham, but only by persons unacquainted with both. To him might nearly be applied the beautiful sketch of Crassus by M. Tullius—' Quo,' says he, ' nihil statuo ' fieri potuisse perfectius. Erat summa gravitas, erat cum gravitate ' junctus, facetiarum et urbanitatis oratorius, non scurrilis lepos. La- ' tine loquendi accurata, et sine molestiâ diligens elegantia—in disse- ' rendo mira explicatio; cum de jure civili, cum de æquo et bono dis- ' putaretur argumentorum et similitudinum copia.' Let not the reader reject even the latter features, those certainly of an advocate; at least let him first read Mr W.'s Speech on the Law of Evidence, in the Duke of York's case.

not straight forward, and fight with little effect, though they may by chance sometimes deal a hard blow.—Οιον εν ταις μαχαις ʽοι αγυμνασοι ποιουσι. και γαρ εκεινοι περιφερουμενοι τυπτουσι πολλακις καλας πληγας· αλλ᾽ ουτ᾽ εκεινοι απ᾽ επιστημης.—(*Metaphys.*)*

Cicero has somewhere called Eloquence *copiose loquens sapientia.* This may be true of written, but of spoken eloquence it is a defective definition, and will, at the best, only comprehend the Demonstrative (or Epideictic) kind, which is banished, for want of an audience, from all modern assemblies of a secular description. Thus, though it well characterises Mr Burke, yet the defects which we have pointed out, were fatal to his success. Accordingly the test of eloquence, which the same master has in so picturesque a manner given, from his own constant experience, here entirely failed.—'Volo hoc oratori contingat, ut cum auditum sit eum esse dicturum, locus in subselliis occupetur, compleatur tribunal, gratiosi scribæ sint in dando et cedendo locum, corona multiplex, judex erectus; cum surgit is, qui dicturus sit, significetur a corona silentium, deinde crebræ assensiones, multæ admirationes: risus, cum velit; cum velit, fletus; ut, qui hæc procul videat, etiamsi quid agatur nesciat, at placere tamen, et in scena Roscium intelligat.' For many years, that is, between the latter part of the American war, and the speeches which he made, neither many, nor long, nor in a very usual or regular style, on the French Revolution, the very reverse of all this was to be seen and lamented, as often as Mr Burke spoke. The spectator saw no signs of Roscius being in action, but rather of the eminent Civilian we have already spoken of. 'Videt' (as the same critic has, in another passage, almost to the letter described it) 'oscitantem judicem, loquentem cum altero, nonnunquam etiam circulantem, mittentem ad horas; quæsitorem, ut dimittat, rogantem;†

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* The Attic reader will be here reminded of the First Philippic, in which a very remarkable passage, and in part too applicable to our subject, seems to have been suggested by the passage in the text; and its great felicity both of apt comparison and of wit, should, with a thousand other passages, have made critics pause before they denied those qualities to the chief of orators. Ωσπερ δε ʽοι βαρβαροι πυκτευουσιν, ουτω πολεμειτε Φιλιππῳ. και γαρ εκεινων ο πληγεις αει της πληγης εχεται. καν ετερωσε παταξῃ τις, εκεισε εισιν ʽαι χειρες. προβαλλεσθαι δ᾽, η βλεπειν εναντιον, ουτ᾽ οιδεν, ουτ᾽ εθελει, which he proceeds to illustrate by the conduct held respecting the Chersonese, and Thermopylæ.

† This desire in the English senate is irregularly signified, by the cries of '*Question*,' there not being a proper quarter to appeal to, as in the Roman courts.

'intelligit, oratorem in ea causa non adesse, qui possit animis 'judicum admovere orationem, tanquam fidibus manum.'

But it may justly be said, with the second of Attic orators, that sense is always more important than eloquence; and no one can doubt that enlightened men in all ages will hang over the works of Mr Burke, and dwell with delight even upon the speeches that failed to command the attention of those to whom they were addressed. Nor is it by their rhetorical beauties that they interest us. The extraordinary depth of his detached views, the penetrating sagacity which he *occasionally* applies to the affairs of men and their motives, and the curious felicity of expression with which he unfolds principles, and traces resemblances and relations, are separately the gift of few, and in their union probably without any example. This must be admitted on all hands; it is possibly the last of our observations which will obtain universal assent, as it is the last we have to offer before coming upon disputed ground, where the fierce contentions of politicians cross the more quiet path of the critic.

Not content with the praise of his philosophic acuteness, which all are ready to allow, the less temperate admirers of this great writer, have ascribed to him a gift of genius approaching to the power of divination, and have recognised him as in possession of a judgment so acute and so calm withal, that its decisions might claim the authority of infallible decrees. His opinions have been viewed as always resulting from general principles deliberately applied to each emergency; and they have been looked upon as forming a connected system of doctrines, by which his own sentiments and conduct were regulated, and from which after times may derive the lessons of practical wisdom.

A consideration which at once occurs, as casting suspicion upon the soundness, if not also upon the sincerity, of these encomiums, is, that they never were dreamt of until the questions arose concerning the French Revolution; and yet, if well founded, they were due to the former principles and conduct of their object; for it is wholly inconsistent with their tenor to admit that the doctrines so extolled were the rank and sudden growth of the heats which the changes of 1789 had generated. Their title to so much admiration and to our implicit confidence, must depend upon their being the slowly matured fruit of a profound philosophy, which had investigated and compared; pursuing the analogies of things, and tracing events to their remote origin in the principles of human nature. Yet it is certain that these reasoners, (if reasoning can indeed be deemed their vocation,) never discovered a single merit in Mr Burke's opinions, or anything to praise, or even to endure, in his conduct,

from his entrance into public life in 1765, to the period of that stormy confusion of all parties and all political attachments, which took place in 1791, a short time before he quitted it. They are therefore placed in a dilemma, from which it would puzzle subtler dialecticians to escape. Either they or their idol have changed; either they have received a new light, or he is a changeling god. They are either converts to a faith, which, for so many years, and during so many vicissitudes, they had, in their preaching and in their lives, held to be damnable; or they are believers in a heresy, lightly taken up by its author, and promulgated to suit the wholly secular purposes of some particular season.

We believe a very little examination of the facts will suffice to show, that the believers have been more consistent than their oracle; and that they escape from the charge of fickleness, at the expense of the authority due to the faith last proclaimed from his altar. It would, indeed, be difficult to select one leading principle or prevailing sentiment in Mr Burke's latest writings, to which something extremely adverse may not be found in his former, we can hardly say his early works;—excepting only the subject of Parliamentary Reform, to which, with all the friends of Lord Rockingham, he was from the beginning adverse; and in favour of which he found so very hesitating and lukewarm a feeling among Mr Fox's supporters, as hardly amounted to a difference, certainly offered no inducements to compromise the opinions of his own party. Searching after the monuments of altered principles, we will not resort to his first works—in one of which he terms Damien 'a late *un-* '*fortunate* regicide,' looking only at his punishment, and disregarding his offence; neither shall we look into his speeches, exceeding, as they did, the bounds which all other men, even in the heat of debate, prescribe to themselves, in speaking now of the first magistrate of the country, while labouring under a calamitous visitation of Providence—now of kings generally. But we may fairly take as the standard of his opinions, best weighed and most deliberately pronounced, the calmest of all his productions, and the most fully considered,—given to the world when he had long passed the middle age of life, had filled a high station, and been for years eminent in parliamentary history.* Although, in compositions of this kind, more depends upon the general tone of a work, than on parti-

* The Thoughts on the Causes of the Present Discontents was published in 1770—when Mr B. was above 40 years old.

cular passages, because the temper of mind on certain points may be better gathered from that, than from any expressly stated propositions, yet we have but to open the book to see that his *Thoughts* in 1770, were very different from those which breathe through every page of his Anti-Jacobin writings. And first of the Corinthian Capital of 1790. 'I am 'no friend' (says he in 1770) 'to aristocracy, in the sense 'at least in which that word is usually understood. If it were 'not a bad habit to moot cases on the supposed ruin of the 'constitution, I should be free to declare, that if it must perish, 'I would rather by far see it resolved into any other form, 'than lost in that austere and insolent domination.' (*Works*, II. 246.) His comfort is derived from the consideration 'that 'the generality of peers are but too apt to fall into an oblivion 'of their proper dignity, and run headlong into an abject servitude.' Next of 'the Swinish Multitude'—'When popular discontents have been very prevalent, it may well be affirmed and supported, that there has been generally something 'found amiss in the constitution, or in the conduct of government. The people have no interest in disorder. When they 'do wrong, it is their error, not their crime. But with the 'governing part of the state it is far otherwise,'—and he quotes the saying of Sully—'Pour la populace ce n'est jamais par 'envie d'attaquer qu'elle se souleve, mais par impatience de 'souffrir.' (*Ib.* 224.) Again, of the people as 'having nothing to 'do with the laws but to obey them'—'I see no other way 'for the preservation of a decent attention to public interest in 'the representatives, but *the interposition of the body of the people itself*,* whenever it shall appear by some flagrant and 'notorious act,—by some capital innovation—that these representatives are going to overleap the fences of the law, and to 'introduce an arbitrary power. This interposition is a most 'unpleasant remedy. But if it be a legal remedy, it is intended on some occasion to be used—to be used then only 'when it is evident that nothing else can hold the constitution 'to its true principles. It is not in Parliament alone that the 'remedy for parliamentary disorders can be completed; hardly indeed can it begin there. Until a confidence in government is re-established, the people ought to be excited to a 'more strict and detailed attention to the conduct of their representatives. Standards for judging more systematically upon their conduct ought to be settled in the meetings of counties and corporations. Frequent and correct lists of the voters

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* Ital. in orig.

'in all important questions ought to be procured.' (*Ib.* 324.) The reasons which call for popular interposition, and made him preach it at a season of unprecedented popular excitement, are stated to be 'the immense revenue, enormous debt, and mighty 'establishments;' and he requires the House of Commons 'to 'bear some stamp of the actual disposition of the people at 'large;' adding, that 'it would be a more natural and toler-'able evil, that the House should be infected with every epide-'mical frenzy of the people, as this would indicate some con-'sanguinity, some sympathy of nature with their constituents, 'than that they should in all cases be wholly untouched by the 'opinions and feelings of the people out of doors.' Now let us step aside for a moment to remark, that the '*immense re-'venue*' was under 10 millions; the '*enormous debt*,' 130; and the '*mighty establishments*,' cost about 6 millions a-year. The statesman who, on this account, recommended popular interference in 1770, lived to see the revenue 24 millions; the debt, 350; the establishment, 30; and the ruling principle of his latter days, operating with the vehemence of a passion, was the all-sufficiency of Parliament and the Crown, and the fatal consequence of according to the people any the slightest share of direct power in the state.

His theoretical view of the constitution in those days, was as different from the high monarchical tone of his latter writings. The King was then 'the representative of the people,'—'so,' (he adds) 'are the Lords—so are the Judges; they are all trus-'tees for the people, as well as the Commons, because no power 'is given for the sole sake of the holder; and although govern-'ment certainly is an institution of divine authority, yet its 'forms, and the persons who administer it, all originate from 'the people.' And then comes that immortal passage so often cited, and which ought to be blazoned in letters of fire over the porch of the Commons House; illustrating the doctrine it sets out with, that 'their representatives are a control *for* the peo-'ple, and not *upon* the people; and that the virtue, spirit, and 'essence of a House of Commons consists in its being the ex-'press image of the feelings of the nation.' (*Ibid.* 288.)* It

* 'A vigilant and jealous eye over executory and judicial magis-'tracy; an anxious care of public money; an openness approaching 'towards facility, to public complaint; these seem to be the true cha-'racteristics of a House of Commons. But an addressing House of 'Commons and a petitioning nation; a House of Commons full of confi-'dence, when the nation is plunged in despair; in the utmost harmony 'with ministers whom the people regard with the utmost abhorrence;

may be superfluous to add, that one so deeply imbued with the soundest principles of a free constitution, must always have regarded the Bourbon rulers with singular dislike, while he saw in the English government the natural ally of Liberty, wheresoever she was struggling with her chains. Accordingly, in the same famous work, he exclaims, 'Such was the conquest 'of Corsica, by the professed enemies of the freedom of man-'kind, in defiance of those who were formerly its professed de-'fenders.' (*Ibid.* 272.)

Although it cannot be denied that a considerable portion of the deference which Mr Burke's later and more celebrated opinions are entitled to command, is thus taken away, and, as it were, shared by the conflicting authority of his earlier sentiments, his disciples may, nevertheless, be willing to rest his claims to a reverent, if not an implicit observance, upon the last, as the maturest efforts of his genius. Now, it appears to us, that in this extraordinary person the usual progress of the faculties in growth and decline, was in some measure reversed; his fancy became more vivid,—it burnt, as it were, brighter before its extinction; while age, which had only increased that light, lessened the power of profiting from it, by weakening the judgment as the imagination gained luxuriance and strength. Thus, his old age resembled that of other men in one particular only; he was more haunted by fears, and more easily became the dupe of imposture as well as alarm.

It is, we apprehend, quite vain now to deny, that the unfavourable decision which those feelings led him to form of the French Revolution, was, in the main, incorrect and exaggerated. That he was right in expecting much confusion and mischief from the passions of a whole nation let loose, and influenced only by the various mobs of its capital, literary and political, in the assemblies, the club-rooms, the theatre, and the streets, no one can doubt; nor was he at all singular in the apprehensions he felt. But beyond this very scanty and not very difficult

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'who vote thanks, when the public opinion calls upon them for im-'peachments; who are eager to grant, when the general voice de-'mands account; who, in all disputes between the people and the ad-'ministration, pronounce against the people; who punish their disor-'ders, but refuse even to inquire into the provocations to them; this 'is an unnatural, a monstrous state of things in the constitution. Such 'an assembly may be a great, wise, awful senate; but it is not to any 'popular purpose a House of Commons.' (*Ib.* 289.)

portion of his predictions, it would be hard to show any signal instance of their fulfilment. Except in lamenting the excesses of the times of terror, and in admitting them to form a large deduction from the estimate of the benefits of the Revolution, it would be no easy matter to point out a single opinion of his which any rational and moderate man of the present day will avow. Those who claim for Mr Burke's doctrines in 1790, the praise of a sagacity and foresight hardly human, would do well to recollect his speech on the Army Estimates of that year. It is published by himself, corrected,* and its drift is to show the uselessness of a large force, because 'France must now be 'considered as expunged out of the system of Europe;' it expresses much doubt if she can ever resume her station 'as a 'leading power;' anticipates 'the language of the rising generation—*Gallos quoque in bellis floruisse audivimus*;' and decides, that at all events her restoration to anything like a substantive existence, must, under a republic, be the work of 'much time.' Scarce two years elapsed before this same France, without any change whatever in her situation, except the increase of the anarchy that had expunged her from the map, declared war on Austria, and in a few months more carried her conquests so much further than Louis XIV. had done, when the firmness and judgment of King William opposed him, that Mr Burke now said a universal league was necessary to avert her universal dominion, and that it was a question whether she would suffer any one throne to stand in Europe. The same eulogists of Mr Burke's sagacity would also do well to recollect those yearly predictions of the complete internal ruin which for so long a period alternated with alarms at the foreign aggrandisement of the Republic; they all originated in his famous work—though it contains some prophecies too extravagant to be borrowed by his most servile imitators. Thus he contends that the population of France is irreparably diminished by the revolution, and actually adopts a calculation which makes the distress of Paris require above two millions sterling for its yearly relief; a sum sufficient to pay each family above seventeen pounds, or to defray its whole expenditure in that country. Surely one so easily led away by his prejudices, can in no sense be reckoned a safe guide, or be extolled for more than ordinary sagacity.

But on these grounds a further allowance is made, and a new deduction introduced, from the sum total of the deference paid

* Works. Vol. V. p. 1.

to his authority. It is said that the sagacity and penetration which we are bid to reverence, were never at fault, unless on points where strong feelings interfered. The proposition must be admitted, and without any qualification. But it leads not to an abatement merely—it operates a release of the whole debt of deference and respect. For one clever man's opinion is just as good as another's, if both are equally uninfluenced by passions and feelings of every kind. Nor was it only on the French Revolution that Mr Burke's prejudices warped his judgment. Whatever subject interested him strongly, he regarded generally in false colours and distorted shape; always in exaggerated dimensions. The fate of society, for many years, hung upon Hastings's Impeachment; during that period he exhausted as much vituperation upon the East Indians in this country, as he afterwards did on the Jacobins; and he was not more ready to quarrel with Mr Fox on a difference of opinion about France, than he had been a year before to attack Mr Erskine with every weapon of personal and professional abuse, upon a slighter difference about the Abating of the Impeachment. Nay, after the Hastings question might have been supposed forgotten, or merged in the more recent controversy on French affairs, he deliberately enumerates, among the causes of alarm at French principles, the prevalence of the East India interest in England; ranks 'Nabobs' with the diplomatic body all over Europe, as naturally and incurably Jacobin; and warns this country loudly and solemnly against suffering itself to be overthrown by a 'Bengal junto.'

The like infirmity of a judgment weakened, no doubt, by his temper, pursues him through the whole details of every question that excites him, that is, of every question that engages his attention. But it is most conspicuous, of course, in all that relates to France, because France was the master topic. He is blinded to the impressions on his very senses, not by the 'light shining inward,' but by the heat of his passions. He sees not what all other men behold, but what he wishes to see, or what his prejudices and fantasies suggest; and having once pronounced a dogma, the most astounding contradictions that events can give him, assail his mind, and even his senses, in vain. Early in 1790 he pronounced France extinguished, as regarded her external force. But at the end of 1793, when the second attempt to invade her had ended in the utter discomfiture of the assailants, when she was rioting in the successes of an offensive war, and had armed her whole people to threaten the liberties of Europe, he still sees in her situation nothing but

'complete ruin, without the chance of resurrection,' and still reckons, that when she recovers her nominal existence by a restoration of the monarchy, 'it will be as much as all her neighbours can do, by a steady guarantee, to keep her upon her basis.'* (Works, VII. 185.) That he should confound all persons, as well as things, in his extravagant speculations, surprises less than such delusions as this. We are little atonished at finding him repeatedly class the humane and chivalrous La Fayette with the monster Robespierre; but when we find him pursuing his theory, that all Atheists are Jacobins, so far as to charge Hume with being a leveller, and pressing the converse of the proposition, so far as to insinuate that Priestley was an Atheist, we pause incredulous, over the sad devastation which a disordered fancy can make in the finest understanding.—(VII. 58.)

That the warlike policy which he recommended against France, was more consistent than the course pursued by the ministry, may be admitted. The weak and ruinous plan of leaving the enemy to conquer all Europe, while we wasted our treasure and our blood in taking sugar islands, to increase the African Slave Trade, and mow down whole armies by pestilence, has been oftentimes painted in strong colours, never stronger than the truth; and our arms only were successful when this wretched system was abandoned. But if Mr Burke faintly and darkly arraigned this plan of operations, it was on grounds so purely fanciful, and he dashed the truth with such a mixture of manifest error, that he unavoidably both prevented his councils from being respected, and subjected his own policy to imputations full as serious as those he brought against the Government. He highly approved of the emigration, because France was no longer in but out of France; he insisted on an invasion, for the avowed purpose of restoring monarchy and punishing its enemies; he required the advanced-guard of the attacking army to be composed of the bands of French gentlemen, emigrants, and to be accompanied by the exiled priests; and, in order to make the movement more popular, they were to be preceded by the proclamation of solemn leagues among the allies, never to treat with a republic that had slain its king, and formal announcements that they entered the country to punish and to restore.

Mr Burke lived not to see the power of the revolutionary go-

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* She had at that time 750,000 men under arms, without calling out the second conscription.

vernment extend itself resistless in the direction he had pronounced impossible, or prove harmless in the only way he deemed it formidable. The downfall of that government he lived not to see thrice accomplished, without one of his plans being followed. Yet let us not doubt his opinions upon the restoration of his favourite dynasty, had he survived its exile. With all his bright genius and solid learning, his venerable name would have been found at the head, or rather say in advance, of the most universally and most justly contemned faction in the world: The '*Ultras*' would have owned him for their leader, and would have admitted that he went beyond them in the uncompromising consistency of his extravagant dogmas. He who had deemed the kind of punishments that should be meted out, the most important point to settle previously, and had thought it necessary, in many a long and laboured page, to discuss this when the prospects of the Bourbons were desperate, (VII. 187,) and to guard them by all arguments against listening to plans of amnesty, would have objected vehemently to every one act of the restored government; regarded the *charter* as an act of abdication; the security of property as robbery and sacrilege; the impunity of the Jacobins, as making the monarch an accessary after the fact to his brother's murder; and what all men of sound minds regarded as a state of great improvement, blessing the country with much happiness, freeing it from many abuses, and giving it precious hopes of liberty, he would have pronounced the height of misery and degradation. If such had not proved to be his views, living in our times, he must have changed all the opinions which he professed up to the hour of his death.

Upon one subject alone could he have been found ranged with the Liberal party of the present day; he always, from a very early period, and before sound principles were disseminated on questions of political economy, held the most enlightened opinions on all subjects of mercantile policy. Here his mind seemed warped by no bias, and his profound understanding and habits of observation led him right. His works abound with just and original reflections upon these matters, and they form a striking contrast to the narrow views which, in his latter years, he was prone to take of all that touched the interests and the improvement of mankind. For his whole habits of thinking seemed perverted by the dread of change; and he never reflected, except in the single case of the Irish Catholics, that the surest way of bringing about a violent revolution, is to resist a peaceful reform.

As he dreaded all plans of amendment which sought to work by perceivable agency, and within a moderate compass of time, so he distrusted all who patronized them—asserting their conduct to be wild and visionary enthusiasm at the best, but generally imputing their zeal to some sinister motives of personal interest. Most unjustly—most unphilosophically—most unthinkingly—it is the natural tendency of men connected with the upper ranks of society, and separated from the mass of the community, to undervalue things which only affect the rights or the interests of the people. Against this leaning to which he had yielded, it becomes them to struggle, and their honest devotion to the cause of peaceable improvement, their virtuous labours bestowed in advancing the dignity and happiness of their fellow-creatures, their perils and their losses encountered in defence of the rights of oppressed men, are the most glorious titles to the veneration of the good and the wise—but they are titles which he would have scornfully rejected, or covered with the tide of his indignant sarcasm, whom Providence had endowed with such rare parts, and originally imbued with such love of liberty, that he seemed especially raised up as an instrument for instructing and mending his kind.

In the imperfect estimate of this great man's character and genius which we have now concluded, let it not be thought that we have made any very large exceptions to the praise unquestionably his due. We have only abated claims preferred by his unheeding worshippers to more than mortal endowments. Enough will remain to command our admiration, after it shall be admitted that he who possessed the finest fancy, and the rarest knowledge, did not equally excel other men in sound and calm judgment; enough to excite our wonder at the degree in which he was gifted with most parts of genius, though our credulity be not staggered by the assertion of a miraculous union of them all. We have been contemplating a great marvel certainly, not gazing on a supernatural sight; and we retire from it with the belief, that, if acuteness, learning, imagination so unmeasured, were never before combined, yet have there been occasionally witnessed, in eminent men, greater powers of close reasoning and fervid declamation, oftentimes a more correct taste, for the most part a safer judgment.

The correspondence before us is prefaced by a short account of Dr Laurence; a curious letter from a Clergyman relating the conversion from Deism to Christianity of Mr French, his maternal grandfather; and two poems, one written while at Win-

chester School, on the Fairies and Witches of Shakspeare, giving great promise of poetical excellence, the other on his Father's death, a piece of inferior merit.* The first three letters are during the Westminster Contest of 1788, when he took a very active part for Lord John Townsend, as a zealous Foxite. One follows upon matters connected with the Impeachment in 1789, and the rest, which, after the ninth, are all in 1792 and the following years, but mostly after the death of Mr Burke's son in 1794, relate to the great political topics of the day, the Revolution and the War chiefly, then the Affairs of Ireland, and incidentally the Impeachment. Of the whole collection, 110 in number, the greater portion are written by Dr Laurence; but there are many by Mr Burke also; and two are from the late Duke of Portland. The editor, except in the prefatory biographical sketch, has done nothing towards the reader's information or convenience. He has often suppressed names, and thus rendered the context hardly intelligible; in many instances, this suppression might be prudent, as the parties are still living; but it would have been a natural compensation to afford some references for the reader's guidance where things are only darkly alluded to, and we are left to guess the subjects, or occasions, to which the observations relate. There is not a single note of this explanatory kind.

The first letter of Mr Burke's that appears in this collection, is a short and most affecting one in August 1794, while his son was on his death-bed.

'My dearest Laurence, *Cromwell's Lodge,* (1794.)

'Things are bad enough—but the Doctors bid me not think them desperate. His stomach is continually on the turn—nothing rests on it, owing to the irritation caused by the inflammation of the trachea towards the bottom. The fever continues much as it was—He sleeps in a very uneasy way from time to time—but his strength decays visibly, and his voice is in a manner gone. But God is all sufficient—and surely his goodness and his mother's prayers may do much. As to me, I feel dried up. Don't talk too much of the matter—only to

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* There is a valuable note containing a list of his contributions to the Rolliad and Probationary Odes. We extract it: 'The Advertise-'ments and Dedication of the Rolliad—In the first part of that work, 'Numbers III. VI. VII. VIII. XIII. XIV.—In the second part, the 'concluding number VII. only—In the Probationary Odes, numbers 'XVI. and XXI.—And of the Political Eclogues the first only, en-'titled 'Rose; or the Complaint.'' Whoever reads these things, especially Part I. No. XIV., will admit the justice of our remarks upon this singularly endowed individual.

the Chancellor—and merely in civility to him. Whether I am to have any objects, depends on his recovery.'

The long endurance of these feelings is well known. They frequently come across the correspondence before us, but especially in two letters, one without a date; but from the allusion to Lord Fitzwilliam's recall, evidently in summer 1795, the other in July 1796.

'My dear Laurence, *Thursday.*

'I am truly happy with the turn this business has taken. I suppose nothing, as yet, is to be said about it. Very few of the objects which my dear Richard had on his mind in dying, are, thank God, left wholly unaccomplished—the deliverance of Ireland from the hands of the Job ascendancy excepted—that was nearly done too—but Providence, for reasons above our wisdom, has suffered that great affair to be snatched out of the hands that alone seemed made for it. However he was saved that pang, worse than any he could have felt in the parting of that fairest of all souls from a frail human body. Here we are, and with thankfulness we acknowledge it, returned to that house, in which we had many such moments as we never can see more. Our thankfulness, very sincere, I hope, did not hinder us from feeling that we were come to a place in which there was none to rejoice in receiving us; none in whom we could rejoice by being received! But that is over—all over, all our domestic comforts, the only comforts, are all at an end; and if we look abroad—what a dreadful horizon!

'What you say of Jack Nugent's family is worthy of your goodness of heart. Great advantages to it will be derived from your generous protection, I have no doubt; and we receive your intentions most thankfully, knowing as we do that the very line, in which we wished you to come in, must, for a long time at least, be a barrier against all your hopes for yourself or for anybody else: and we trust that you do not think that when your late friend, and myself, his unworthy and misplaced representative, wished you that seat, that anything of the sort ever entered into our heads, much or little. Adieu till Saturday. Our cordial love to Woodford and Nagle, and to our friends on the south-side of Thames.

'Ever most affectionately yours,

'Edmund Burke.'

The following letter displays the acuteness of Mr Burke's feeling upon a public loss—the fate of the Impeachment.

'My Dear Laurence, *Bath, July* 28, 1796.

'I thank you for employing the short moment you were able to snatch from being useful, in being kind and compassionate. Here I am in the last retreat of hunted infirmity. I am indeed *aux abois:* But, as through the whole of a various and long life I have been more indebted than thankful to Providence, so I am now singularly so, in being dismissed, as hitherto I appear to be, so gently from life, and

sent to follow those who in course ought to have followed me, whom, I trust, I shall yet, in some inconceivable manner, see and know; and by whom I shall be seen and known. But enough of this.

'However, as it is possible that my stay on this side of the grave, may yet be shorter than I compute it, let me now beg to call to your recollection, the solemn charge and trust I gave you on my departure from the public stage. I fancy I must make you the sole operator, in a work in which, even if I were enabled to undertake it, you must have been ever the assistance on which alone I could rely. Let not this cruel, daring, unexampled act of public corruption, guilt, and meanness, go down to a posterity, perhaps as careless as the present race, without its due animadversion, which will be best found in its own acts and monuments. Let my endeavours to save the Nation from that shame and guilt, be my monument; The only one I ever will have. Let everything I have done, said, or written, be forgotten, but this. I have struggled with the great and the little on this point during the greater part of my active life; and I wish after death, to have my defiance of the judgments of those who consider the dominion of the glorious Empire given by an incomprehensible dispensation of the Divine Providence into our hands, as nothing more than an opportunity of gratifying, for the lowest of their purposes, the lowest of their passions—and that for such poor rewards, and for the most part, indirect and silly bribes, as indicate even more the folly than the corruption of these infamous and contemptible wretches. I blame myself exceedingly for not having employed the last year in this work, and beg forgiveness of God for such a neglect. I had strength enough for it, if I had not wasted some of it in compromising grief with drowsiness and forgetfulness; and employing some of the moments in which I have been roused to mental exertion, in feeble endeavours to rescue this dull and thoughtless people from the punishments which their neglect and stupidity will bring upon them for their systematic iniquity and oppression: But you are made to continue all that is good of me; and to augment it with the various resources of a mind fertile in virtues, and cultivated with every sort of talent, and of knowledge. Above all make out the cruelty of this pretended acquittal, but in reality this barbarous and inhuman condemnation of whole tribes and nations, and of all the classes they contain. If ever Europe recovers its civilization, that work will be useful. Remember! Remember! Remember!

'It is not that I want you to sacrifice yourself blindly and unfruitfully, at this instant. But there will be a season for the appearance of such a record; and it ought to be in store for that season. Get everything that Troward has.

'Your kindness will make you wish to hear more particulars of me: To compare my state with that of the three first days after my arrival, I feel on the whole less uneasiness—But my flesh is wasted in a manner which in so short a time no one could imagine. My limbs look about to find the rags that cover them. My strength is declined in the full proportion; and at my time of life new flesh is

never supplied; and lost strength is never recovered. If God has anything to do for me here, here he will keep me. If not, I am tolerably resigned to his divine pleasure. I have not been yet more than a day in condition to drink the waters—but they seem rather to compose than to disorder my stomach. My illness has not suffered Mrs Burke to profit as she ought of this situation. But she will bathe to-night. Give Woodford a thousand kind remembrances. Please God, I shall write to him to-morrow. Adieu.

' Your ever true friend,

' EDMUND BURKE.'

There is nothing more striking in the whole of this correspondence than the serious, and even desponding, views taken of Irish affairs by both the eminent men, whose inmost thoughts are here laid open to the view. Whatever aspect foreign events may wear, and whether at home our condition appears prosperous or adverse, they never for a moment lose sight of Ireland as the point of danger and weakness, the work of our misgovernment. This conviction must have been strong indeed, when it could induce Mr Burke to desire a change of ministers there, and even in England, at the risk of the men obtaining office, whom, on French affairs, he most differed with, and could even make him open his mind to receive a moderate Parliamentary reformation in the sister kingdom. The following letter is from Dr Laurence; but there is no reason for thinking that it speaks his sentiments alone.

' You know my opinions. They remain the same. They are even strengthened in one point, as to the distress of the common enemy; since the French have abandoned their high pretensions of suffering no mediation, asserted in their answer to the Danish Minister on our first application for Lord Malmesbury's passport, have allowed a congress which they before refused on our original proposition, and by both these acts in the midst of their successes have evinced some little disposition to moderation, which in them can only be the effect of necessity. On our side, bullion has been literally pouring into the country, and I think some new indications of the prosperity of the country have lately come out. The number of enclosure bills passed last year was greater than ever was known, and more than double the average of the period from the American peace up to the last year. I should therefore be stouter than ever were it not for the internal state of the British Empire. Ministers will not open their eyes with regard to Ireland; and they have lost the time of gaining the Catholics, in my estimation, while in the meantime the opposition party in that country have gone farther than sober men can approve and in all respects support, as they would wish. They have entangled themselves inextricably, I fear, with what is called Parliamentary Reform. I have every serious alarm for Ireland, if the Foreign war should continue. What must be the primary defence of that country? Our navy, to

prevent a junction between the French and Irish Jacobin armies. And what is the state of our navy? I some time since intimated my apprehensions of the consequences which might arise from the weak and undignified manner in which Government gave way to a just claim of the seamen, improperly, illegally, and dangerously asserted. It is said to-day, that a fresh mutiny has broken out, in which blood has been shed,—I believe, on both sides. With a mutinous navy and a rebellion in Ireland, (which I think will certainly be if the war continues, and Ministers remain obstinate as to Ireland,) it would require very different abilities for the conduct of war from those which have been manifested by the present Government, to make me expect any benefit from *suffering war* under them rather than treat in a congress. The armistice of four months (in which it is said we may be included if we please), may give time for our credit to recover itself, as it is now in fact very nearly recovered; and for suppressing the first possible movements in the North of Ireland. The congress, in which I presume the Emperor of Russia, *as our ally*, may take part, may produce some impression unfavourable to the French, both in the mind of Paul the First as well as of Frederic William, who, I have reason to think, now that he has weakened the House of Austria by his neutrality, begins to be uneasy at his new neighbours and friends. Neither am I wholly without hopes from some late publications *of the official style* in the Morning Chronicle, and what I have privately heard and observed, that Fox may take the opportunity of putting himself on something more like constitutional grounds against French ambition.

'The true cure of our internal evils, I conceive, would be the attachment, the warm and zealous attachment, of the Irish Catholics, and a vigorous and united attack with our whole force on those parts of the French coast, where we might yet best expect to reanimate the Royal cause. But this is too great for the present Ministers, who are little. I shall take some occasion to express these sentiments; but I shall less commit myself with such a Government and for such a Government. Lord F. will be in town this week, I shall talk to him seriously about it.'

At the misrule of that unhappy country, and not only at the blind impolicy of continuing the laws to promote religious animosity and civil war, but at the systematic oppression and malversation so long permitted to deface the practice of the Government, Mr Burke's indignation is frank, unqualified, and vehement, at all times and in every posture of affairs. We should hesitate to use the expressions in which he often vents the feelings excited in his mind, by 'that art and policy which 'has driven the Catholic body, contrary to its nature, into Ja'cobinism, in order to form a pretext to multiply the jobs, and 'to increase the power of that foolish and profligate junto to 'which Ireland is delivered over as a farm.' (p. 78.)

'What you say about the Pope is very striking, but he and his Troy will be burned to ashes, and I assure all good Protestants that

whatever they may think of it, the thread of their life is close twisted into that of their great enemy. It is perfectly ridiculous, in the midst of our melancholy situation, to see us forswearing this same Pope lustily in every part of these dominions, and making absolute war upon him in Ireland at the hazard of everything that is dear to us, whilst the enemy from whom we have most to fear, is doing the same thing with more effect and less hazard to themselves. For we are cutting our own throats in order to be revenged of this said old Pope. It is very singular, that the power which menaces the world should produce in us no other marks of terror than by a display of meanness, and that this poor old bugbear, who frightens nobody else, and who is affrighted by everybody and everything, is to us the great object of terror, of precaution, and of vigorous attack.—You remember the fable of the Hare and the Frogs. On this point, I verily begin to believe that Mr Pitt is stark mad; but that he is in the *cold* fit of this phrenetick fever. I agree with you, and it was long the opinion of our dear departed friend, that Mr Pitt, keeping an underhand and direct influence in Ireland to screen himself from all responsibility, does resolve on the actual dissolution of the empire; and having settled for himself, as he thinks, a faction there, puts everything into the hands of that faction, and leaves the Monarchy and the superintendency of Great Britain to shift for themselves as they may.'

This is the exaggeration proceeding from bitterness of spirit, and great personal dislike of Mr Pitt, whom he always charged with having betrayed the cause of civil order and national independence by his mismanagement of the war. But the following letter contains a sound view of the Irish Question. Mr Burke's is the name, and his the authority, which our Ultras the most affect to venerate; let them then consult their oracle upon the Catholic Claims. They may find possibly some of the sybil's fury; but if they will not allow the inspiration, at least they must admit the response to be anything rather than ambiguous.

'You know that the far greater and the most oppressive part of those laws has been repealed. The only remaining grievance which the Catholics suffer from the *law*, consists in certain incapacities relative to *franchises*. The ill will of the governing powers is their great grievance, who do not suffer them to have the benefit of those capacities to which they are restored, nominally, by the law. The franchises which they desire are to remove the stigma from them which is not branded on any description whatever of dissenters in Ireland, who take no test and are subject to no incapacity; though they [are] of the old long-established religion of the country, and who cannot be accused of perverseness or any factious purpose in their opinions, since they remain only where they have always been, and are, the far greater majority of the inhabitants. They give as good proofs of their loyalty and affection to Government, at least as any other people. Tests have been contrived for them, to purge them from any

suspicious political principles, supposed to have some connexion with their religion. These tests they take; whereas the persons, called Protestants, which protestantism, as things stand, is no description of a religion at all, or of any principle, religious, moral, or political, but is a mere negation, take no tests at all. So that here is a persecution, as far as it goes, of the only people in Ireland, who make any positive profession of the Christian faith; for even the clergy of the established church do not sign the thirty-nine articles. The heavy load that lies upon them is, that they are treated like enemies, and as long as they are under any incapacities, their persecutors are furnished with a legal pretence of scourging them upon all occasions, and they never fail to make use of it. If this stigma were taken off, and that, like their other fellow citizens, they were to be judged by their conduct, it would go a great way in giving quiet to the country. The fear that, if they had capacities to sit in Parliament, they might become the majority, and persecute in their turn, is a most impudent and flagitious pretence, which those, who make use of it, know to be false. They could not at this day get *three* members out of the *three hundred*, and never can have the least probability from circumstances of becoming the tenth part of the representatives, even though the boroughs made in the time of James I. for the destruction of the then natural interests of the country should be reformed upon any plan which has as yet been proposed, because the natural interests have been varied and the property changed since the time of King James the First. At present the chief oppression consists in the abuse which is made by the powers of executive government, which may more effectually harass an obnoxious people, than even adverse laws themselves. I do not know whether you are apprised of all the proceedings in the county of Armagh, particularly of the massacres that have been perpetrated on the Catholic inhabitants of that county, with no punishment and hardly any discountenance of Government. All this, however, is a matter of very nice handling in a British Parliament, on account of the jealous independence of that county. Neither the Court nor the Opposition party I am afraid would relish it, especially, as they pretend, or may pretend, that the subject is to become a matter of their own inquiry. I have written my mind fully upon this subject to Lord Fitzwilliam, but I have had yet no answer, nor, indeed, hardly could. The Jacobin Opposition take this up to promote sedition in Ireland; and the Jacobin Ministry will make use of it to countenance tyranny in the same place.'

But one of the most important letters on this subject is written the month before his death, and relates the substance of a conference he had held with a much venerated friend upon Irish affairs. We can only afford room for a single passage, as the whole occupies five pages.

'**** sees this Parliamentary Reform thus pushed in concert by the Opposition in both kingdoms exactly in the same light which you and I do, and yet without regard to the dreadful consequences which

he foresees from this measure, and without regard to the total, at least temporary, alienation of those people (the Irish Opposition, Messrs Grattan, Ponsonby, &c.) from his confidence, his connexion, and his principles. I plainly perceive that if he was consulted, he would advise to throw everything into their own hands. If I am asked what I would myself advise in such a case, *I should certainly advise the same,* but with this temperament and express previous condition, that they renewed their confidence in * * * *, whom I hold to be the only person to settle Ireland; and that they give him some assurance as a man, a gentleman, and a friend, that they will be practicable about their schemes of changing the constitution of the House of Commons; and that they will desist from the scheme of an absentee tax, which in its principle goes more to the disconnexion of the two kingdoms than anything which is proposed by the United Irishmen. As to Mr Grattan's other project, of laying new taxes upon English commodities, and the principle upon which he proposes it,—namely, that England is a foreign and a hostile kingdom, and adverse in interest, (it) is, I think, a measure he would hardly persevere in. I think the difficulty of the case is extreme, when you consider the military government established on the one hand, and the wild democratic representation proposed as its cure (on) the other.'

We have marked his dislike of Mr Pitt; it was grounded both on what he terms 'an incurable suspicion of his sincerity,' which he ascribes to others, insinuating that he partook of it; and on a contempt for his views of government.

'The declaration, though it has not astonished me, has not given me great defection of spirits. There is a sort of staggering and irresolution in the cowardice of others, but there is a sort of unconquerable firmness, a kind of boldness, in the pusillanimity of Mr Pitt. His madness is of the moping kind, but it is not the less phrenzy for being fixed in lowness and dejection. He is actually taking every means to divest this country of any alliance, or possibility of alliance; and he is determined that no spirit shall arise within this country, not knowing what course that spirit might take.'

And what is the ground of so much vituperation? Simply Mr Pitt's attempting to avoid the miseries and the dangers of war, by negotiating for peace. We shall not be charged with too great admiration of that minister's policy in conducting the war; but this might have been forgiven by Mr Burke, had he only done nothing to escape from its dreadful calamities. He sees the minister's proceedings, however, always in the same light, whether at home or abroad. The mutiny in the Fleet draws forth the following remark, in the last letter he wrote before his death:—'As to the state of this kingdom, it does not 'appear to me to be a great deal better than that of Ireland. 'Perhaps in some points of view it is worse. To see the 'Thames itself boldly blocked up by a rebellious British Fleet,

'is such a thing as in the worst of our dreams we could scarce-'ly have imagined. The lenitive electuary of Mr Pitt's bill is 'perfectly of the old woman's dispensatory. The only thing 'which he spoke of, and which has any degree of common 'sense,' &c.—Nor had his friend and correspondent failed to imbibe the same sentiments. He thus expresses himself in one letter to Lord Fitzwilliam, stating his principles on all the great questions of the day, previous to coming into Parliament under the patronage of that truly venerable and patriot statesman.

'With the power of Mr Pitt, I never wish to have any connexion. So far from it, my Lord, that I some little time since voluntarily resolved (and signified my resolution) to forego my claims to the first rank in my profession, should a vacancy happen. My motives, not material here, were in part private, in part public. I should endeavour to maintain him in power, merely from a conviction, that in consequence of the ground taken by Opposition, and the distemper of the times, the cause of Government in the abstract, and our excellent Constitution in particular, cannot be supported but by supporting the actual Minister. Happy, I believe, would it have been for Europe, if the breaking out of the French Revolution had found Mr Fox in the situation of Mr Pitt!'

Of Mr Fox, Mr Burke's language also is always respectful; nor is it deficient in kindness, unless when he has been irritated by a personal attack.

'The speeches in the House of Lords in Ireland were in the same strain; and in the House of Commons, the Ministers put forward a wretched brawler, one Duigenan of your profession, to attack Mr Fox, though they knew, that as a British Member of Parliament, he was by them invulnerable; but their great object was, to get him to rail at the whole body of Catholics and Dissenters in Ireland, in the most foul and unmeasured language. This brought on, as they might well have expected from Mr Grattan, one of the most animated philippics which he ever yet delivered, against their Government and Parliament.

'It was a speech the best calculated that could be conceived further to inflame the irritation which the Castle-brawler's long harangue must necessarily have produced. As to Mr Fox, he had all the honour of the day, because the invective against him was stupid, and from a man of no authority or weight whatsoever; and the panegyric which was opposed to it was full of eloquence, and from a great name. The Attorney-General, in wishing the motion withdrawn, as I understand, did by no means discountenance the principle upon which it was made, nor disown the attack, which was made in a manner upon the whole people of Ireland. The Solicitor-General went the full length of supporting it. Instead of endeavouring to widen the narrow bottom upon which they stand, they make it their policy to render it every day more narrow.'

We cannot resist the temptation of adding to these extracts a singular testimony in favour of Law Reform, and from a quarter the least liable to the suspicion of desiring reckless innovation, or underrating our ancient institutions. They who have heard Mr Burke so often cited as the solemn and eloquent panegyrist of the existing system of our laws, must be amused when they contrast with his speculative declamations on their perfection, the following groans uttered by him in his capacity of a suitor, suffering under their practical effects.

'But no wonder that such villains as Owen should proceed as they do, when our courts of justice seem by their proceedings to be in league with every kind of fraud and injustice. They proceed as if they had an intricate settlement of 10,000*l.* a-year to discuss in an affair that might as well be decided in three weeks as in three hundred years. They let people die while they are looking for redress, and then all the proceedings are to begin over again by those who may think they have an interest in them. While one suit is pending, they give knaves an opportunity of repeating their offences, and of laughing at them and their justice, as well they may. I wish heartily that, if the lawyers are of opinion that they may spin out this mockery a year or two longer, I may not vex my dying hours in fruitless chicane, but let the villany, which their maxims countenance, take its course. As to any relief in the other courts, I have been in them, and would not trust the fame and fortune of any human creature to them, if I could possibly help it. I have tried their justice in two cases of my own, and in one, in which I was concerned with others in a public prosecution, where they suffered the House of Commons in effect to have the tables turned on them, and under colour of a defendant to be criminated for a malicious prosecution. I know them of old, and am only sorry at my present departure, that I have not had an opportunity of painting them in their proper colours. Why should not the Court of Chancery be able to know, whether an author gives an imperfect copy to a printer to be published whether he will or no, and has not left himself master of his own thoughts and reflections? This is the very case made by the wretch himself, but a court can't decide in years whether this thing ought to be done or not. In the meantime he enjoys the profits of his villany, and defies them by villanies of the same kind and to the same person. But I allow that it is better that even this kind of justice should exist in the country, than none at all.'

It gives us sincere pleasure to adduce a testimony against West India Slavery, from a quarter as little likely to be charged with fanaticism, as the last authority was open to the suspicion of restless discontent.

'On Mr Ellis's late motion, (Dr Laurence writes,) Windham paid your name some very just and handsome compliments, very honourable both to the subject and the panegyrist. The planters will not take the essential part of your regulations in the colonies; the connexion of the slave with the soil; his consequent right to the spot, once assigned

him, around his hut; and his right to purchase his freedom at a certain fixed price, with the fruits of his own industry. Their pretences are weak, as I heard them privately discussed; but that last point, which is most important for the gradual abolition of slavery as well as the slave trade, will I trust hereafter follow.'

In these letters appear two painful circumstances: the dreadful, nay, almost diseased irritation of his mind, not merely upon the subject of his severe affliction, but on all matters that interested him; and the pressure of pecuniary embarrassment. Such expressions, as the following portion of a letter from Dr Laurence to the Duke of Portland contains, are only to be explained by supposing, that the writer felt an uncommon anxiety about his friend's mental health, and considered his mind as more affected by the subjects of discussion than it ought to have been.

'My dear Lord, *Beaconsfield, Oct. 20th,* 1794.

'When your Grace did me the honour of a long and confidential conversation on Saturday evening, I mentioned to you the anxiety, agitation, dismay, and horror, which afflicted the mind of our unhappy friend here on the subject of publick affairs. On my return yesterday, I did not find him more tranquil; neither did anything which I thought myself at liberty to communicate, give him much relief. It is true, he felt a considerable degree of pleasure in finding your Grace's sentiments so fully agree with his as to the principle and mode of opposing the Jobbing of the College, by taking up the person, who alone is regularly qualified under the statutes, and who seems designated for the Provostship by his present situation: He was also gratified to be told of your firmness in resisting the improper disposal of the late Mr Hutchinson's other office; and above all he conceived some little hope from learning, that the great mischief which he dreaded has not yet actually taken place. Yet his mind is still overwhelmed by the contemplation of the terrible prospect before us; at this moment too, immediately before the meeting of Parliament, when they, who alone feel no terror of French principles in this country, are perplexed and confounded, but will derive new hopes and therefore new activity from the destruction of a Ministry formed for the very purpose of eradicating those principles; when abroad, all the old Governments of Europe are shaken to their very centre, and are every day more and more showing their own internal debility and the insufficiency and indecision of their rulers; when they can only be confirmed and strengthened by the unanimity of all good men in this country, if even that will effect it, and consequently must be wholly lost, if there be an appearance of weakness and distraction here. Still, terrible as this prospect truly is, he would not sacrifice the honour and characters of yourself and Lord Fitzwilliam to a false appearance of unanimity; because your country and all Europe have an interest in your honour and characters. Were you deprived of them, every reasonable hope of the permanent security of this country, and through

this country, of all Europe, would just in that proportion be lessened and impaired.'

The passages which follow relate evidently to difficulties of another kind, the first apparently to his expected pension.

'My dear Laurence, 22*d May*, 1795.

'It was indeed a very considerable time since we heard from you: But we considered your silence as a proof that you had remembered us, not that you had forgot us. You know that we are not stout enough for bad news; and there was nothing good to be told. You visited us, however, with the lark and the first peep of day. God knows it is a poor crepusculum—a small advantage, very dearly bought, and not promising, I think, the consequences which some accounts led us to expect. But we must take what God gives. As to me, I believe my affair is out of the question. He has delayed it so long, that he is partly ashamed, partly afraid, and partly unwilling to bring it on. —But in that, too, submission is my duty and my policy. It signifies little how these last days are spent—and on my death—I think they will pay my debts. The best is, that we are soon to see you and the Kings. Adieu, God Almighty bless you!

'Your unhappy friend,

'E. Burke.'

'But it signifies nothing: what I wrote was to discharge a debt I thought to my own and my Son's memory, and to those who ought not to be considered as guilty of prodigality in giving me what is beyond my merits, but not beyond my debts, as you know. The public —I won't dispute longer about it—has overpaid me—I wish I could overpay my creditors. They eat deep on what was designed to maintain me.'

It is possible, that men in their sympathy for the fate of genius, as they will phrase it, may lament over the sight of a man like Mr Burke thus feeling the ordinary inconvenience of straitened circumstances. We do not allow of any feelings of this caste, unless they be the very same which the spectacle of imprudence and its result excites towards other men. Genius, so far from having any claim to favour when it neglects the ordinary precautions or exertions for securing independence, is in truth doubly inexcusable, and far less deserving of pity than of blame. Mr Burke ought to have earned his income in an honest calling. Every man of right feeling will prefer this to the degrading obligations of private friendship, or the precarious supplies, to virtue so perilous, of public munificence. It is certain that he chose rather to eat the bitter* bread of both these bakings, than

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* Tu proverai siccome sa di sale
Lo pane altrui e com' e duro calle
Lo Scender' e salir altrui scale.

Dante.

to taste the comely—the sweet—the exquisite fruit, however hard to pluck, of regular industry. He was a politician by trade; a professional statesman. There is no such craft recognised in this state; all our institutions are ignorant of it—all our habits averse to it; nor is there one of a British statesman's functions which may not be conjoined with the cares of an industrious life.

We have said that this Collection contains two letters from the late Duke of Portland. One of them is extremely interesting, and does infinite honour to that distinguished person. It is an answer apparently (for here, as usual, the editor renders us no help) to the letter afterwards published by Mr Burke, when a surreptitious copy had got abroad, and entitled *Observations on the Conduct of the Minority.* The letter was sent to his Grace with those *Observations;* they reflected severely on Mr Fox and his friends; they extolled the Duke, and his family, and party, to the skies; their burden was an accusation brought against Mr Fox and his friends, of ill behaviour towards the Duke and his party, and, in particular, his relations; yet, let the reader mark and admire the high-minded candour, the truly generous spirit, with which that noble person gently, and yet firmly, rebukes his partizan's forward zeal, and avows his love and respect for the man whom he no longer could act with, but had never seen cause to distrust.

'In conformity with the principles I have ever professed, in this great cause, and indeed in all its appendages, my support, such as it may be, will be given completely and unreservedly to those, be they who they may, who appear to conduct it to the best of their abilities. Farther than this I cannot go—and so far seems to me to be advancing no farther than I have done, and should consider it my duty to do, in any occasion of peril or importance to my country. In this I may be mistaken, as I may have been in other instances. But I must acknowledge that where I have been in long habits of intimacy and friendship, where I have observed many and striking instances of very superior talents and judgment, the most incorruptible integrity, the most perfect disinterestedness, I am much disinclined to impute to bad motives a conduct, however different and opposite it may be to that which I feel myself obliged to hold. This may be a great weakness, but it is a weakness I am not ashamed of confessing, and less so to you than to any friend I have.'

Let it be recollected that this was a private letter, written during the utmost heat of those political contentions, and that it never was meant to see the light, nor in fact has for the third of a century afterwards been disclosed, when all the persons concerned have long slept in their graves.

ART. II.—1. *Die Poesie und Eeredsamkeit der Deutschen, von Luthers Zeit bis zur Gegenwart. Dargestellt von Franz Horn.* (The Poetry and Oratory of the Germans, from Luther's Time to the Present. Exhibited by FRANZ HORN). Berlin, 1822—23—24. 3 vols. 8vo.

2. *Umrisse zur Geschichte und Kritik der schönen Litteratur Deutschlands während der Jahre* 1790—1818. (Outlines for the History and Criticism of Polite Literature in Germany, during the Years 1790—1818). By FRANZ HORN. Berlin, 1819. 8vo.

THESE two books, notwithstanding their diversity of title, are properly parts of one and the same; the 'Outlines,' though of prior date in regard to publication, having now assumed the character of sequel and conclusion to the larger work,—of fourth volume to the other three. It is designed, of course, for the home market; yet the foreign student also will find in it a safe and valuable help, and, in spite of its imperfections, should receive it with thankfulness and good-will. Doubtless we might have wished for a keener discriminative and descriptive talent, and perhaps for a somewhat more Catholic spirit, in the writer of such a history; but in their absence we have still much to praise. Horn's literary creed would, on the whole, we believe, be acknowledged by his countrymen as the true one; and this, though it is chiefly from one immovable station that he can survey his subject, he seems heartily anxious to apply with candour and tolerance. Another improvement might have been a deeper principle of arrangement, a firmer grouping into periods and schools; for, as it stands, the work is more a critical sketch of German Poets, than a history of German Poetry.

Let us not quarrel, however, with our author: his merits as a literary historian are plain, and by no means inconsiderable. Without rivalling the almost frightful laboriousness of Bouterwek or Eichhorn, he gives creditable proofs of research and general information, and possesses a lightness in composition, to which neither of these erudite persons can well pretend. Undoubtedly he has a flowing pen, and is at home in this province; not only a speaker of the word, indeed, but a doer of the work; having written, besides his great variety of tracts and treatises biographical, philosophical, and critical, several very deserving works of a poetic sort. He is not, it must be owned, a very strong man, but he is nimble and orderly, and goes through his work with a certain gaiety of heart; nay, at times, with a frolicsome alacrity which might even require to be pardoned. His

character seems full of susceptibility; perhaps too much so for its natural vigour. His Novels, accordingly, to judge from the few we have read of them, verge towards the sentimental. In the present Work, in like manner, he has adopted nearly all the best ideas of his contemporaries, but with something of an undue vehemence; and he advocates the cause of religion, integrity, and true poetic taste, with great heartiness and vivacity, were it not that too often his zeal outruns his prudence and insight. Thus, for instance, he declares repeatedly, in so many words, that no mortal can be a poet unless he is a Christian. The meaning here is very good: but why this phraseology? Is it not inviting the simple-minded (not to speak of scoffers, whom Horn very justly contemns) to ask, when Homer subscribed the Thirty-nine Articles? or whether Sadi and Hafiz were really of the Bishop of Peterborough's opinion? Again, he talks too often of 'representing the Infinite in the Finite,' of expressing the unspeakable, and such high matters. In fact, Horn's style, though extremely readable, has one great fault: it is, to speak it in a single word, an affected style. His stream of meaning, uniformly clear and wholesome in itself, will not flow quietly along its channel; but is ever and anon spurting up into epigram and antithetic jets. Playful he is, and kindly, and we do believe, honest-hearted; but there is a certain snappishness in him, a frisking abruptness; and then his sport is more a perpetual giggle, than any dignified smile, or even any sufficient laugh with gravity succeeding it. This sentence is among the best we recollect of him, and will partly illustrate what we mean. We submit it, for the sake of its import likewise, to all superfine speculators on the Reformation, in their future contrasts of Luther and Erasmus. 'Erasmus,' says Horn, 'belongs to that species of writers who have all the desire in the world to build God Almighty a magnificent church, '—at the same time, however, not giving the Devil any offence; to whom, accordingly, they set up a neat little chapel 'close by, where you can offer him some touch of sacrifice at 'a time, and practise a quiet household devotion for him without disturbance.' In this style of 'witty and conceited mirth,' considerable part of the book is written.

But our chief business at present is not with Franz Horn, or his book; of whom, accordingly, recommending his labours to all inquisitive students of German, and himself to good estimation with all good men, we must here take leave. We have a word or two to say on that strange literature itself; concerning which, our readers probably feel more curious to learn what it is, than with what skill it has been judged of.

Above a century ago, the Père Bouhours propounded to himself the pregnant question: *Si un Allemand peut avoir de l'ésprit?* Had the Père Bouhours bethought him of what country Kepler and Leibnitz were, or who it was that gave to mankind the three great elements of modern civilization, Gunpowder, Printing, and the Protestant Religion, it might have thrown light on his inquiry. Had he known the *Niebelungen Lied;* and where *Reinecke Fuchs*, and *Faust*, and the *Ship of Fools*, and four-fifths of all the popular mythology, humour, and romance, to be found in Europe in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries took its rise; had he read a page or two of Ulrich Hutten, Opitz, Paul Flemming, Logau, or even Lohenstein and Hoffmannswaldau, all of whom had already lived and written in his day; had the Père Bouhours taken this trouble,—who knows but he might have found, with whatever amazement, that a German *could* actually have a little *ésprit*, or perhaps even something better? No such trouble was requisite for the Père Bouhours. Motion *in vacuo* is well known to be speedier and surer than through a resisting medium, especially to imponderous bodies; and so the light Jesuit, unimpeded by facts or principles of any kind, failed not to reach his conclusion; and in a comfortable frame of mind, to decide, negatively, that a German could *not* have any literary talent.

Thus did the Père Bouhours evince that he had 'a pleasant wit;' but in the end he has paid dear for it. The French, themselves, have long since begun to know something of the Germans, and something also of their critical Daniel; and now it is by this one *un*timely joke that the hapless Jesuit is doomed to live; for the blessing of full oblivion is denied him, and so he hangs, suspended in his own noose, over the dusky pool which he struggles toward, but for a great while will not reach. Might his fate but serve as a warning to kindred men of wit, in regard to this and so many other subjects! For surely the pleasure of despising, at all times and in itself a dangerous luxury, is much safer *after* the toil of examining than before it.

We differ from the Père Bouhours in this matter, and must endeavour to discuss it differently. There is, in fact, much in the present aspect of German Literature not only deserving notice, but deep consideration from all thinking men, and far too complex for being handled in the way of epigram. It is always advantageous to think justly of our neighbours, nay, in mere common honesty, it is a duty; and, like every other duty, brings its own reward. Perhaps at the present era this duty is more essential than ever; an era of such promise and such threatening,—when so many elements of good and evil are everywhere in

conflict, and human society is, as it were, struggling to body itself forth anew, and so many *coloured rays* are springing up in this quarter and in that, which only by their union can produce *pure light*. Happily too, though still a difficult, it is no longer an impossible duty; for the commerce in material things has paved roads for commerce in things spiritual, and a true thought, or a noble creation, passes lightly to us from the remotest countries, provided only our minds be open to receive it. This, indeed, is a rigorous proviso, and a great obstacle lies in it; one which to many must be insurmountable, yet which it is the chief glory of social culture to surmount. For, if a man, who mistakes his own contracted individuality for the type of human nature, and deals with whatever contradicts *him* as if it contradicted *this*, is but a pedant, and without true wisdom, be he furnished with partial equipments as he may,—what better shall we think of a nation that, in like manner, isolates itself from foreign influence, regards its own modes as so many laws of nature, and rejects all that is different as unworthy even of examination?

Of this narrow and perverted condition the French, down almost to our own times, have afforded a remarkable and instructive example; as indeed of late they have been often enough upbraidingly reminded, and are now themselves, in a manlier spirit, beginning to admit. That our countrymen have at any time erred much in this point, cannot, we think, truly be alleged against them. Neither shall we say, with some passionate admirers of Germany, that to the Germans in particular they have been unjust. It is true, the literature and character of that country, which, within the last half century, have been more worthy perhaps than any other of our study and regard, are still very generally unknown to us, or what is worse, misknown: but for this there are not wanting less offensive reasons. That the false and tawdry ware, which was in all hands, should reach us before the chaste and truly excellent, which it required some excellence to recognise; that Kotzebue's insanity should have spread faster, by some fifty years, than Lessing's wisdom; that Kant's Philosophy should stand in the background as a dreary and abortive dream, and Gall's Craniology be held out to us from every booth as a reality;—all this lay in the nature of the case. That many readers should draw conclusions from imperfect premises, and by the imports judge too hastily of the stock imported from, was likewise natural. No unfair bias, no unwise indisposition, that we are aware of, has ever been at work in the matter; perhaps, at worst, a degree of in-

dolence, a blameable incuriosity to all products of foreign genius: for what more do we know of recent Spanish or Italian literature than of German; of Grossi and Manzoni, of Campomanes or Jovellanos, than of Tieck and Richter? Wherever German art, in those forms of it which need no interpreter, has addressed us immediately, our recognition of it has been prompt and hearty; from Dürer to Mengs, from Händel to Weber and Beethoven, we have welcomed the painters and musicians of Germany, not only to our praise, but to our affections and beneficence. Nor, if in their literature we have been more backward, is the literature itself without share in the blame. Two centuries ago, translations from the German were comparatively frequent in England: Luther's *Table-Talk* is still a venerable classic in our language; nay Jacob Böhme has found a place among us, and this not as a dead letter, but as a living apostle to a still living sect of our religionists. In the next century, indeed, translation ceased; but then it was in a great measure because there was little worth translating. The horrors of the Thirty Years' War, followed by the conquests and conflagrations of Louis Fourteenth, had desolated the country; French influence, extending from the courts of princes to the closets of the learned, lay like a baleful incubus over the far nobler mind of Germany; and all true nationality vanished from its literature, or was heard only in faint tones, which lived in the hearts of the people, but could not reach with any effect to the ears of foreigners.* And now that the genius of the country has awaked

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* Not that the Germans were idle; or altogether engaged, as we too loosely suppose, in the work of commentary and lexicography. On the contrary, they rhymed and romanced with due vigour as to quantity; only the quality was bad. Two facts on this head may deserve mention: In the year 1749, there were found in the library of one virtuoso no fewer than 300 volumes of devotional poetry, containing, says Horn, " a treasure of 33,712 German hymns;" and much about the same period, one of Gottsched's scholars had amassed as many as 1500 German novels, all of the 17th century. The hymns we understand to be much better than the novels, or rather, perhaps, the novels to be much worse than the hymns. Neither was critical study neglected, nor indeed honest endeavour on all hands to attain improvement: witness the strange books from time to time put forth, and the still stranger institutions established for this purpose. Among the former, we have the " Poetical Funnel" (*Poetische Trichter*), manufactured at Nürnberg in 1650, and professing, within six hours, to pour in the whole essence of this difficult art into the most unfurnished head. Nürnberg also was the chief seat of the famous *Meister-*

in its old strength, our attention to it has certainly awakened also: and if we yet know little or nothing of the Germans, it is not because we wilfully do them wrong, but in good part because they are somewhat difficult to know.

In fact, prepossessions of all sorts naturally enough find their place here. A country which has no national literature, or a literature too insignificant to force its way abroad, must always be, to its neighbours, at least in every important spiritual respect, an unknown and misestimated country. Its towns may figure on our maps; its revenues, population, manufactures, political connexions, may be recorded in statistical books: but the character of the people has no symbol and no voice; we cannot know them by speech and discourse, but only by mere sight and outward observation of their manners and procedure. Now, if both sight and speech, if both travellers and native literature, are found but ineffectual in this respect, how incalculably more so the former alone! To seize a character, even that of one man, in its life and secret mechanism, requires a philosopher; to delineate it with truth and impressiveness, is work for a poet. How then shall one or two sleek clerical tutors, with here and there a tedium-stricken esquire, or speculative half-pay captain, give us views on such a subject? How shall a man, to whom all cha-

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sänger and their *Sängerzünfte*, or Singer-guilds, in which poetry was taught and practised, like any other handicraft, and this by sober and well-meaning men, chiefly artisans, who could not understand why labour, which manufactured so many things, should not also manufacture another. Of these tuneful guild-brethren, Hans Sachs, by trade a shoemaker, is greatly the most noted and most notable. His father was a tailor; he himself learned the mystery of song under one Nunnebeck, a weaver. He was an adherent of his great contemporary Luther, who has even deigned to acknowledge his services in the cause of the Reformation: how diligent a labourer Sachs must have been, will appear from the fact, that in his 74th year (1568), on examining his stock for publication, he found that he had written 6048 poetical pieces, among which were 208 tragedies and comedies; and this besides having all along kept house, like an honest Nürnberg burgher, by assiduous and sufficient shoe-making! Hans is not without genius, and a shrewd irony; and above all, the most gay, childlike, yet devout and solid character. A man neither to be despised nor patronised, but left standing on his own basis, as a singular product, and a still legible symbol, and clear mirror, of the time and country where he lived. His best piece known to us, and many are well worth perusing, is the *Fastnachtsspiel* (Shrovetide Farce) of the *Narrenschneiden*, where a Doctor cures a bloated and lethargic patient by cutting out half a dozen *Fools* from his interior!

racters of individual men are like sealed books, of which he sees only the title and the covers, decipher, from his four-wheeled vehicle, and depict to us, the character of a nation? He courageously depicts his own optical delusions; notes this to be incomprehensible, that other to be insignificant; much to be good, much to be bad, and most of all indifferent; and so, with a few flowing strokes, completes a picture which, though it may not even resemble any possible object, his countrymen are to take for a national portrait. Nor is the fraud so readily detected: for the character of a people has such complexity of aspect, that even the honest observer knows not always, not perhaps after long inspection, what to determine regarding it. From his, only accidental, point of view, the figure stands before him like the tracings on veined marble,—a mass of mere random lines, and tints, and entangled strokes, out of which a lively fancy may shape almost *any* image. But the image he brings along with him is always the readiest; this is tried, it answers as well as another; and a second voucher now testifies its correctness. Thus each, in confident tones, though it may be with a secret misgiving, repeats his precursor; the hundred times repeated comes in the end to be believed; the foreign nation is now once for all understood, decided on, and registered accordingly; and dunce the thousandth writes of it like dunce the first.

With the aid of literary and intellectual intercourse, much of this falsehood may, no doubt, be corrected: yet even here, sound judgment is far from easy; and most national characters are still, as Hume long ago complained, the product rather of popular prejudice than of philosophic insight. That the Germans, in particular, have by no means escaped such misrepresentation, nay perhaps have had more than the common share of it, cannot, in their circumstances, surprise us. From the times of Opitz and Flemming, to those of Klopstock and Lessing,—that is, from the early part of the seventeenth to the middle of the eighteenth century,—they had scarcely any literature known abroad, or deserving to be known: their political condition, during this same period, was oppressive and every way unfortunate externally; and at home, the nation, split into so many factions and petty states, had lost all feeling of itself as of a nation; and its energies in arts as in arms were manifested only in detail, too often in collision, and always under foreign influence. The French, at once their plunderers and their scoffers, described them to the rest of Europe as a semi-barbarous people; which comfortable fact the rest of Europe was willing enough to take on their word. During the greater part of last century, the Germans, in our intellectual survey of

the world, were quietly omitted; a vague contemptuous ignorance prevailed respecting them; it was a Cimmerian land, where, if a few sparks did glimmer, it was but so as to testify their own existence, too feebly to enlighten *us*.* The Germans passed for apprentices in all provinces of art; and many foreign craftsmen scarcely allowed them so much.

Madame de Stael's book has done away with this: all Europe is now aware that the Germans are something; something independent, and apart from others; nay, something deep, imposing, and if not admirable, wonderful. What that something is, indeed, is still undecided; for this gifted lady's *Allemagne*, in doing much to excite curiosity, has still done little to satisfy or even direct it. We can no longer make ignorance a boast, but we are yet far from having acquired right knowledge; and cavillers, excluded from contemptuous negation, have found a resource in almost as contemptuous assertion. Translators are the same faithless and stolid race that they have ever been: the particle of gold they bring us over is hidden from all but the most patient eye, among shiploads of yellow sand and sulphur. Gentle Dulness too, in this as in all other things, still loves her joke. The Germans, though much more attended to, are perhaps not less mistaken than before.

Doubtless, however, there is in this increased attention a progress towards the truth; which it is only investigation and discussion that can help us to find. The study of German literature has already taken such firm root among us, and is spreading so visibly, that by and by, as we believe, the true character of it must and will become known. A result, which is to bring us into closer and friendlier union with forty millions of civilized men, cannot surely be otherwise than desirable. If they have precious truth to impart, we shall receive

* So late as the year 1811, we find, from *Pinkerton's Geography*, the sole representative of German literature to be Gottshed (with his name wrong spelt), 'who first introduced a more refined style.'—Gottsched has been dead the greater part of a century; and for the last fifty years, ranks among the Germans, somewhat as Prynne or Alexander Ross does among ourselves. A man of a cold, rigid, persevérant character, who mistook himself for a poet and the perfection of critics, and had skill to pass current during the greater part of his literary life for such. On the strength of his Boileau and Batteux, he long reigned supreme; but it was like Night, in rayless majesty, and over a slumbering people. They awoke, before his death, and hurled him, perhaps too indignantly, into his native Abyss.

it as the highest of all gifts; if error, we shall not only reject it, but explain it and trace out its origin, and so help our brethren also to reject it. In either point of view, and for all profitable purposes of national intercourse, correct knowledge is the first and indispensable preliminary.

Meanwhile errors of all sorts prevail on this subject: even among men of sense and liberality we have found so much hallucination, so many groundless or half-grounded objections to German literature, that the tone in which a multitude of other men speak of it, cannot appear extraordinary. To much of this even a slight knowledge of the Germans would furnish a sufficient answer. But we have thought, it might be useful were the chief of these objections marshalled in distinct order, and examined with what degree of light and fairness is at our disposal. In attempting this, we are vain enough, for reasons already stated, to fancy ourselves discharging what is in some sort a national duty. It is unworthy of one great people to think falsely of another; it is unjust, and therefore unworthy. Of the injury it does to ourselves we do not speak, for that is an inferior consideration: yet surely if the grand principle of free intercourse is so profitable in material commerce, much more must it be in the commerce of the mind, the products of which are thereby not so much transported out of one country into another, as multiplied over all, for the benefit of all, and without loss to any. If that man is a benefactor to the world who causes two ears of corn to grow where only one grew before, much more is he a benefactor who causes two truths to grow up together in harmony and mutual confirmation, where before only one stood solitary, and, on that side at least, intolerant and hostile.

In dealing with the host of objections which front us on this subject, we think it may be convenient to range them under two principal heads. The first, as respects chiefly unsoundness or imperfection of sentiment; an error which may in general be denominated *Bad Taste.* The second, as respects chiefly a wrong condition of intellect; an error which may be designated by the general title of *Mysticism.* Both of these, no doubt, are partly connected; and each, in some degree, springs from and returns into the other: yet, for present purposes, the division may be precise enough.

First, then, of the first: It is objected that the Germans have a radically bad taste. This is a deep-rooted objection, which assumes many forms, and extends through many ramifications. Among men of less acquaintance with the subject of German taste, or of taste in general, the spirit of the accusation seems to

be somewhat as follows: That the Germans, with much natural susceptibility, are still in a rather coarse and uncultivated state of mind; displaying, with the energy and other virtues of a rude people, many of their vices also; in particular, a certain wild and headlong temper, which seizes on all things too hastily and impetuously; weeps, storms, loves, hates, too fiercely and vociferously; delighting in coarse excitements, such as flaring contrasts, vulgar horrors, and all sorts of showy exaggeration. Their literature, in particular, is thought to dwell with peculiar complacency among wizards and ruined towers, with mailed knights, secret tribunals, monks, spectres, and banditti: on the other hand, there is an undue love of moonlight, and mossy fountains, and the moral sublime: then we have descriptions of things which should not be described; a general want of tact; nay, often a hollowness, and want of sense. In short, the German Muse comports herself, it is said, like a passionate, and rather fascinating, but tumultuous, uninstructed, and but half-civilized Muse. A *belle sauvage* at best, we can only love her with a sort of supercilious tolerance; often she tears a passion to rags; and in her tumid vehemence, struts without meaning, and to the offence of all literary decorum.

Now, in all this there is a certain degree of truth. If any man will insist upon taking Heinse's *Ardinghello*, and Miller's *Siegwart*, and the works of Veit Weber the younger, and above all, the everlasting Kotzebue, as his specimens of German literature, he may establish many things. Black Forests, and the glories of Lubberland; sensuality and horror, the spectre nun, and the charmed moonshine, shall not be wanting. Boisterous outlaws, also, with huge whiskers, and the most cat-o'-mountain aspect; tear-stained sentimentalists, the grimmest man-haters, ghosts, and the like suspicious characters, will be found in abundance. We are little read in this bowl-and-dagger department; but we do understand it to have been at one time rather diligently cultivated; though at present it seems to be mostly relinquished as unproductive. Other forms of Unreason have taken its place; which in their turn must yield to still other forms; for it is the nature of this goddess to descend in frequent *avatars* among men. Perhaps not less than five hundred volumes of such stuff could still be collected from the book-stalls of Germany. By which truly we may learn that there is in that country a class of unwise men and unwise women; that many readers there labour under a degree of ignorance and mental vacancy, and read not actively but passively, not to learn but to be amused. But is this fact so very new to us? Or what should we think of a

German critic that selected his specimens of British literature from the *Castle Spectre*, Mr Lewis's *Monk*, or even the *Mysteries of Udolpho*, and *Frankenstein or the Modern Prometheus?* Or would he judge rightly of our dramatic taste, if he took his extracts from Mr Egan's *Tom and Jerry;* and told his readers, as he might truly do, that *no* play had ever enjoyed such currency on the English stage as this most classic performance? We think, not. In like manner, till some author of acknowledged merit shall so write among the Germans, and be approved of by critics of acknowledged merit among them, or at least secure for himself some permanency of favour among the million, we can prove nothing by such instances. That there is so perverse an author, or so blind a critic, in the whole compass of German literature, we have no hesitation in denying.

But farther, among men of deeper views, and with regard to works of really standard character, we find, though not the same, a similar objection repeated. Goethe's *Wilhelm Meister*, it is said, and *Faust*, are full of bad taste also. With respect to the taste in which they are written, we shall have occasion to say somewhat hereafter: meanwhile, we may be permitted to remark that the objection would have more force, did it seem to originate from a more mature consideration of the subject. We have heard few English criticisms of such works, in which the first condition of an approach to accuracy was complied with;—a transposition of the critic into the author's point of vision, a survey of the author's means and objects as they lay before himself, and a just trial of these by rules of universal application. *Faust*, for instance, passes with many of us for a mere tale of sorcery and art-magic: But it would scarcely be more unwise to consider *Hamlet* as depending for its main interest on the ghost that walks in it, than to regard *Faust* as a production of this sort. For the present, therefore, this objection may be set aside; or at least may be considered not as an assertion, but an inquiry, the answer to which may turn out rather that the German taste is different from ours, than that it is worse. Nay, with regard even to difference, we should scarcely reckon it to be of great moment. Two nations that agree in estimating Shakspeare as the highest of all poets, can differ in no essential principle, if they understood one another, that relates to poetry.

Nevertheless, this opinion of our opponents has attained a certain degree of consistency with itself; one thing is thought to throw light on another; nay, a quiet little theory has been propounded to explain the whole phenomenon. The cause of this bad taste, we are assured, lies in the condition of the Ger-

man authors. These, it seems, are generally very poor; the ceremonial law of the country excludes them from all society with the great; they cannot acquire the polish of drawing-rooms, but must live in mean houses, and therefore write and think in a mean style.

Apart from the truth of these assumptions, and in respect of the theory itself, we confess there is something in the face of it that afflicts us. Is it then so certain that taste and riches are indissolubly connected? that truth of feeling must ever be preceded by weight of purse, and the eyes be dim for universal and eternal Beauty, till they have long rested on gilt walls and costly furniture? To the great body of mankind this were heavy news; for of the thousand, scarcely one is rich, or connected with the rich; nine hundred and ninety-nine have always been poor, and must always be so. We take the liberty of questioning the whole postulate. We think that, for acquiring true poetic taste, riches, or association with the rich, are distinctly among the minor requisites; that in fact they have little or no concern with the matter. This we shall now endeavour to make probable.

Taste, if it mean anything but a paltry connoisseurship, must mean a general susceptibility to truth and nobleness; a sense to discern, and a heart to love and reverence all beauty, order, goodness, wheresoever or in whatsoever forms and accompaniments they are to be seen. This surely implies, as its chief condition, not any given external rank or situation, but a finely gifted mind, purified into harmony with itself, into keenness and justness of vision; above all, kindled into love and generous admiration. Is culture of this sort found exclusively among the higher ranks? We believe, it proceeds less from without than within, in every rank. The charms of Nature, the majesty of Man, the infinite loveliness of Truth and Virtue, are not hidden from the eye of the poor; but from the eye of the vain, the corrupted, and self-seeking, be he poor or rich. In old ages, the humble Minstrel, a mendicant, and lord of nothing but his harp and his own free soul, had intimations of those glories, while to the proud Baron in his barbaric halls they were unknown. Nor is there still any aristocratic monopoly of judgment more than of genius: And as to that *Science of Negation* which is taught peculiarly by men of professed elegance, we confess we hold it rather cheap. It is a necessary, but decidedly a subordinate accomplishment; nay, if it be rated as the highest, it becomes a ruinous vice. This is an old truth; yet, ever needing new application and enforcement. Let us know what to love, and we shall know also what to reject; what to affirm, and we shall

know also what to deny: but it is dangerous to *begin* with denial,—and fatal to end with it. To deny is easy; nothing is sooner learnt or more generally practised: as matters go, we need no man of polish to teach it; but rather, if possible, a hundred men of wisdom to show us its limits, and teach us its reverse.

Such is our hypothesis of the case: But how stands it with the facts? Are the fineness and truth of sense manifested by the artist found, in most instances, to be proportionate to his wealth and elevation of acquaintance? Are they found to have any perceptible relation either with the one or the other? We imagine, not. Whose taste in painting, for instance, is truer and finer than Claude Lorraine's? And was not he a poor colour-grinder; outwardly, the meanest of menials? Where again, we might ask, lay Shakspeare's rent-roll; and what generous peer took him by the hand and unfolded to him the 'open secret' of the Universe; teaching him that this was beautiful, and that not so? Was he not a peasant by birth, and by fortune something lower; and was it not thought much, even in the height of his reputation, that Southampton allowed him equal patronage with the zanies, jugglers, and bearwards of the time? Yet compare his taste, even as it respects the negative side of things; for, in regard to the positive, and far higher side, it admits no comparison with any other mortal's,—compare it, for instance, with the taste of Beaumont and Fletcher, his contemporaries, men of rank and education, and of fine genius like himself. Tried even by the nice, fastidious, and in great part false, and artificial delicacy of modern times, how stands it with the two parties; with the gay triumphant men of fashion, and the poor vagrant link-boy? Does the latter sin against, we shall not say taste, but etiquette, as the former do? For one line, for one word, which some Chesterfield might wish blotted from the first, are there not in the others whole pages and scenes which, with palpitating heart, he would hurry into deepest night? This too, observe, respects not their genius, but their culture; not their appropriation of beauties, but their rejection of deformities, by supposition, the grand and peculiar result of high breeding! Surely, in such instances, even that humble supposition is ill borne out.

The truth of the matter seems to be, that with the culture of a genuine poet, thinker, or other aspirant to fame, the influence of rank has no exclusive or even special concern. For men of action, for senators, public speakers, political writers, the case may be different; but of such we speak not at present. Neither do we speak of imitators, and the crowd of mediocre men, to

whom fashionable life sometimes gives an external inoffensiveness, often compensated by a frigid malignity of character. We speak of men who, from amid the perplexed and conflicting elements of their every-day existence, are to form themselves into harmony and wisdom, and show forth the same wisdom to others that exist along with them. To such a man, high life, as it is called, will be a province of human life certainly, but nothing more. He will study to deal with it as he deals with all forms of mortal being; to do it justice, and to draw instruction from it: but his light will come from a loftier region, or he wanders for ever in darkness; dwindles into a man of *vers de societé*, or attains at best to be a Walpole or a Caylus. Still less can we think that he is to be viewed as a hireling; that his excellence will be regulated by his pay. 'Sufficiently provided for from within, 'he has need of little from without:' food and raiment, and an unviolated home, will be given him in the rudest land; and with these, while the kind earth is round him, and the everlasting heaven is over him, the world has little more that it can give. Is he poor? So also were Homer and Socrates; so was Samuel Johnson; so was John Milton. Shall we reproach him with his poverty, and infer, that because he is poor, he must likewise be worthless? God forbid that the time should ever come when he too shall esteem riches the synonyme of good! The spirit of Mammon has a wide empire; but it cannot, and must not, be worshipped in the Holy of Holies. Nay, does not the heart of every genuine disciple of literature, however mean his sphere, instinctively deny this principle, as applicable either to himself or another? Is it not rather true, as D'Alembert has said, that for every man of letters, who deserves that name, the motto and the watchword will be FREEDOM, TRUTH, and even this same POVERTY? and that if he fear the last, the two first can never be made sure to him?

We have stated these things, to bring the question somewhat nearer its real basis; not for the sake of the Germans, who nowise need the admission of them. The German authors are not poor; neither are they excluded from association with the wealthy and well-born. On the contrary, we scruple not to say, that, in both these respects, they are considerably better situated than our own. Their booksellers, it is true, cannot pay as ours do; yet, there as here, a man lives by his writings; and, to compare *Jörden* with *Johnson* and *D'Israeli*, somewhat better there than here. No case like our own noble Otway's has met us in their biographies; Boyces and Chattertons are much rarer in German than in English literary history. But farther, and what is

far more important: From the number of universities, libraries, collections of art, museums, and other literary or scientific institutions of a public or private nature, we question whether the chance, which a meritorious man of letters has before him, of obtaining some permanent appointment, some independent civic existence, is not a hundred to one in favour of the German, compared with the Englishman. This is a weighty item, and indeed the weightiest of all; for it will be granted, that for the votary of literature, the relation of entire dependence on the merchants of literature, is at best, and however liberal the terms, a highly questionable one. It tempts him daily and hourly to sink from an artist into a manufacturer; nay, so precarious, fluctuating, and every way unsatisfactory must his civic and economic concerns become, that too many of his class cannot even attain the praise of common honesty as manufacturers. There is no doubt a spirit of martyrdom, as we have asserted, which can sustain this too: but few indeed have the spirit of martyrs; and that state of matters is the safest which requires it least. The German authors, moreover, to their credit be it spoken, seem to set less store by wealth than many of ours. There have been prudent, quiet men among them, who actually appeared not to want more wealth—whom wealth could not tempt, either to this hand or to that, from their preappointed aims. Neither must we think so hardly of the German nobility as to believe them insensible to genius, or of opinion that a patent from the Lion King is so superior to 'a patent direct from Almighty God.' A fair proportion of the German authors are themselves men of rank: we mention only, as of our own time, and notable in other respects, the two Stollbergs and Novalis. Let us not be unjust to this class of persons. It is a poor error to figure them as wrapt up in ceremonial stateliness, avoiding the most gifted man of a lower station; and for their own supercilious triviality, themselves avoided by all truly gifted men. On the whole, we should change our notion of the German nobleman: that ancient, thirsty, thick-headed, sixteen-quartered Baron, who still hovers in our minds, never did exist in such perfection, and is now as extinct, as our own Squire Western. His descendant is a man of other culture, other aims, and other habits. We question whether there is an aristocracy in Europe, which, taken as a whole, both in a public and private capacity, more honours art and literature, and does more both in public and private to encourage them. Excluded from society! What, we would ask, was Wieland's, Schiller's, Herder's, Johannes Müller's society? Has not Goethe, by birth

a Frankfort burgher, been since his twenty-sixth year the companion, not of nobles but of princes, and for half his life a minister of State? And is not this man, unrivalled in so many far deeper qualities, known also and felt to be unrivalled in nobleness of breeding and bearing; fit not to learn of princes, in this respect, but by the example of his daily life to teach them?

We hear much of the munificent spirit displayed among the better classes in England; their high estimation of the arts, and generous patronage of the artist. We rejoice to hear it; we hope it is true, and will become truer and truer. We hope that a great change has taken place among these classes, since the time when Bishop Burnet could write of them—'They are for the most part the *worst* instructed, and the *least* knowing of any of their rank I ever went among!' Nevertheless, let us arrogate to ourselves no exclusive praise in this particular. Other nations can appreciate the arts, and cherish their cultivators as well as we. Nay, while learning from us in many other matters, we suspect the Germans might even teach us somewhat in regard to this. At all events, the pity which certain of our authors express for the civil condition of their brethren in that country, is, from such a quarter, a superfluous feeling. Nowhere, let us rest assured, is genius more devoutly honoured than there, by all ranks of men, from peasants and burghers up to legislators and kings. It was but last year that the Diet of the Empire passed an Act in favour of one individual poet: the final edition of Goethe's works was guaranteed to be protected against commercial injury in every state of Germany; and special assurances to that effect were sent him, in the kindest terms, from all the Authorities there assembled, some of them the highest in his country or in Europe. Nay, even while we write, are not the newspapers recording a visit from the Sovereign of Bavaria in person, to the same venerable man; a mere ceremony, perhaps, but one which almost recalls to us the era of the antique Sages and the Grecian Kings?

This hypothesis, therefore, it would seem, is not supported by facts, and so returns to its original elements. The causes it alleges are impossible: but what is still more fatal, the effect it proposes to account for has, in reality, no existence. We venture to deny that the Germans are defective in taste; even as a nation, as a public, taking one thing with another, we imagine, they may stand comparison with any of their neighbours; as writers, as critics, they may decidedly court it. True, there is a mass of dulness, awkwardness, and false susceptibility in the lower regions of their literature: but is not bad taste

endemical in such regions of every literature under the sun? Pure Stupidity, indeed, is of a quiet nature, and content to be merely stupid. But seldom do we find it pure; seldom unadulterated with some tincture of ambition, which drives it into new and strange metamorphoses. Here it has assumed a contemptuous trenchant air, intended to represent superior tact, and a sort of all-wisdom; there a truculent atrabilious scowl, which is to stand for passionate strength: now we have an outpouring of tumid fervour; now a fruitless, asthmatic hunting after wit and humour. Grave or gay, enthusiastic or derisive, admiring or despising, the dull man would be something which he is not and cannot be. Shall we confess that, of these two common extremes, we reckon the German error considerably the more harmless, and, in our day, by far the more curable? Of unwise admiration much may be hoped, for much good is really in it: but unwise contempt is itself a negation; nothing comes of it, for it *is* nothing.

To judge of a national taste, however, we must raise our view from its transitory modes to its perennial models; from the mass of vulgar writers, who blaze out and are extinguished with the popular delusion which they flatter, to those few who are admitted to shine with a pure and lasting lustre; to whom, by common consent, the eyes of the people are turned, as to its loadstars and celestial luminaries. Among German writers of this stamp, we would ask any candid reader of them, let him be of what country or creed he might, whether bad taste struck him as a prevailing characteristic? Was Wieland's taste uncultivated? Taste, we should say, and taste of the very species which a disciple of the Negative School would call the highest, formed the great object of his life; the perfection he unweariedly endeavoured after, and, more than any other perfection, has attained. The most fastidious Frenchman might read him, with admiration of his merely French qualities. And is not Klopstock, with his clear enthusiasm, his azure purity, and heavenly, if still somewhat cold and lunar light, a man of taste? His *Messias* reminds us oftener of no other poets than of Virgil and Racine. But it is to Lessing that an Englishman would turn with readiest affection. We cannot but wonder that more of this man is not known among us; or that the knowledge of him has not done more to remove such misconceptions. Among all the writers of the eighteenth century, we will not except even Diderot and David Hume, there is not one of a more compact and rigid intellectual structure; who more distinctly knows what he is aiming at, or with more gracefulness, vigour, and precision, sets it forth to his readers. He thinks

with the clearness and piercing sharpness of the most expert logician; but a genial fire pervades him, a wit, a heartiness, a general richness and fineness of nature, to which most logicians are strangers. He is a sceptic in many things, but the noblest of sceptics; a mild, manly, half-careless enthusiasm struggles through his indignant unbelief: he stands before us like a toil-worn, but unwearied and heroic champion, earning not the conquest but the battle; as indeed himself admits to us, that 'it is 'not the finding of truth, but the honest search for it that 'profits.' We confess, we should be entirely at a loss for the literary creed of that man who reckoned Lessing other than a thoroughly cultivated writer; nay, entitled to rank, in this particular, with the most distinguished writers of any existing nation. As a poet, as a critic, philosopher, or controversialist, his style will be found precisely such as we of England are accustomed to admire most: brief, nervous, vivid; yet quiet, without glitter or antithesis; idiomatic, pure without purism, transparent, yet full of character and reflex hues of meaning. 'Every sentence,' says Horn, and justly, 'is like a phalanx;' not a word wrong placed, not a word that could be spared; and it forms itself so calmly and lightly, and stands in its completeness, so gay, yet so impregnable! As a poet he contemptuously denied himself all merit; but his readers have not taken him at his word: here too a similar felicity of style attends him; his plays, his *Minna von Barnhelm*, his *Emilie Galotti*, his *Nathan der Weise*, have a genuine and graceful poetic life; yet no works known to us in any language are purer from exaggeration, or any appearance of falsehood. They are pictures, we might say, painted not in colours, but in crayons; yet a strange attraction lies in them; for the figures are grouped into the finest attitudes, and true and spirit-speaking in every line. It is with his style chiefly that we have to do here; yet we must add, that the matter of his works is not less meritorious. His Criticism and philosophic or religious Scepticism were of a higher mood than had yet been heard in Europe, still more in Germany: his *Dramaturgie* first exploded the pretensions of the French theatre, and, with irresistible conviction, made Shakspeare known to his countrymen; preparing the way for a brighter era in their literature, the chief men of which still thankfully look back to Lessing as their patriarch. His *Laocoon*, with its deep glances into the philosophy of Art, his *Dialogues of Free-masons*, a work of far higher import than its title indicates, may yet teach many things to most of us, which we know not, and ought to know.

With Lessing and Klopstock might be joined, in this respect, nearly every one, we do not say of their distinguished, but even

of their tolerated contemporaries. The two Jacobis, known more or less in all countries, are little known here, if they are accused of wanting literary taste. These are men, whether as thinkers or poets, to be regarded and admired for their mild and lofty wisdom, the devoutness, the benignity and calm grandeur of their philosophical views. In such, it were strange if among so many high merits, this lower one of a just and elegant style, which is indeed their natural and even necessary product, had been wanting. We recommend the elder Jacobi no less for his clearness than for his depth; of the younger, it may be enough in this point of view to say, that the chief praisers of his earlier poetry were the French. Neither are Hamann and Mendelsohn, who could meditate deep thoughts, defective in the power of uttering them with propriety. The *Phædon* of the latter, in its chaste precision and simplicity of style, may almost remind us of Xenophon: Socrates, to our mind, has spoken in no modern language so like Socrates, as here, by the lips of this wise and cultivated Jew. *

Among the poets and more popular writers of the time, the case is the same: Utz, Gellert, Cramer, Ramler, Kleist, Hagedorn, Rabener, Gleim, and a multitude of lesser men, whatever excellencies they might want, certainly are not chargeable with bad taste. Nay, perhaps of all writers, they are the least chargeable with it: a certain clear, light, unaffected elegance, of a higher nature than French elegance, it might be, yet to the ex-

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* The history of Mendelsohn is interesting in itself, and full of encouragement to all lovers of self-improvement. At thirteen he was a wandering Jewish beggar, without health, without home, almost without a language, for the jargon of broken Hebrew and provincial German which he spoke could scarcely be called one. At middle age, he could write this *Phædon;* was a man of wealth and breeding, and ranked among the teachers of his age. Like Pope, he abode by his original creed, though often solicited to change it: indeed, the grand problem of his life was to better the inward and outward condition of his own ill-fated people; for whom he actually accomplished much benefit. He was a mild, shrewd, and worthy man; and might well love *Phædon* and Socrates, for his own character was Socratic. He was a friend of Lessing's: indeed, a pupil; for Lessing having accidentally met him at chess, recognised the spirit that lay struggling under such incumbrances, and generously undertook to help him. By teaching the poor Jew a little Greek, he disenchanted him from the Talmud and the Rabbins. The two were afterwards co-labourers in Nicolai's *Deutsche Bibliothek*, the first German *Review* of any character; which, however, in the hands of Nicolai himself, it subsequently lost. Mendelsohn's Works have mostly been translated into French.

clusion of all very deep or genial qualities, was the excellence they strove after, and for the most part in a fair measure attained. They resemble English writers of the same, or perhaps an earlier period, more than any other foreigners: apart from Pope, whose influence is visible enough, Beattie, Logan, Wilkie, Glover, unknown perhaps to any of them, might otherwise have almost seemed their models. Goldsmith also would rank among them; perhaps in regard to true poetic genius, at their head, for none of them has left us a *Vicar of Wakefield;* though, in regard to judgment, knowledge, general talent, his place would scarcely be so high.

The same thing holds, in general, and with fewer drawbacks, of the somewhat later and more energetic race, denominated the *Göttingen School,* in contradistinction from the *Saxon,* to which Rabener, Cramer, and Gellert, directly belonged, and most of those others indirectly. Hölty, Bürger, the two Stollbergs, are men whom Bossu might measure with his scale and compasses as strictly as he pleased. Of Herder, Schiller, Goethe, we speak not here: they are men of another stature and form of movement, whom Bossu's scale and compasses could not measure without difficulty, or rather not at all. To say that such men wrote with taste of this sort, were saying little; for this forms not the apex, but the basis, in their conception of style; a quality not to be paraded as an excellence, but to be understood as indispensable, as there by necessity, and like a thing of course.

In truth, for it must be spoken out, our opponents are so widely astray in this matter, that their views of it are not only dim and perplexed, but altogether imaginary and delusive. It is proposed to school the Germans in the Alphabet of taste; and the Germans are already busied with their Accidence! Far from being behind other nations in the practice or science of Criticism, it is a fact, for which we fearlessly refer to all competent judges, that they are distinctly, and even considerably in advance. We state what is already known to a great part of Europe to be true. Criticism has assumed a new form in Germany; it proceeds on other principles, and proposes to itself a higher aim. The grand question is not now a question concerning the qualities of diction, the coherence of metaphors, the fitness of sentiments, the general logical truth, in a work of art, as it was some half century ago among most critics: Neither is it a question mainly of a psychological sort, to be answered by discovering and delineating the peculiar nature of the poet from his poetry, as is usual with the best of our own critics at present; but it is, not indeed exclusively, but inclusively of those two other questions, properly and ultimately a question on the es-

sence and peculiar life of the poetry itself. The first of these questions, as we see it answered, for instance, in the criticisms of Johnson and Kames, relates, strictly speaking, to the *garment* of poetry; the second, indeed, to its *body* and material existence, a much higher point; but only the last to its *soul* and spiritual existence, by which alone can the body, in its movements and phases, be *informed* with significance and rational life. The problem is not now to determine by what mechanism Addison composed sentences, and struck out similitudes, but by what far finer and more mysterious mechanism Shakspeare organized his dramas, and gave life and individuality to his Ariel and his Hamlet. Wherein lies that life; how have they attained that shape and individuality? Whence comes that empyrean fire, which irradiates their whole being, and pierces, at least in starry gleams, like a diviner thing, into all hearts? Are these dramas of his not verisimilar only, but true; nay, truer than reality itself, since the essence of unmixed reality is bodied forth in them under more expressive symbols? What is this unity of theirs; and can our deeper inspection discern it to be indivisible, and existing by necessity, because each work springs, as it were, from the general elements of all Thought, and grows up therefrom, into form and expansion, by its own growth? Not only who was the poet, and how did he compose; but what and how was the poem, and why was it a poem and not rhymed eloquence, creation and not figured passion? These are the questions for the critic. Criticism stands like an interpreter between the inspired and the uninspired; between the prophet and those who hear the melody of his words, and catch some glimpse of their material meaning, but understand not their deeper import. She pretends to open for us this deeper import; to clear our sense that it may discern the pure brightness of this eternal Beauty, and recognise it as heavenly, under all forms where it looks forth, and reject, as of the earth earthy, all forms, be their material splendour what it may, where no gleaming of that other shines through.

This is the task of Criticism, as the Germans understand it. And how do they accomplish this task? By a vague declamation clothed in gorgeous mystic phraseology? By vehement tumultuous anthems to the poet and his poetry; by epithets and laudatory similitudes drawn from Tartarus and Elysium, and all intermediate terrors and glories; whereby, in truth, it is rendered clear both that the poet is an extremely great poet, and also that the critic's allotment of understanding, overflowed by these Pythian raptures, has unhappily melted into deliquium? Nowise in this manner do the Germans proceed: but by rigorous scientific inquiry; by appeal to principles which, whether cor-

rect or not, have been deduced patiently and by long investigation from the highest and calmest regions of Philosophy. For this finer portion of their Criticism is now also embodied in systems; and standing, so far as these reach, coherent, distinct, and methodical, no less than, on their much shallower foundation, the systems of Boileau and Blair. That this new Criticism is a complete, much more a certain science, we are far from meaning to affirm: the *æsthetic* theories of Kant, Herder, Schiller, Goethe, Richter, vary in external aspect, according to the varied habits of the individual; and can at best only be regarded as approximations to the truth, or modifications of it; each critic representing it, as it harmonizes more or less perfectly with the other intellectual persuasions of his own mind, and of different classes of minds that resemble his. Nor can we here undertake to inquire what degree of such approximation to the truth there is in each or all of these writers; or in Tieck and the two Schlegels, who, especially the latter, have laboured so meritoriously in reconciling these various opinions; and so successfully in impressing and diffusing the best spirit of them, first in their own country, and now also in several others. Thus much, however, we will say: That we reckon the mere circumstance of such a science being in existence, a ground of the highest consideration, and worthy the best attention of all inquiring men. For we should err widely if we thought that this new tendency of critical science pertains to Germany alone. It is a European tendency, and springs from the general condition of intellect in Europe. We ourselves have all, for the last thirty years, more or less distinctly felt the necessity of such a science: witness the neglect into which our Blairs and Bossus have silently fallen; our increased and increasing admiration, not only of Shakspeare, but of all his contemporaries, and of all who breathe any portion of his spirit; our controversy whether Pope was a poet; and so much vague effort on the part of our best critics, everywhere, to express some still unexpressed idea concerning the nature of true poetry; as if they felt in their hearts that a purer glory, nay, a divineness, belonged to it, for which they had as yet no name, and no intellectual form. But in Italy too, in France itself, the same thing is visible. Their grand controversy, so hotly urged between the *Classicists* and the *Romanticists*, in which the Schlegels are assumed, much too loosely, on all hands, as the patrons and generalissimoes of the latter, shows us sufficiently what spirit is at work in that long stagnant literature. Doubtless this turbid fermentation of the elements will at length settle into clearness, both there, and here, as in Germany it has already in a great measure

done; and perhaps a more serene and genial poetic day is everywhere to be expected with some confidence. How much the example of the Germans may have to teach us in this particular, needs no farther exposition.

The authors and first promulgators of this new critical doctrine, were at one time contemptuously named the *New School*; nor was it till after a war of all the few good heads in the nation, with all the many bad ones, had ended as such wars must ever do,* that these critical principles were generally adopted; and their assertors found to be no *School*, or new heretical Sect, but the ancient primitive Catholic Communion, of which all sects that had any living light in them were but members and subordinate modes. It is, indeed, the most sacred article of this creed to preach and practise universal tolerance. Every literature of the world has been cultivated by the Germans; and to every literature they have studied to give due honour. Shakspeare and Homer, no doubt occupy alone the loftiest station in the poetical Olympus; but there is space in it for all true Singers, out of every age and clime. Ferdusi and the primeval Mythologists of Hindostan, live in brotherly union with the Troubadours and ancient Story-tellers of the West. The wayward mystic gloom of Calderon, the lurid fire of Dante, the auroral light of Tasso, the clear icy glitter of Racine, all are acknowledged and reverenced; nay, in the celestial fore-court an abode has been appointed for the Gressets and Delilles, that no spark of inspiration, no tone of mental music, might remain unrecognised. The Germans study foreign nations in a spirit which deserves to be oftener imitated. It is their honest endeavour to understand each, with its own peculiarities, in its own special manner of existing; not that they may praise it, or censure it, or attempt to alter it, but simply that they may know it; that they may see this manner of existing as the na-

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* It began in Schiller's *Musenalmanach* for 1793. The *Xenien*, (a series of philosophic epigrams jointly by Schiller and Goethe,) descended there unexpectedly, like a flood of ethereal fire, on the German literary world; quickening all that was noble into new life, but visiting the ancient empire of Dulness with astonishment and unknown pangs. The agitation was extreme; scarcely since the age of Luther, has there been such stir and strife in the intellect of Germany; indeed, scarcely since that age, has there been a controversy, if we consider its ultimate bearings on the best and noblest interests of mankind, so important as this, which, for the time, seemed only to turn on metaphysical subtleties, and matters of mere elegance. Its farther applications became apparent by degrees.

tion itself sees it, and so participate in whatever worth or beauty it has brought into being. Of all literatures, accordingly, the German has the best as well as the most translations; men like Goethe, Schiller, Wieland, Schlegel, Tieck, have not disdained this task. Of Shakspeare there are three entire versions admitted to be good; and we know not how many partial, or considered as bad. In their criticisms of him we ourselves have long ago admitted, that no such clear judgment or hearty appreciation of his merits, had ever been exhibited by any critic of our own.

To attempt stating in separate aphorisms the doctrines of this new poetical system, would, in such space as is now allowed us, be to insure them of misapprehension. The science of Criticism, as the Germans practise it, is no study of an hour; for it springs from the depths of thought, and remotely or immediately connects itself with the subtlest problems of all philosophy. One characteristic of it we may state, the obvious parent of many others. Poetic beauty, in its pure essence, is not, by this theory, as by all our theories, from Hume's to Alison's, derived from anything external, or of merely intellectual origin; not from association, or any reflex or reminiscence of mere sensations; nor from natural love, either of imitation, of similarity in dissimilarity, of excitement by contrast, or of seeing difficulties overcome. On the contrary, it is assumed as underived; not borrowing its existence from such sources, but as lending to most of these their significance and principal charm for the mind. It dwells, and is born in the inmost Spirit of Man, united to all love of Virtue, to all true belief in God; or rather, it is one with this love and this belief, another phase of the same highest principle in the mysterious infinitude of the human Soul. To apprehend this beauty of poetry, in its full and purest brightness, is not easy, but difficult; thousands on thousands eagerly read poems, and attain not the smallest taste of it; yet to all uncorrupted hearts, some effulgences of this heavenly glory are here and there revealed; and to apprehend it clearly and wholly, to acquire and maintain a sense and heart that sees and worships it, is the last perfection of all humane culture. With mere readers for amusement, therefore, this Criticism has, and can have nothing to do; these find their amusement—in less or greater measure, and the nature of Poetry remains for ever hidden from them in the deepest concealment. On all hands, there is no truce given to the hypothesis, that the ultimate object of the poet is to please. Sensation, even of the finest and most rapturous sort, is not the end but the means. Art is to be loved, not because of its effects, but because of itself; not because it is

useful for spiritual pleasure, or even for moral culture, but because it is Art, and the highest in man, and the soul of all Beauty. To inquire after its *utility*, would be like inquiring after the *utility* of a God, or what to the Germans would sound stranger than it does to us, the *utility* of Virtue and Religion.—On these particulars, the authenticity of which we might verify, not so much by citation of individual passages, as by reference to the scope and spirit of whole treatises, we must for the present leave our readers to their own reflections. Might we advise them, it would be to inquire farther, and, if possible, to see the matter with their own eyes.

Meanwhile, that all this must tend, among the Germans, to raise the general standard of Art, and of what an Artist ought to be in his own esteem and that of others, will be readily inferred. The character of a Poet does, accordingly, stand higher with the Germans than with most nations. That he is a man of integrity as a man; of zeal and honest diligence in his art, and of true manly feeling towards all men, is of course presupposed. Of persons that are not so, but employ their gift, in rhyme or otherwise, for brutish or malignant purposes, it is understood that such lie without the limits of Criticism, being subjects not for the judge of Art, but for the judge of Police. But even with regard to the fair tradesman, who offers his talent in open market, to do work of a harmless and acceptable sort for hire,—with regard to this person also, their opinion is very low. The 'Bread-artist,' as they call him, can gain no reverence for himself from these men. 'Unhappy mortal!' says the mild but lofty-minded Schiller, 'Unhappy mortal! that, with Science 'and Art, the noblest of all instruments, effectest and attempt'est nothing more than the day-drudge with the meanest; that 'in the domain of perfect Freedom, bearest about in thee the 'spirit of a Slave!' Nay, to the genuine Poet, they deny even the privilege of regarding what so many cherish, under the title of their 'fame,' as the best and highest of all. Hear Schiller again:

'The Artist, it is true, is the son of his age; but pity for him if he is its pupil, or even its favourite! Let some beneficent divinity snatch him, when a suckling, from the breast of his mother, and nurse him with the milk of a better time, that he may ripen to his full stature beneath a distant Grecian sky. And having grown to manhood, let him return, a foreign shape, into his century; not, however, to delight it by his presence, but dreadful, like the son of Agamemnon, to purify it. The matter of his works he will take from the present, but their form he will derive from a nobler time; nay, from beyond all time, from the absolute unchanging unity of his own nature. Here, from the pure æther of his spiritual essence, flows down the Fountain of Beauty, uncontaminated by the pollutions of ages and generations,

which roll to and fro in their turbid vortex far beneath it. His matter Caprice can dishonour, as she has ennobled it; but the chaste form is withdrawn from her mutations. The Roman of the first century had long bent the knee before his Cæsars, when the statues of Rome were still standing erect; the temples continued holy to the eye, when their gods had long been a laughing-stock; and the abominations of a Nero and a Commodus were silently rebuked by the style of the edifice, which lent them its concealment. Man has lost his dignity, but Art has saved it, and preserved it for him in expressive marbles. Truth still lives in fiction, and from the copy the original will be restored.

'But how is the Artist to guard himself from the corruptions of his time, which on every side assail him? By despising its decisions. Let him look upwards to his dignity and the law, not downwards to his happiness and his wants. Free alike from the vain activity that longs to impress its traces on the fleeting instant, and from the querulous spirit of enthusiasm that measures by the scale of perfection the meagre product of reality, let him leave to mere Understanding, which is here at home, the province of the actual; while *he* strives, by uniting the possible with the necessary, to produce the ideal. This let him imprint and express in fiction and truth; imprint it in the sport of his imagination and the earnest of his actions; imprint it in all sensible and spiritual forms, and cast it silently into everlasting time.'*

Still higher are Fichte's notions on this subject; or rather expressed in higher terms, for the central principle is the same both in the philosopher and the poet. According to Fichte, there is a 'Divine Idea' pervading the visible Universe; which visible Universe is indeed but its symbol and sensible manifestation, having in itself no meaning, or even true existence independent of it. To the mass of men this Divine Idea of the world lies hidden: yet to discern it, to seize it, and live wholly in it, is the condition of all genuine virtue, knowledge, freedom; and the end therefore of all spiritual effort in every age. Literary Men are the appointed interpreters of this Divine Idea; a perpetual priesthood, we might say, standing forth generation after generation, as the dispensers and living types of God's everlasting wisdom, to show it and embody it in their writings and actions, in such particular form as their own particular times require it in. For each age, by the law of its nature, is different from every other age, and demands a different representation of this Divine Idea, the essence of which is the same in all; so that the literary man of one century is only by mediation and re-interpretation applicable to the wants of another. But in every century, every man who labours, be it

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* *Ueber die Æsthetische Erziehung des Menschen* (On the Æsthetic Education of Man).

in what province he may, to teach others, must first have possessed himself of this Divine Idea, or, at least, be with his whole heart and his whole soul striving after it. If without possessing it or striving after it, he abide diligently by some material practical department of knowledge, he may indeed still be (says Fichte, in his usual rugged way) a 'useful hod-'man;' but should he attempt to deal with the Whole, and to become an architect, he is in strictness of language, 'No-'thing;'—'he is an ambiguous mongrel between the possessor 'of the Idea, and the man who feels himself solidly supported 'and carried on by the common Reality of things; in his fruit-'less endeavour after the Idea, he has neglected to acquire the 'craft of taking part in this Reality; and so hovers between 'two worlds, without pertaining to either.' Elsewhere he adds:

'There is still, from another point of view, another division in our notion of the Literary Man, and one to us of immediate application. Namely, either the Literary Man has already laid hold of the whole Divine Idea, in so far as it can be comprehended by man, or perhaps of a special portion of this its comprehensible part,—which truly is not possible without at least a clear oversight of the whole,—he has already laid hold of it, penetrated, and made it entirely clear to himself, so that it has become a possession recallable at all times in the same shape to his view, and a component part of his personality: in that case he is a completed and equipt Literary Man, a man who *has* studied. Or else, he is still struggling and striving to make the Idea in general, or that particular portion and point of it, from which onwards he for his part means to penetrate the whole,—entirely clear to himself; detached sparkles of light already spring forth on him from all sides, and disclose a higher world before him; but they do not yet unite themselves into an indivisible whole; they vanish from his view as capriciously as they came, he cannot yet bring them under obedience to his freedom: in that case he is a progressing and self-unfolding literary man, a Student. That it be actually the Idea, which is possessed or striven after, is common to both. Should the striving aim merely at the outward form, and the letter of learned culture, there is then produced, when the circle is gone round, the completed, when it is not gone round, the progressing, Bungler (*Stümper*). The latter is more tolerable than the former; for there is still room to hope that in continuing his travel, he may at some future point be seized by the Idea; but of the first all hope is over.'*

From this bold and lofty principle the duties of the Literary Man are deduced with scientific precision; and stated, in all

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* *Ueber das Wesen des Gelehrten* (On the Nature of the Literary Man); a Course of Lectures delivered at Jena, in 1805.

their sacredness and grandeur, with an austere brevity more impressive than any rhetoric. Fichte's metaphysical theory may be called in question, and readily enough misapprehended; but the sublime stoicism of his sentiments will find some response in many a heart. We must add the conclusion of his first Discourse, as a farther illustration of his manner:

'In disquisitions of the sort like ours of to-day, which all the rest, too, must resemble, the generality are wont to censure: First, their severity; very often on the good-natured supposition that the speaker is not aware how much his rigour must displease us; that we have but frankly to let him know this, and then doubtless he will reconsider himself, and soften his statements. Thus, we said above, that a man who after literary culture had not arrived at knowledge of the Divine Idea, or did not strive towards it, was in strict speech Nothing; and farther down, we said that he was a Bungler. This is in the style of those unmerciful expressions, by which philosophers give such offence.—Now looking away from the present case, that we may front the maxim in its general shape, I remind you that this species of character, without decisive force to renounce all respect for Truth, seeks merely to bargain and cheapen something out of her, whereby itself on easier terms may attain to some consideration. But Truth, which once for all is as she is, and cannot alter aught of her nature, goes on her way; and there remains for her, in regard to those who desire her not simply because she is true, nothing else, but to leave them standing as if they had never addressed her.

'Then farther, discourses of this sort are wont to be censured as unintelligible. Thus I figure to myself,—nowise you, Gentlemen, but some completed Literary Man of the second species, whose eye the disquisition here entered upon chanced to meet, as coming forward, doubting this way and that, and at last reflectively exclaiming: 'The Idea, the Divine Idea, that which lies at the bottom of Appearance: what pray may *this* mean?' Of such a questioner I would inquire in turn: 'What pray may this question mean?'—Investigate it strictly, it means in most cases nothing more than this, 'Under what other names, and in what other formulas do I already know this same thing, which thou expressest by so strange and to me so unknown a symbol?' And to this again in most cases the only suitable reply were, 'Thou knowest this thing not at all, neither under this, nor under any other name; and wouldst thou arrive at the knowledge of it, thou must even now begin at the beginning to make study thereof;—and then, most fitly, under that name by which it is first presented to thee!''

With such a notion of the Artist, it were a strange inconsistency did Criticism show itself unscientific or lax in estimating the products of his Art. For light on this point, we might refer to the writings of almost any individual among the German critics: take, for instance, the *Charakteristiken* of the two Schlegels, a work too of their younger years; and say whether

in depth, clearness, minute and patient fidelity, these *Characters* have often been surpassed, or the import and poetic worth of so many poets and poems more vividly and accurately brought to view. As an instance of a much higher kind, we might refer to Goethe's criticism of *Hamlet* in his *Wilhelm Meister*. This truly is what may be called the poetry of criticism; for it is in some sort also a creative art; aiming, at least, to reproduce under a different shape the existing product of the poet; painting to the intellect what already lay painted to the heart and the imagination. Nor is it over Poetry alone that criticism watches with such loving strictness: the mimic, the pictorial, the musical arts, all modes of representing or addressing the highest nature of man, are acknowledged as younger sisters of Poetry, and fostered with like care. Winkelmann's *History of Plastic Art* is known by repute to all readers: and of those who know it by inspection, many may have wondered why such a work has not been added to our own literature, to instruct our own statuaries and painters. On this subject of the plastic arts, we cannot withhold the following little sketch of Goethe's, as a specimen of pictorial criticism in what we consider a superior style. It is of an imaginary landscape-painter, and his views of Swiss scenery; it will bear to be studied minutely, for there is no word without its meaning:

'He succeeds in representing the cheerful repose of lake prospects, where houses in friendly approximation, imaging themselves in the clear wave, seem as if bathing in its depths; shores encircled with green hills, behind which rise forest mountains, and icy peaks of glaciers. The tone of colouring in such scenes is gay, mirthfully clear; the distances as if overflowed with softening vapour, which from watered hollows and river valleys mounts up grayer and mistier, and indicates their windings. No less is the master's art to be praised in views from valleys lying nearer the high Alpine ranges, where declivities slope down, luxuriantly overgrown, and fresh streams roll hastily along by the foot of rocks.

'With exquisite skill, in the deep shady trees of the foreground, he gives the distinctive character of the several species; satisfying us in the form of the whole, as in the structure of the branches, and the details of the leaves; no less so, in the fresh green with its manifold shadings, where soft airs appear as if fanning us with benignant breath, and the lights as if thereby put in motion.

'In the middle-ground, his lively green tone grows fainter by degrees; and at last, on the more distant mountain-tops, passing into weak violet, weds itself with the blue of the sky. But our artist is above all happy in his paintings of high Alpine regions; in seizing the simple greatness and stillness of their character; the wide pastures on the slopes, where dark solitary firs stand forth from the grassy carpet; and from high cliffs, foaming brooks rush down. Whether he relieve his

pasturages with grazing cattle, or the narrow winding rocky path with mules and laden pack-horses, he paints all with equal truth and richness; still, introduced in the proper place, and not in too great copiousness, they decorate and enliven these scenes, without interrupting, without lessening their peaceful solitude. The execution testifies a master's hand; easy, with a few sure strokes, and yet complete. In his later pieces, he employed glittering English permanent-colours on paper: these pictures, accordingly, are of pre-eminently blooming tone; cheerful, yet at the same time, strong and sated.

'His views of deep mountain-chasms, where round and round nothing fronts us but dead rock, where, in the abyss, overspanned by its bold arch, the wild stream rages, are, indeed, of less attraction than the former: yet their truth excites us; we admire the great effect of the whole, produced at so little cost, by a few expressive strokes, and masses of local colours.

'With no less accuracy of character can he represent the regions of the topmost Alpine ranges, where neither tree nor shrub any more appears; but only amid the rocky teeth and snow summits, a few sunny spots clothe themselves with a soft sward. Beautiful, and balmy and inviting as he colours these spots, he has here wisely forborne to introduce grazing herds; for these regions give food only to the chamois, and a perilous employment to the wild-hay-men.'*

We have extracted this passage from *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre*, Goethe's last Novel. The perusal of his whole Works would show, among many other more important facts, that Criticism also is a science of which he is master; that if ever any man had studied Art in all its branches and bearings, from its origin in the depths of the creative spirit, to its minutest finish on the canvass of the painter, on the lips of the poet, or under the finger of the musician, he was that man. A nation which appreciates such studies, nay, requires and rewards them, cannot, wherever its defects may lie, be defective in judgment of the arts.

But a weightier question still remains. What has been the fruit of this its high and just judgment on these matters? What has Criticism profited it, to the bringing forth of good works? How do its poems and its poets correspond with so lofty a standard? We answer, that on this point also, Germany may rather court investigation than fear it. There are poets in that country who belong to a nobler class than most nations

* The poor wild-hay-man of the Rigiberg,
Whose trade is, on the brow of the abyss,
To mow the common grass from nooks and shelves,
To which the cattle dare not climb.

SCHILLER'S *Wilhelm Tell.*

have to show in these days; a class entirely unknown to some nations; and for the last two centuries, rare in all. We have no hesitation in stating, that we see in certain of the best German poets, and those too of our own time, something which associates them, remotely or nearly we say not, but which does associate them with the Masters of Art, the Saints of Poetry, long since departed, and, as we thought, without successors, from the earth; but canonized in the hearts of all generations, and yet living to all by the memory of what they did and were. Glances we do seem to find of that ethereal glory, which looks on us in its full brightness from the *Transfiguration* of Rafaelle, from the *Tempest* of Shakspeare; and in broken, but purest and still heart-piercing beams, struggling through the gloom of long ages, from the tragedies of Sophocles and the weather-worn sculptures of the Parthenon. This is that heavenly spirit, which, best seen in the aerial embodyment of poetry, but spreading likewise over all the thoughts and actions of an age, has given us Surreys, Sydneys, Raleighs in court and camp, Cecils in policy, Hookers in divinity, Bacons in philosophy, and Shakspeares and Spensers in song. All hearts that know this, know it to be the highest; and that, in poetry or elsewhere, it alone is true and imperishable. In affirming that any vestige, however feeble, of this divine spirit, is discernible in German poetry, we are aware that we place it above the existing poetry of any other nation.

To prove this bold assertion, logical arguments were at all times unavailing; and, in the present circumstances of the case, more than usually so. Neither will any extract or specimen help us; for it is not in parts, but in whole poems, that the spirit of a true poet is to be seen. We can, therefore, only name such men as Tieck, Richter, Herder, Schiller, and, above all, Goethe; and ask any reader who has learned to admire wisely our own literature of Queen Elizabeth's age, to peruse these writers also; to study them till he feels that he has understood them, and justly estimated both their light and darkness; and then to pronounce whether it is not, in some degree, as we have said? Are there not tones here of that old melody? Are there not glimpses of that serene soul, that calm harmonious strength, that smiling earnestness, that Love and Faith and Humanity of nature? Do these foreign contemporaries of ours still exhibit in their characters as men something of that sterling nobleness, that union of majesty with meekness, which we must ever venerate in those our spiritual fathers? And do their works, in the new form of this century, show forth that old nobleness, not consistent only, with the science, the precision, the scepticism of these days, but

wedded to them, incorporated with them, and shining through them like their life and soul? Might it in truth almost seem to us, in reading the prose of Goethe, as if we were reading that of Milton; and of Milton writing with the culture of this time; combining French clearness with old English depth? And of his poetry may it indeed be said that it *is* poetry, and yet the poetry of our own generation; an ideal world, and yet the world we even now live in?—These questions we must leave candid and studious inquirers to answer for themselves; premising only, that the secret is not to be found on the surface; that the first reply is likely to be in the negative, but with inquirers of this sort, by no means likely to be the final one.

To ourselves, we confess, it has long so appeared. The poetry of Goethe, for instance, we reckon to be Poetry, sometimes in the very highest sense of that word; yet it is no reminiscence, but something actually present and before us; no looking back into an antique Fairy-land, divided by impassable abysses from the real world as it lies about us and within us; but a looking round upon that real world itself, now rendered holier to our eyes, and once more become a solemn temple, where the spirit of Beauty still dwells, and, under new emblems, to be worshipped as of old. With Goethe, the mythologies of bygone days pass only for what they are: we have no witchcraft or magic in the common acceptation; and spirits no longer bring with them airs from heaven or blasts from hell; for Pandemonium and the steadfast Empyrean have faded away, since the opinions which they symbolized no longer are. Neither does he bring his heroes from remote Oriental climates, or periods of Chivalry, or any section either of Atlantis or the Age of Gold; feeling that the reflex of these things is cold and faint, and only hangs like a cloud-picture in the distance, beautiful but delusive, and which even the simplest know to be delusion. The end of Poetry is higher: she must dwell in Reality, and become manifest to men in the forms among which they live and move. And this is what we prize in Goethe, and more or less in Schiller and the rest; all of whom, each in his own way, are writers of a similar aim. The coldest sceptic, the most callous worldling, sees not the actual aspects of life more sharply than they are here delineated: the nineteenth century stands before us, in all its contradiction and perplexity; barren, mean, and baleful, as we have all known it; yet here no longer mean or barren, but enamelled into beauty in the poet's spirit; for its secret significance is laid open, and thus, as it were, the life-giving fire that slumbers in it is called forth, and flowers and foliage, as of old, are springing on its bleakest wildernesses,

and overmantling its sternest cliffs. For these men have not only the clear eye, but the loving heart. They have penetrated into the mystery of Nature; after long trial they have been initiated: and to unwearied endeavour, Art has at last yielded her secret; and thus can the Spirit of our Age, embodied in fair imaginations, look forth on us, earnest and full of meaning, from their works. As the first and indispensable condition of good poets, they are wise and good men: much they have seen and suffered, and they have conquered all this, and made it all their own; they have known life in its heights and depths, and mastered it in both, and can teach others what it is, and how to lead it rightly. Their minds are as a mirror to us, where the perplexed image of our own being is reflected back in soft and clear interpretation. Here mirth and gravity are blended together; wit rests on deep devout wisdom, as the greensward with its flowers must rest on the rock, whose foundations reach downward to the centre. In a word, they are Believers; but their faith is no sallow plant of darkness: it is green and flowery, for it grows in the sunlight. And this faith is the doctrine they have to teach us, the sense which, under every noble and graceful form, it is their endeavour to set forth:

> As all Nature's thousand changes
> But one changeless God proclaim,
> So in Art's wide kingdoms ranges
> One sole meaning, still the same:
> This is Truth, eternal Reason,
> Which from Beauty takes its dress,
> And, serene through time and season,
> Stands for aye in loveliness.

Such indeed is the end of Poetry at all times; yet in no recent literature known to us, except the German, has it been so far attained; nay, perhaps so much as consciously and steadfastly attempted.

The reader feels that if this our opinion be in any measure true, it is a truth of no ordinary moment. It concerns not this writer or that; but it opens to us new views on the fortune of spiritual culture with ourselves and all nations. Have we not heard gifted men complaining that Poetry had passed away without return; that creative imagination consorted not with vigour of intellect, and that in the cold light of science there was no longer room for faith in things unseen? The old simplicity of heart was gone; earnest emotions must no longer be expressed in earnest symbols; beauty must recede into elegance, devoutness of character be replaced by clearness of thought, and grave wisdom by shrewdness and *persiflage*. Such things we have

heard, but hesitated to believe them. If the poetry of the Germans, and this not by theory but by example, have proved, or even begun to prove, the contrary, it will deserve far higher encomiums than any we have passed upon it.

In fact, the past and present aspect of German literature illustrates the literature of England in more than one way. Its history keeps pace with that of ours; for so closely are all European communities connected, that the phases of mind in any one country, so far as these represent its general circumstances and intellectual position, are but modified repetitions of its phases in every other. We hinted above, that the Saxon School corresponded with what might be called the Scotch: Cramer was not unlike our Blair; von Cronegk might be compared with Michael Bruce; and Rabener and Gellert with Beattie and Logan. To this mild and cultivated period, there succeeded, as with us, a partial abandonment of poetry, in favour of political and philosophical Illumination. Then was the time when hot war was declared against Prejudice of all sorts; Utility was set up for the universal measure of mental as well as material value; poetry, except of an economical and preceptorial character, was found to be the product of a rude age; and religious enthusiasm was but derangement in the biliary organs. Then did the Prices and Condorcets of Germany indulge in day-dreams of perfectibility; a new social order was to bring back the Saturnian era to the world; and philosophers sat on their sunny Pisgah, looking back over dark savage deserts, and forward into a land flowing with milk and honey.

This period also passed away, with its good and its evil; of which chiefly the latter seems to be remembered; for we scarcely ever find the affair alluded to, except in terms of contempt, by the title *Aufklärerey* (Illuminationism); and its partisans, in subsequent satirical controversies, received the nickname of *Philistern* (Philistines), which the few scattered remnants of them still bear, both in writing and speech. Poetry arose again, and in a new and singular shape. The *Sorrows of Werter*, *Götz von Berlichingen*, and *The Robbers*, may stand as patriarchs and representatives of three separate classes, which, commingled in various proportions, or separately coexisting, now with the preponderance of this, now of that, occupied the whole popular literature of Germany, till near the end of last century. These were the Sentimentalists, the Chivalry-play-writers, and other gorgeous and outrageous persons; as a whole, now pleasantly denominated the *Kraftmänner*, literally, Power-men. They dealt in sceptical lamentation, mysterious enthusiasm, frenzy and suicide: they recurred with fondness to the Feudal Ages, delinea-

ting many a battlemented keep, and swart buff-belted man-at-arms; for in reflection as in action, they studied to be strong, vehement, rapidly effective; of battle-tumult, love-madness, heroism, and despair, there was no end. This literary period is called the *Sturm-und-Drang-Zeit*, the Storm-and-Stress Period; for great indeed was the woe and fury of these Power-men. Beauty to their mind seemed synonymous with Strength. All passion was poetical, so it were but fierce enough. Their head moral virtue was Pride: their *beau idéal* of manhood was some transcript of Milton's Devil. Often they inverted Bolingbroke's plan, and instead of 'patronizing Providence,' did directly the opposite; raging with extreme animation against Fate in general, because it enthralled free virtue; and with clenched hands, or sounding shields, hurling defiance towards the vault of heaven.

These Power-men are gone too; and with few exceptions, save the three originals above named, their works have already followed them. The application of all this to our own literature is too obvious to require much exposition. Have we not also had our Power-men? And will not, as in Germany, to us likewise a milder, a clearer, and a truer time come round? Our Byron was, in his youth, but what Schiller and Goethe had been in theirs: yet the author of *Werter* wrote *Iphigenie* and *Torquato Tasso;* and he who began with *The Robbers* ended with *Wilhelm Tell.* With longer life, all things were to have been hoped for from Byron: for he loved truth in his inmost heart, and would have discovered at last that his Corsairs and Harolds were not true. It was otherwise appointed: but with one man, all hope does not die. If this way is the right one, we too shall find it. The poetry of Germany, meanwhile, we cannot but regard as well deserving to be studied, in this as in other points of view: it is distinctly an advance beyond any other known to us; whether on the right path or not, may be still uncertain; but a path selected by Schillers and Goethes, and vindicated by Schlegels and Tiecks, is surely worth serious examination. For the rest, need we add that it is study for self-instruction, nowise for purposes of imitation, that we recommend? Among the deadliest of poetical sins is imitation; for if every man must have his own way of thought, and his own way of expressing it, much more every nation. But of danger on that side, in the country of Shakspeare and Milton, there seems little to be feared.

We come now to the second grand objection against German literature, its *mysticism.* In treating of a subject itself so

vague and dim, it were well if we tried, in the first place, to settle with more accuracy, what each of the two contending parties really means to say or to contradict regarding it. Mysticism is a word in the mouths of all: yet of the hundred, perhaps not one has ever asked himself what this opprobrious epithet properly signified in his mind; or where the boundary between true Science and this Land of Chimeras was to be laid down. Examined strictly, *mystical*, in most cases, will turn out to be merely synonymous with *not understood.* Yet surely there may be haste and oversight here; for it is well known, that to the understanding of anything, *two* conditions are equally required; *intelligibility* in the thing itself being no whit more indispensable than *intelligence* in the examiner of it. 'I am 'bound to find you in reasons, Sir,' said Johnson, 'but not 'in brains;' a speech of the most shocking unpoliteness, yet truly enough expressing the state of the case.

It may throw some light on this question, if we remind our readers of the following fact. In the field of human investigation, there are objects of two sorts: First, the *visible*, including not only such as are material, and may be seen by the bodily eye; but all such, likewise, as may be represented in a *shape*, before the mind's eye, or in any way pictured there: And secondly, the *invisible*, or such as are not only unseen by human eyes, but as cannot be seen by any eye; not objects of sense at all; not capable, in short, of being *pictured* or imaged in the mind, or in any way represented by a *shape* either without the mind or within it. If any man shall here turn upon us, and assert that there are no such invisible objects; that whatever cannot be so pictured or imagined (meaning *imaged*) is nothing, and the science that relates to it nothing; we shall regret the circumstance. We shall request him, however, to consider seriously and deeply within himself what he means simply by these two words, GOD and his own SOUL; and whether he finds that visible shape and true existence are here also one and the same? If he still persist in denial, we have nothing for it, but to wish him good speed on his own separate path of inquiry; and he and we will agree to differ on this subject of mysticism, as on so many more important ones.

Now, whoever has a material and visible object to treat, be it of natural Science, Political Philosophy, or any such externally and sensibly existing department, may represent it to his own mind, and convey it to the minds of others, as it were, by a direct diagram, more complex indeed than a geometrical diagram, but still with the same sort of precision; and provided his diagram be *complete*, and the *same* both to himself and his reader, he

may reason of it, and discuss it, with the clearness, and, in some sort, the certainty of geometry itself. If he do not so reason of it, this must be for want of comprehension to image out the *whole* of it, or of distinctness to convey the *same* whole to his reader: the diagrams of the two are different; the conclusions of the one diverge from those of the other, and the obscurity here, provided the reader be a man of sound judgment and due attentiveness, results from incapacity on the part of the writer. In such a case, the latter is justly regarded as a man of imperfect intellect; he grasps more than he can carry; he confuses what, with ordinary faculty, might be rendered clear; he is not a mystic, but what is much worse, a dunce. Another matter it is, however, when the object to be treated of belongs to the invisible and immaterial class; cannot be pictured out even by the writer himself, much less, in ordinary symbols, set before the reader. In this case, it is evident, the difficulties of comprehension are increased an hundredfold. Here it will require long, patient, and skilful effort, both from the writer and the reader, before the two can so much as speak together; before the former can make known to the latter, not *how* the matter stands, but even *what* the matter *is*, which they have to investigate in concert. He must devise new means of explanation, describe conditions of mind in which this invisible idea arises, the false persuasions that eclipse it, the false shows that may be mistaken for it, the glimpses of it that appear elsewhere; in short, strive by a thousand well-devised methods, to guide his reader up to the perception of it; in all which, moreover, the reader must faithfully and toilsomely co-operate with him, if any fruit is to come of their mutual endeavour. Should the latter take up his ground too early, and affirm to himself that now he has seized what he still has not seized; that this and nothing else is the thing aimed at by his teacher, the consequences are plain enough: disunion, darkness, and contradiction between the two; the writer has written for another man, and this reader, after long provocation, quarrels with him finally, and quits him as a *mystic*.

Nevertheless, after all these limitations, we shall not hesitate to admit, that there is in the German mind a tendency to mysticism, properly so called; as perhaps there is, unless carefully guarded against, in all minds tempered like theirs. It is a fault; but one hardly separable from the excellencies we admire most in them. A simple, tender, and devout nature, seized by some touch of divine Truth, and of this perhaps under some rude enough symbol, is rapt with it into a whirlwind of unutterable thoughts; wild gleams of splendour dart to and fro in the eye

of the seer, but the vision will not abide with him, and yet he feels that its light is light from heaven, and precious to him beyond all price. A simple nature, a George Fox, or a Jacob Böhme, ignorant of all the ways of men, of the dialect in which they speak, or the forms by which they think, is labouring with a poetic, a religious idea, which, like all such ideas, must express itself by word and act, or consume the heart it dwells in. Yet how shall he speak, how shall he pour forth into other souls, that of which his own soul is full even to bursting? He cannot speak to us; he knows not *our* state, and cannot make known to us his own. His words are an inexplicable rhapsody, a speech in an unknown tongue. Whether there is meaning in it to the speaker himself, and how much or how true, we shall never ascertain; for it is not in the language of men, but of one man who had not learned the language of men; and, with himself, the key to its full interpretation was lost from amongst us. These are mystics; men who either know not clearly their own meaning, or at least cannot put it forth in formulas of thought, whereby others, with whatever difficulty, may apprehend it. Was their meaning clear to themselves, gleams of it will yet shine through, how ignorantly and unconsciously soever it may have been delivered; was it still wavering and obscure, no science could have delivered it wisely. In either case, much more in the last, they merit and obtain the name of mystics. To scoffers they are a ready and cheap prey; but sober persons understand that pure evil is as unknown in this lower Universe as pure good; and that even in mystics, of an honest and deep-feeling heart, there may be much to reverence, and of the rest more to pity than to mock.

But it is not to apologize for Böhme, or Novalis, or the school of Theosophus and Flood, that we have here undertaken. Neither is it on such persons that the charge of mysticism brought against the Germans mainly rests. Böhme is little known among us; Novalis, much as he deserves knowing, not at all; nor is it understood, that, in their own country, these men rank higher than they do, or might do, with ourselves. The chief mystics in Germany, it would appear, are the Transcendental Philosophers, Kant, Fichte, and Schelling! With these is the chosen seat of mysticism, these are its 'tenebrific constellation,' from which it 'doth ray out darkness' over the earth. Among a certain class of thinkers, does a frantic exaggeration in sentiment, a crude fever-dream in opinion, anywhere break forth, it is directly labelled as Kantism; and the moon-struck speculator is, for the time, silenced and put to shame by this epithet. For often in such circles, Kant's Philosophy is not only

an absurdity, but a wickedness and a horror; the pious and peaceful sage of Königsberg passes for a sort of Necromancer and Blackartist in Metaphysics; his doctrine is a region of boundless baleful gloom, too cunningly broken here and there by splendours of unholy fire; spectres and tempting demons people it; and hovering over fathomless abysses, hang gay and gorgeous air-castles, into which the hapless traveller is seduced to enter, and so sinks to rise no more.

If anything in the history of Philosophy could surprise us, it might well be this. Perhaps among all the metaphysical writers of the eighteenth century, including Hume and Hartley themselves, there is not one that so ill meets the conditions of a mystic as this same Immanuel Kant. A quiet, vigilant, clear-sighted man, who had become distinguished to the world in mathematics before he attempted philosophy; who, in his writings generally, on this and other subjects, is perhaps characterised by no quality so much as precisely by the distinctness of his conceptions, and the sequence and iron strictness with which he reasons. To our own minds, in the little that we know of him, he has more than once recalled Father Boscovich in Natural Philosophy; so piercing, yet so sure; so concise, so still, so simple; with such clearness and composure does he mould the complicacy of his subject; and so firm, sharp, and definite are the results he evolves from it.* Right or wrong as his hypothesis may be, no one that knows him will suspect that he himself had not seen it, and seen over it; had not meditated it with calmness and deep thought, and studied throughout to expound it with scientific rigour. Neither, as we often hear, is there any superhuman faculty required to follow him. We venture to assure such of our readers as are in any measure used to metaphysical study, that the *Kritik der reinen Vernunft* is by no means the hardest task they have tried. It is true, there is an unknown and forbidding terminology to be mastered; but is not this the case also with Chemistry, and Astronomy, and all other sciences that deserve the name of science? It is true, a careless or unprepared reader will find Kant's writing a riddle; but will a reader of this sort make much of Newton's *Principia*, or D'Alembert's *Calculus of Variations?* He will make nothing of them; perhaps less than nothing; for if he

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* We have heard, that the Latin Translation of his works is unintelligible, the Translator himself not having understood it; also that Villiers is no safe guide in the study of him. Neither Villiers, nor those Latin works are known to us.

trust to his own judgment, he will pronounce them madness. Yet, if the Philosophy of Mind is any philosophy at all, Physics and Mathematics must be plain subjects compared with it. But these latter are happy, not only in the fixedness and simplicity of their methods, but also in the universal acknowledgment of their claim to that prior and continual intensity of application, without which all progress in any science is impossible; though more than one may be attempted without it; and blamed, because without it they will yield no result.

The truth is, German Philosophy differs not more widely from ours in the substance of its doctrines, than in its manner of communicating them. The class of disquisitions, named *Camin-Philosophie* (Parlour-fire Philosophy) in Germany, is there held in little estimation. No right treatise on anything, it is believed, least of all on the nature of the human mind, can be profitably read, unless the reader himself co-operates: the blessing of half-sleep in such cases is denied him; he must be alert, and strain every faculty, or it profits nothing. Philosophy, with these men, pretends to be a Science, nay, the living principle and soul of all Sciences, and must be treated and studied scientifically, or not studied and treated at all. Its doctrines should be present with every cultivated writer; its spirit should pervade every piece of composition, how slight or popular soever: but to treat itself popularly would be a degradation and an impossibility. Philosophy dwells aloft in the Temple of Science, the divinity of its inmost shrine: her dictates descend among men, but she herself descends not; whoso would behold her, must climb with long and laborious effort; nay, still linger in the forecourt, till manifold trial have proved him worthy of admission into the interior solemnities.

It is the false notion prevalent respecting the objects aimed at, and the purposed manner of attaining them, in German Philosophy, that causes, in great part, this disappointment of our attempts to study it, and the evil report which the disappointed naturally enough bring back with them. Let the reader believe us, the Critical Philosophers, whatever they may be, are no mystics, and have no fellowship with mystics. What a mystic is, we have said above. But Kant, Fichte, and Schelling, are men of cool judgment, and determinate energetic character; men of science and profound and universal investigation; nowhere does the world, in all its bearings, spiritual or material, theoretic or practical, lie pictured in clearer or truer colours than in such heads as these. We have heard Kant estimated as a spiritual brother of Böhme; as justly might we take Sir Isaac

Newton for a spiritual brother of Count Swedenborg, and Laplace's *Mechanism of the Heavens* for a peristyle to the *Vision of the New Jerusalem.* That this is no extravagant comparison, we appeal to any man acquainted with any single volume of Kant's writings. Neither, though Schelling's system differs still more widely from ours, can we reckon Schelling a mystic. He is a man evidently of deep insight into individual things; speaks wisely, and reasons with the nicest accuracy, on all matters where we understand his data. Fairer might it be in us to say that we had not yet appreciated his truth, and *therefore* could not appreciate his error. But above all, the mysticism of Fichte might astonish us. The cold, colossal, adamantine spirit, standing erect and clear, like a Cato Major among degenerate men; fit to have been the teacher of the Stoa, and to have discoursed of Beauty and Virtue in the groves of Academe! Our reader has seen some words of Fichte's: are these like words of a mystic? We state Fichte's character, as it is known and admitted by men of all parties among the Germans, when we say that so robust an intellect; a soul so calm, so lofty, massive, and immovable, has not mingled in philosophical discussion since the time of Luther. We figure his motionless look, had he heard this charge of mysticism! For the man rises before us, amid contradiction and debate, like a granite mountain amid clouds and winds. Ridicule, of the best that could be commanded, has been already tried against him; but it could not avail. What was the wit of a thousand wits to him? The cry of a thousand choughs assaulting that old cliff of granite: seen from the summit, these as they winged the midway air showed scarce so gross as beetles, and their cry was seldom even audible. Fichte's opinions may be true or false; but his character, as a thinker, can be slightly valued only by such as know it ill; and as a man, approved by action and suffering, in his life and in his death, he ranks with a class of men who were common only in better ages than ours.

The Critical Philosophy has been regarded by persons of approved judgment, and nowise directly implicated in the furthering of it, as distinctly the greatest intellectual achievement of the century in which it came to light. August Wilhelm Schlegel has stated in plain terms his belief, that, in respect of its probable influence on the moral culture of Europe, it stands on a line with the Reformation. We mention Schlegel as a man whose opinion has a known value among ourselves. But the worth of Kant's Philosophy is not to be gathered from votes alone. The noble system of morality, the purer theology, the

lofty views of man's nature derived from it; nay, perhaps, the very discussion of such matters, to which it gave so strong an impetus, have told with remarkable and beneficial influence on the whole spiritual character of Germany. No writer of any importance in that country, be he acquainted or not with the Critical Philosophy, but breathes a spirit of devoutness and elevation more or less directly drawn from it. Such men as Goethe and Schiller cannot exist without effect in any literature, or in any century: but if one circumstance more than another has contributed to forward their endeavours, and introduce that higher tone into the literature of Germany, it has been this philosophical system; to which, in wisely believing its results, or even in wisely denying them, all that was lofty and pure in the genius of poetry, or the reason of man, so readily allied itself.

That such a system must in the end become known among ourselves, as it is already becoming known in France and Italy, and over all Europe, no one acquainted in any measure with the character of this matter, and the character of England, will hesitate to predict. Doubtless, it will be studied here, and by heads adequate to do it justice; it will be investigated duly and thoroughly; and settled in our minds on the footing which belongs to it, and where thenceforth it must continue. Respecting the degrees of truth and error which will then be found to exist in Kant's system, or in the modifications it has since received, and is still receiving, we desire to be understood as making no estimate, and little qualified to make any. We would have it studied and known, on general grounds; because, even the errors of such men are instructive; and, because, without a large admixture of truth, no error *can* exist under such combinations, and become diffused so widely. To judge of it we pretend not: we are still inquirers in the mere outskirts of the matter; and it is but inquiry that we wish to see promoted.

Meanwhile, as an advance or first step towards this, we may state something of what has most struck ourselves as characterising Kant's system; as distinguishing it from every other known to us; and chiefly from the Metaphysical Philosophy which is taught in Britain, or rather which *was* taught; for, on looking round, we see not that there is any such Philosophy in existence at the present day.* The Kantist, in direct contradiction to Locke

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* The name of Dugald Stewart is a name venerable to all Europe, and to none more dear and venerable than to ourselves. Nevertheless his writings are not a Philosophy, but a making ready for

and all his followers, both of the French and English, or Scotch school, commences from within, and proceeds outwards; instead of commencing from without, and with various precautions and hesitations, endeavouring to proceed inwards. The ultimate aim of all Philosophy must be to interpret appearances—from the given symbol to ascertain the thing. Now the first step towards this, the aim of what may be called Primary or Critical Philosophy, must be to find some indubitable principle; to fix ourselves on some unchangeable basis; to discover what the Germans call the *Urwahr*, the Primitive Truth, the necessarily, absolutely and eternally *True*. This necessarily True, this absolute basis of Truth, Locke silently, and Reid and his followers with more tumult, find in a certain modified Experience, and evidence of Sense, in the universal and natural persuasion of all men. Not so the Germans: they deny that there is here any absolute Truth, or that any Philosophy whatever can be built on such a basis; nay, they go the length of asserting, that such an appeal even to the universal persuasions of mankind, gather them with what precautions you may, amounts to a total abdication of Philosophy, strictly so called, and renders not only its farther progress, but its very existence impossible. What, they would say, have the

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one. He does not enter on the field to till it, he only encompasses it with fences, invites cultivators, and drives away intruders; often (fallen on evil days) he is reduced to long arguments with the passers by, to prove that it *is* a field, that this so highly prized domain of his is, in truth, soil and substance, not clouds and shadow. We regard his discussions on the nature of philosophic Language, and his unwearied efforts to set forth and guard against its fallacies, as worthy of all acknowledgment; as indeed forming the greatest, perhaps the only true improvement, which Philosophy has received among us in our age. It is only to a superficial observer that the import of these discussions can seem trivial: rightly understood, they give sufficient and final answer to Hartley's and Darwin's, and all other possible forms of Materialism, the grand Idolatry, as we may rightly call it, by which, in all times, the true Worship, that of the Invisible, has been polluted and withstood. Mr Stewart has written warmly against Kant; but it would surprise him to find how much of a Kantist he himself essentially is. Has not the whole scope of his labours been to reconcile what a Kantist would call his Understanding with his Reason; a noble, but still too fruitless effort to overarch the chasm which, for all minds but his own, separates his Science from his Religion? We regard the assiduous study of his Works, as the best preparation for studying those of Kant.

persuasions, or instinctive beliefs, or whatever they are called, of men to do in this matter? Is it not the object of Philosophy to enlighten, and rectify, and many times directly contradict these very beliefs? Take, for instance, the voice of all generations of men on the subject of Astronomy. Will there, out of any age or climate, be one dissentient against the *fact* of the Sun's going round the Earth? Can any evidence be clearer; is there any persuasion more universal, any belief more instinctive? And yet the Sun moves no hairsbreadth; but stands in the centre of his Planets, let us vote as we please. So is it likewise with our evidence for an external independent existence of Matter, and, in general, with our whole argument against Hume; whose reasonings, from the premises admitted both by him and us, the Germans affirm to be rigorously consistent and legitimate, and on these premises altogether uncontroverted and incontrovertible. British Philosophy, since the time of Hume, appears to them nothing more than a 'laborious and unsuccess-'ful striving to build dike after dike in front of our Churches 'and Judgment-halls, and so turn back from them the deluge of 'Scepticism, with which that extraordinary writer overflow-'ed us, and still threatens to destroy whatever we value most.' This is Schlegel's meaning: his words are not before us.

The Germans take up the matter differently, and would assail Hume, not in his outworks, but in the centre of his citadel. They deny his first principle, that Sense is the only inlet of Knowledge, that Experience is the primary ground of Belief. Their Primitive Truth, however, they seek not, historically and by experiment, in the universal persuasions of men, but by intuition, in the deepest and purest nature of Man. Instead of attempting, which they consider vain, to prove the existence of God, Virtue, an immaterial Soul, by inferences drawn, as the conclusion of all Philosophy, from the world of sense, they find these things written as the beginning of all Philosophy, in obscured but in ineffaceable characters within our inmost being; and themselves first affording any certainty and clear meaning to that very world of sense, by which we endeavour to demonstrate them. God *is*, nay alone *is*, for with like emphasis we cannot say that anything else is. This is the Absolute, the Primitively True, which the philosopher seeks. Endeavouring, by logical argument, to prove the existence of God, a Kantist might say, would be like taking out a candle to look for the sun; nay, gaze steadily into your candle-light, and the sun himself may be invisible. To open the inward eye to the sight of this Primitively True; or rather, we might call it, to clear off the

obscurations of sense, which eclipse this Truth within us, so that we may see it, and believe it not only to be true, but the foundation and essence of all other truth, may, in such language as we are here using, be said to be the problem of Critical Philosophy.

In this point of view, Kant's system may be thought to have a remote affinity to those of Malebranche and Descartes. But if they in some measure agree as to their aim, there is the widest difference as to the means. We state what to ourselves has long appeared the grand characteristic of Kant's Philosophy, when we mention his distinction, seldom perhaps expressed so broadly, but uniformly implied, between Understanding and Reason (*Verstand* and *Vernunft*). To most of our readers this may seem a distinction without a difference: nevertheless, to the Kantists it is by no means such. They believe that both Understanding and Reason are organs, or rather we should say modes of operation, by which the mind discovers truth; but they think that their manner of proceeding is essentially different: that their provinces are separable and distinguishable, nay, that it is of the last importance to separate and distinguish them. Reason, the Kantists say, is of a higher nature than Understanding; it works by subtler methods, on higher objects, and requires a far finer culture for its developement, indeed in many men it is never developed at all; but its results are no less certain, nay rather they are much more so; for Reason discerns Truth itself, the absolutely and primitively *True;* while Understanding discerns only *relations*, and cannot decide without *if*. The proper province of Understanding is all strictly speaking *real*, practical, and material knowledge, Mathematics, Physics, Political Economy, the adaptation of means to ends in the whole business of life. In this province it is the strength and universal implement of the mind; an indispensable servant, without which, indeed, existence itself would be impossible. Let it not step beyond this province however, not usurp the province of Reason, which it is appointed to obey, and cannot rule over, without ruin to the whole spiritual man. Should Understanding attempt to prove the existence of God, it ends, if thoroughgoing and consistent with itself, in Atheism, or a faint possible Theism, which scarcely differs from this: should it speculate of Virtue, it ends in *Utility*, making Prudence and a sufficiently cunning love of Self the highest good. Consult Understanding about the Beauty of Poetry, and it asks, where is this Beauty? or discovers it at length in rhythms and fitnesses, and male and female rhymes. Witness also its everlasting paradoxes on the

Necessity and Freedom of the Will; its ominous silence on the end and meaning of man; and the enigma which, under such inspection, the whole purport of existence becomes.

Nevertheless, say the Kantists, there is a truth in these things. Virtue is Virtue and not Prudence; not less surely than the angle in a semicircle is a right angle, and no trapezium: Shakspeare is a Poet, and Boileau is none, think of it as you may: Neither is it more certain that I myself exist, than that God exists, infinite, eternal, invisible, the same yesterday, to-day, and for ever. To discern these truths is the province of Reason, which therefore is to be cultivated as the highest faculty in man. Not by logic and argument does it work; yet surely and clearly may it be taught to work: and its domain lies in that higher region whither logic and argument cannot reach; in that holier region, where Poetry, and Virtue, and Divinity abide, in whose presence Understanding wavers and recoils, dazzled into utter darkness by that 'sea of light,' at once the fountain and the termination of all true knowledge.

Will the Kantists forgive us for the loose and popular manner in which we must here speak of these things, to bring them in any measure before the eyes of our readers?—It may illustrate this distinction still farther, if we say that, in the opinion of a Kantist, the French are of all European nations the most gifted with Understanding, and the most destitute of Reason;* that David Hume had no forecast of this latter, and that Shakspeare and Luther dwelt perennially in its purest sphere.

Of the vast, nay, in these days boundless, importance of this distinction, could it be scientifically established, we need remind no thinking man. For the rest, far be it from the reader to suppose that this same Reason is but a new appearance, under another name, of our own old 'Wholesome Prejudice,' so well known to most of us! Prejudice, wholesome or unwholesome, is a personage for whom the German Philosophers disclaim all shadow of respect; nor do the vehement among them hide their deep disdain for all and sundry who fight under her flag. Truth is to be loved purely and solely because it is true. With moral, political, religious considerations, high and dear as they may otherwise be, the Philosopher as such has no concern. To look

* Schelling has said as much or more (*Methode des Academischen Studium*, pp. 105-111), in terms which we could wish we had space to transcribe.

at them would but perplex him, and distract his vision from the task in his hands. Calmly he constructs his theorem, as the Geometer does his, without hope or fear, save that he may or may not find the solution; and stands in the middle, by the one, it may be, accused as an Infidel, by the other as an Enthusiast and a Mystic, till the tumult ceases, and what was true, is and continues true to the end of all time.

Such are some of the high and momentous questions treated of, by calm, earnest, and deeply meditative men, in this system of Philosophy, which to the wiser minds among us is still unknown, and by the unwiser is spoken of and regarded as their nature requires. The profoundness, subtlety, extent of investigation, which the answer of these questions presupposes, need not be farther pointed out. With the truth or falsehood of the system we have here, as already stated, no concern: our aim has been, so far as might be done, to show it as it appeared to us; and to ask such of our readers as pursue these studies, whether this also is not worthy of some study? The reply we must now leave to themselves.

As an appendage to the charge of Mysticism brought against the Germans, there is often added the seemingly incongruous one of Irreligion. On this point also we had much to say; but must for the present decline it. Meanwhile, let the reader be assured, that to the charge of Irreligion, as to so many others, the Germans will plead not guilty. On the contrary, they will not scruple to assert that their literature is, in a positive sense, religious; nay, perhaps to maintain, that if ever neighbouring nations are to recover that pure and high spirit of devotion, the loss of which, however we may disguise it or pretend to overlook it, can be hidden from no observant mind, it must be by travelling, if not on the same path, at least in the same direction, in which the Germans have already begun to travel. We shall add, that the Religion of Germany is a subject not for slight but for deep study, and if we mistake not, may in some degree reward the deepest.

Here, however, we must close our examination or defence. We have spoken freely, because we felt distinctly, and thought the matter worthy of being stated, and more fully inquired into. Farther than this, we have no quarrel for the Germans: we would have justice done to them, as to all men and all things; but for their literature or character, we profess no sectarian or exclusive preference. We think their recent Poetry, indeed, superior to the recent poetry of any other nation; but taken as a

whole, inferior to that of several; inferior not to our own only, but to that of Italy, nay, perhaps to that of Spain. Their Philosophy, too, must still be regarded as uncertain; at best only the beginning of better things. But surely even this is not to be neglected. A little light is precious in great darkness: nor amid the myriads of Poetasters and *Philosophes*, are Poets and Philosophers so numerous that we should reject such, when they speak to us in the hard, but manly, deep, and expressive tones of that old Saxon speech, which is also our mother-tongue.

We confess, the present aspect of spiritual Europe might fill a melancholic observer with doubt and foreboding. It is mournful to see so many noble, tender, and high-aspiring minds deserted of that religious light which once guided all such; standing sorrowful on the scene of past convulsions and controversies, as on a scene blackened and burnt up with fire; mourning in the darkness, because there is desolation, and no home for the soul; or what is worse, pitching tents among the ashes, and kindling weak earthly lamps which we are to take for stars. This darkness is but transitory obscuration; these ashes are the soil of future herbage and richer harvests. Religion, Poetry is not dead; it will never die. Its dwelling and birthplace is in the soul of man, and it is eternal as the being of man. In any point of Space, in any section of Time, let there be a living Man; and there is an Infinitude above him and beneath him, and an Eternity encompasses him on this hand and on that; and tones of Sphere-music, and tidings from loftier Worlds, will flit round him, if he can but listen, and visit him with holy influences, even in the thickest press of trivialities, or the din of busiest life. Happy the man, happy the nation that can hear these tidings; that has them written in fit characters, legible to every eye, and the solemn import of them present at all moments to every heart! That there is, in these days, no nation so happy, is too clear; but that all nations, and ourselves in the van, are, with more or less discernment of its nature, struggling towards this happiness, is the hope and the glory of our time. To us, as to others, success, at a distant or a nearer day, cannot be uncertain. Meanwhile, the first condition of success is, that in striving honestly ourselves, we honestly acknowledge the striving of our neighbour; that with a Will unwearied in seeking Truth, we have a Sense open for it, wheresoever and howsoever it may arise.

ART. III.—*Six Discourses delivered before the Royal Society, at their Anniversary Meetings, on the Award of the Royal and Copley Medals, preceded by an Address to the Society on the Progress and Prospects of Science.* By Sir HUMPHRY DAVY, President of the Royal Society. 4to. pp. 148. London. Murray. 1827.

THE unusual length of time which has lately elapsed since this highly distinguished person has contributed to the stores of Physical Science, is, we fear, but too well accounted for by the infirm state of his bodily health, requiring him to lead the life of a traveller and an invalid. Nor will the scientific world be willing to receive the contents, elegant though they be, of this volume, as a substitute for the more weighty matters of Philosophy. It exhibits the circumstances attending upon the representation of the Presidency—the trappings of his office—not the substantial labour of the Academician; we have this eminent chemist only doing the honours of the chair, which any man could do well enough, and many little men could do far better than he; not the philosopher on his proper ground—doing the work of his laboratory, wielding the great agents of heat and electricity, and pursuing those astonishing discoveries, with which their agency has enabled him beyond any other living man to enrich the domains of science.

This volume makes us acquainted with a fact, certainly hitherto little known, that of late years Sir Joseph Banks had revived a practice formerly prevalent,—at least it was used by Sir John Pringle, though subsequently dropt,—of pronouncing a Discourse as often as he gave away the annual medal upon Sir Godfrey Copley's donation. Sir Humphry bestows several tributes of applause upon his eminent predecessor's success in this department of his official duties; and commemorates 'his peculiar sagacity and happy talent of illustration,' in discoursing upon scientific matters. Sagacity, we should have expected from that high quarter, certainly; but that any very felicitous illustration should proceed from thence, was less to be dreamt of. Sir Joseph Banks never, we believe, appeared before the world as an author; unless he may have described some plant or some insect in a letter to a friend, afterwards made public, and now forgotten—if he ever even did so much. To begin at this time of day praising his powers of eloquence and description is somewhat out of date; he was a man of many and considerable merits; he was a liberal patron of science; he devoted a large fortune, and all his personal attention, as well as influence,

to the furtherance of what he believed to be the interests of what he thought the most important branches of Natural Knowledge, —Natural History, as cultivated by orderly and obedient persons being duly elected Fellows of the Royal Society—that is, chosen through his protection; his fine library and other collections were first open to men of letters during his life, and afterwards became public property by his bequest. With these grounds of favour from men of science, were joined claims of a higher order to celebrity; he had abandoned ambition, and pleasure, and ease, at an age, and in a station, which make those seductions the most irresistible to ordinary minds; and had exposed himself to all the hardships and all the perils of a long voyage of discovery; one of the greatest in its results that have illustrated the nautical history of his country. Such a man can well afford to have the plain truth spoken of him, as himself was wont to speak it bluntly of others; and to forego the praise of writing Academic Panegyricks; which, if they were delivered by him with success, must have been composed by others. He was, in fact, as little capable of such essays as any captain of a vessel that ever kept a log; and his habits of thinking, and his prejudices,—his bluntness, and his impatience of opposition; his plain homely sense, and his contempt for speculation—all his qualities, good and bad, were strongly redolent of the cabin and the quarter-deck—the confinement of the one, and the dominion of the other. He was a most distinguished and praiseworthy individual; a warm friend and a bitter enemy; clear-sighted and narrow-minded; and though equal to much better things, yet as fit to deliver fine discourses, upon state occasions, as an English Head of a House, or the Secretary of a French Academy, to command a ship in a battle, or a storm. But the misfortune of such discourses as we are sure he held cheap, and as his successor (a far more eminent man) has now published, is, that they sacrifice truth to courtesy, and degenerate into empty collections of fine, flowery, and smoothly rounded periods. Sir Humphry Davy has performed his task as well as it could be done, but it is the nature of such work that it cannot be done very well; he has abstained, as far as was possible, from the vices incident to this kind of writing; but it is a kind of writing with which the greatest vices of composition are inseparably connected.

To praise often, whether there is ground for it or not; but, at any rate, to overpraise, and to suppress on all occasions the opposite side of the account, is the besetting sin of such discourses —whether pronounced upon the memory of the dead or the merits of the living. Our neighbours, the French, in their Aca-

demies, have long been renowned for such displays, and though the severity of the Republican times interrupted them, the Restoration seems to have brought them back, and made them flourish with the luxuriance to be expected in so congenial a soil. So well, indeed, does this sort of oratory thrive in France, that we are apt to call it by a French name, and to speak of *Eloges* as if the thing were of French origin; whereas we ought rather to call them *Panegyricks*, in remembrance of their Attic origin; for the Greeks, it must be confessed, with all their chasteness of taste, and all the perfection of their inimitable models of true eloquence, indulged in a species of composition the most foreign to all ideas of a practical kind, the most widely removed, indeed, from nature as well as from business, and which, being termed by them the *Epideictic*, may, without any exaggeration, be called by us the *Showy*, because it was wholly for the display of the speaker's art, without any regard to the subject—it was eloquence, and what on a fit occasion might have been eloquence, thrown away upon nothing, and for no purpose; it was intended to convince no one of anything; it was calculated to please no one of the least taste; it was a poor attempt of Rhetoric to imitate the inferior arts of Poetry and Music; she stooped from her lofty station among the high and difficult places of human affairs, to the stage of the theatre, and she only exposed herself to scorn; for the mimes surpassed her.

We confess ourselves jealous of all attempts to naturalize this foreign growth in this country. The taste, and genius, and sense of our people, is extremely alien from the cultivation of it. Whensoever it is tried, its failure is marked. Funeral sermons alone have been borne amongst us; and even these have had far less success here than everywhere else. A vicious practice had of late years crept into the House of Commons, of all places the least calculated for such gratuitous outrages upon sense, taste, and plain business-like habits. It never indeed went far; and the greatest English statesmen, Chatham, Fox, Burke, Pitt,* having departed without such honours, it is to be hoped that the custom may not be persevered in. But we have now to do with a place, if possible, less appropriate to such displays—the '*Royal Society for the Advancement of Natural Knowledge.*' Can anything be worse adapted to the cultivation of the severe

* The *debate* on Mr Pitt is no proof that the practice was applied in his case; it was a *debate* on a *question*, and followed by a *division*. To this there can be no objection; both sides were heard, and the discussion of his merits was necessary, because the proposal made was to pay his debts and raise a monument to his memory.

sciences, than an admixture of the epideictic kind of rhetoric, or blending of Isocrates with Archimedes? Can the gravity of men be more inhumanly taxed than in listening to a flowery panegyrical discourse, delivered upon the merits of a method for integrating a cramp fluxurial formula, and addressed, perhaps, to the man of number and quantity, who, having solved the problem in a few pages, consisting of hardly any words, but a good collection of signs and letters, is more puzzled to follow the *demonstration** upon his method, than he was to invent and demonstrate the method itself.

It must be further remarked, that the panegyrics upon the dead, pronounced either in the French Academy or in the Pulpit, the two great scenes of this kind of oratory in modern times, are far less objectionable in some respects than discourses on living merit. Sermons are addressed to a very different audience from men of science. The subject, too, in both cases, is removed from the contentions of the world; in the former case, it may be allowed to soothe the grief of friends, or associates, or the public, for his loss. It may, for the same reason, be permitted to draw up only one side of the account, and to suppress the mention of what was unfavourable. No deception could thus be practised; for the whole was deemed, and was known to be, a tribute to friendship, or a way of indulging feelings of sorrow. Then the party praised was gone from among us, and could not turn the praise given, and the suppression suffered, to an improper account. But we lament to say, that in importing the French fashion, we have improved upon it. Our academy lauds living and dead; she eulogizes men in the prime of life; she addresses them while engaged in controversy upon the subject of dispute; she notices the dead, too, in a way to introduce unfair comparisons and undue preferences; her praising-matches, when the fit is on her, do not resolve themselves into a mere tedious account of some one's good qualities, with a fair enumeration of the acts and works he was known by; when she takes to it, there are half a dozen of the lately deceased passed in review, (some of them now first heard of,) and according to their nation, or their connexions, or some other accidental bias, their allowances of praise are doled out with no very nice attention to the turning of the scales in which those merits are weighed.

We must again observe, that in these remarks, and in the instances we are about to give for the purpose of illustrating them, our objections are confined entirely to the practice of Panegy-

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* The Romans rendered *epideictick*, by the word *demonstrative*.

rical Discourses, and apply not at all, or in a very trifling degree, to the workmanship of the justly celebrated person who has been compelled to adopt it since he succeeded to the chair. We do not see how any one could have performed with more skill a task which no degree of skill in the execution can reconcile to sound taste—a task which never should have been imposed upon this distinguished individual.

The first Discourse is in its plan nearly free from the objections which we have been stating. It is the one delivered in 1820, upon taking the chair; and is upon the present state of the society, and on the progress and prospects of science. We say nearly free, because, though the latter branch of the subject is most legitimate, and indeed highly important, and gives a fine scope for remarks tending to 'keep alive' (we use the admirable expressions of the prefatory advertisement) 'the spirit of philoso-'phical inquiry, and the love of scientific glory;' yet the former topic could not be handled by the individual just elevated to the head of the institution in the presence of its members, who had made him their chief, without either suppressing the truth, or doing some violence to feelings of propriety and decorum. The President appears to have felt the embarrassment of his situation; and he seeks relief from the awkwardness of stating the Society's present condition, in the pleasing hope of its improvement. It seems that some alarm is felt in Somerset House lest the subdivision of scientific labour should withdraw the most eminent contributors to the Philosophical Transactions, and make them bestow their papers upon the minor associations now formed both in London and in the provinces, for the prosecution of particular branches of discovery—as the Geological, the Astronomical, the Zoological, the Linnean, the Medical, the Meteorological, and so forth. The President speaks of these bodies (without naming them) in a tone of great kindness and respect; and throws out a very plain hint, which we take for granted is the very last that ever will be taken by any of them, —a hint, indeed, more remarkable for its breadth than its colouring, and, we may add, its drapery,—for anything less decently veiled, we have seldom seen; it is no less than that as often as any peculiarly important discovery in science, or very useful application of philosophy to the arts, occurs to any of their members, they would have the goodness to send the account of the same to the Royal Society, in order to its being inserted in the Philosophical Transactions,—they being at full liberty, of course, to enrich their own Transactions with all matters of little or no interest. The following is the passage in which the President handles this matter.—

'I trust that with these new Societies we shall always preserve the same amicable relations, and that we shall mutually assist each other; and that they, recollecting our grand object, which is to establish principles on undoubted reasoning and experiments, and to make useful applications in science, will, should any discoveries be made by their members respecting general laws, or important facts observed, which seem to lead to purposes of direct utility,* do us the honour to communicate them to us,—they will have no dishonourable place in being published in those records, which remain monuments of all the country has possessed of profound in experimental research, or ingenious in discovery, or sublime in speculative science, from the time of Hooke† and Newton, to that of Maskelyne and Cavendish.

'I am sure there is no desire in this body to exert anything like patriarchal authority in relation to those institutions, or (and) indeed if there were such a desire, it could not be gratified. But I trust there may exist in the new Societies that feeling of respect and affection for the Royal Society which is due to the elder brother, to the first-born of the same family,—and that we shall co-operate in perfect harmony, for one great object, which, from its nature, ought to be a bond of union and of peace, not merely among the philosophers of the same country, but even amongst those of different nations.' Pp. 5, 6.

It would have been foreign, not to the subject, but to the purpose of this discourse, and certainly little befitting the occasion of its delivery, to recount the causes which have of late years lowered the illustrious body over which Newton once presided; and have, far more than any whimsical notions of subdividing the work of research, or even any vain desires of personal distinction, caused new associations of eminent men to spring up and to flourish, at the expense of the ancient stock. A severe blow was given to the institution, which began in the cultivation of the Mathematics, by the controversy between the Botanists and Mathematicians, and the defeat of the latter. The debate is yet remembered, whose unwonted jar broke the silence that had reigned in Somerset House for the first time since the workmen had quitted its vaulted halls—the debate in which Bishop Horsley, leading the Mathematical opposition, complained of 'Newton's chair being filled by a Botanist, surrounded 'by his groups of feeble amateurs;' and in which men were brought down (as the Parliamentary phrase is) to answer him,

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* We should take leave to ask, what kind of discoveries those are which remain after the ones here enumerated?

† When Hooke is compared with Newton, we have no right to start at Maskelyne and Cavendish being also brought together. Here, as in other passages, we find the quarrels of Hooke with the chair have been forgiven.

—men unknown to science—from the recesses, not of the study or laboratory, but of *Chancery*—not from the heights of the observatory, but from those of the *Master's Office*—(*diræ facies, inimicaque Trojæ Numina*)—the Accountant-General leading the fight for the Naturalists, against the Natural Philosophers. The Court of St James's is thought not to have here preserved a strict neutrality, any more than the Court of Chancery: his late Majesty had, in early life, been unfortunate in his scientific speculations, for he espoused the side of the blunt conductors, and was defeated by the party of Franklin in Somerset House, a little before his greater defeat by the same party in America; he took much interest in Gardening and Farming, and their kindred Botany, and he found congenial principles as well as taste in Sir Joseph Banks. The aristocracy declared for him; Botany being more fashionable than Mathematics; and even the Church showed no proneness to support their brother, when he arrayed himself against the powers that be. Thus the fate of Mathematics was sealed; those who took delight in such pursuits seceded, and for years the Transactions contained none of their works. The same arbitrary spirit which had expelled the severer sciences prevailed more or less during Sir Joseph's long reign, though it was greatly mitigated during the latter half of it. But a worse contamination crept in towards the end of it, which still seems to pervade the body in full force, and must prove fatal if not speedily checked. The influence of mere rank, whether of the aristocracy or of place, has become unlimited in the Society's affairs. Persons are chosen on the Council whose literary attainments consist of reading and writing, and whose science may carry them as far as ciphering, merely because they are lords, or are in some station under government. A spirit of jobbing, and of dependence upon official patronage, seems to be rather cultivated than repressed. The influence of the Society has been employed in obtaining promotion to scientific offices for the private favourite, or the supple courtier, rather than the profound student of nature, friendless and ignorant of the ways of men, buried in his closet and 'outwatching the Bear.' Men of undoubted science have been refused admittance into the Society on various pretences—but in reality because they were unbending. And places in the Society have sometimes been given to the favourite and the flatterer, because he was *not* an eminent man. Far from marvelling at other bodies being formed for real business, and at other works being enriched at the expense of the *Philosophical Transactions*, we regard the superiority which the Society still enjoys, as an extraordinary proof of the indestructible nature of an ancient and once illustrious

Institution, and the interest which yet attaches to its *Transactions*, as a striking demonstration of the preference acquired by a long established work, and retained after much of its value is gone.

All these Discourses, after the first, are delivered on the presentation of the medals; but they are almost all prefaced with a notice of the Society's Obituary for the past year; and a short praise of each person who is named. If he possessed great qualities, they are commemorated; if he had rendered useful services, they are enumerated; but though his claims to attention may have been exceedingly humble, still he is kindly mentioned; *nemo ex hoc numero mihi non donatus abibit*, is the rule at Somerset House on St Andrew's day. But it is the inevitable consequence of such lauding-bouts, that the little are exalted, and the great brought down to the common level; nay, sometimes it will happen that want of delicacy in handling the subject, without any partialities and prejudices, will misplace the persons altogether. We certainly, for instance, should have deemed it sufficiently high commendation of Mr Vince to speak of him as a profound mathematician: but, in the same page, to call Haüy only 'a good natural philosopher,' is not in any kind of keeping with the former stroke. But in the same discourse we find an equal length of notice allotted to Sir H. Englefield and the celebrated Berthollet; nor would any one ignorant of the subject suppose the one to be a greater man than the other, if one line did not hint that he had discovered the composition of ammonia: he is called the patriarch of modern chemistry,—as the imbecile Lalande might be called the patriarch of modern astronomy—is allowed to have contributed to 'the establishment of that view of the combination of oxygen, which has been called the Anti-Phlogistic system'—to have been 'an excellent logician and good experimenter,' and candid in abandoning erroneous opinions. We had always understood that his reputation stood highest among the chemical philosophers of France, with the exception of Lavoisier; and that, as far as originality goes, he had a more unquestioned claim to the capital discovery of the composition of ammonia, than any which Lavoisier himself could make good. In another discourse, where ample, but not unmerited praise is bestowed upon Dr Jenner, and a warm and eloquent panegyric is pronounced upon Dr Baillie, which, however, by a singular infelicity, does not seize the point of view from whence he might be seen as a man of the highest genius, namely, his extraordinary sagacity in discovering the hidden and rare maladies of his patients—the singular fineness of that learned hand which seemed to feel

through the outer coverings of the body, and inform him what was passing within. In the same discourse are praised two men, whose fame being evanescent, their merits would have required much of the *tactus doctus* to 'draw them from their dark abode' —a Dr Cartwright, who improved the pistons of steam engines, and a Mr Jordan, who, we believe, was agent of Barbadoes, and an *amateur* in optical matters. The habit of praising seems to be easily imbibed, and to overrun the whole composition of him who indulges in its sweets. So the discourse on delivering the medal to Mr Pond digresses into panegyrics upon his great predecessors—Halley and Bradley—which no one could have complained of, for their names stand among the highest in the annals of science; but Dr Maskelyne is associated with them—'his 'was a kindred spirit to that of those illustrious philosophers' —for no other reason that we can discover, except that 'we 'remember him with so much respect and affection.' The eulogy upon Mr Pond, the successor of these eminent men, is sufficiently ample, and, we make no doubt, abundantly well deserved; but it closes with an exhortation somewhat awkwardly phrased, and at much variance with what went before; for after testifying no little gratitude for his five-and-twenty years' services, and bestowing the medal in token, as it were, of 'value 'received,' we were naturally led to believe that the Astronomer Royal (whose appointment is avowed as the doing of the Society, and in return for his useful labours in the service) *had* already performed enough to establish his title as successor to the office; but the conclusion points to the future as the scene of his glory, and bids him '*endeavour to be worthy* of having his 'name transmitted to future generations with those of your 'illustrious predecessors.'

The known rule of the Royal Society, which we have inscribed on every part of every volume of its *Transactions*, and 'to which, '(says the half-yearly notice,) they will always adhere,' is, 'never to give their opinion as a body upon any subject, either 'of nature or art, that comes before them.' The Council, which is the executive power, we may well suppose still less presumes to sit in judgment on any scientific subject, except in the necessary discharge of its duties, the selection of papers for publication, and the awarding of prizes. We therefore regard the statement in the following passage as a strong proof of the Council's entire satisfaction with the accuracy of the observations at Greenwich, since the accession of the present distinguished Astronomer Royal. Nothing could have tempted the Council to depart from its wonted caution, and commit itself, if

we may so speak, by vouching for the correctness of the present observers, but a most implicit trust in their merits as observers, a trust, of course, grounded, not, like their opinion of Dr Maskelyne's spirit being akin to Halley's and Bradley's, upon feelings of personal 'respect and affection;' but upon actual verification in a number of instances—for surely, it is no mere matter of empty eulogy, or even of philosophic speculation, to avouch the accuracy of observations which are of such immense practical importance as those carried on at Greenwich. The Council must, therefore, have been aware that some such testimony was called for, possibly by rumours of errors in the nautical tables, which had gone forth. Such rumours must now be held as utterly groundless. 'I now present to you this 'medal as a token of the respect of the Society, and of the '*confidence of the Council in the great accuracy of your Observa-'tions.*'—(p. 76.) Nor let it be said that this applies only to the observations last made by the Astronomer Royal on the Parallax question; for the medal is expressly adjudged to him, 'for his various papers and observations communicated to the 'Royal Society;' (p. 66.) according to the modern practice of lumping together a number of Essays, when it is wished to give the medal to a person who has never produced any one of merit sufficiently prominent to deserve it—making bulk in some sort supply the place of value. But indeed, it should seem that the observations on the parallax controversy are rather excluded from the number of those to which the remarkable passage cited can apply; for it is expressly stated, (p. 70.) that, 'in awarding the medal, the Council do not at all mean to ex-'press an opinion on this subject; when two such astronomers '(Dr Brinkley and Mr Pond) differ, it would be presumptuous, 'and almost impossible for them to decide; it is, however, 'highly satisfactory to know, that the question is now reduced 'within such very small limits, the difference between the 'Greenwich and Dublin observations generally amounting to 'less than a second;' and the same medal is, the very next year, awarded to Dr Brinkley, the antagonist observer, for *his* 'various communications, printed in the *Philosophical Trans-'actions.*' (p. 82.) So that the whole question being one of accuracy in the two observers and their instruments, the Council, in professing to hold the scales quite even between them, professes also not to decide in favour of the accuracy of Mr Pond's observations, as far as regards this controversy; therefore the marked expression 'of confidence in the great accuracy 'of Mr Pond's observations,' above cited, cannot possibly ap-

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ply to his late observations connected with the parallax of the fixed stars. We are the more anxious to set this matter on its right footing, because the testimony of the Council, if given to support the general correctness of the Greenwich observations, ought to have great weight, supposing always that body to be of competent ability and experience, and of unsuspected impartiality in its decisions; it is, or at least it ought to be, an authority from which there could hardly be an appeal; it ought to set at rest all cavil and allay all doubts. If, on the other hand, the decision has been hastily come to, for the purpose of *putting down* (as the late President would have said) all opposition—or if the Council are a less learned, a less purely scientific, a more political body than they were wont to be in olden times—then the point is possibly not yet determined, although the decision has been pronounced. At all events, the Astronomer Royal is no longer singly answerable to the public; he is primarily responsible, no doubt, as the observer, but he has good sureties; his bondsmen are the Council of the Royal Society, and they, having volunteered their liability, must stand or fall by the result.

In awarding the prize of the following year to Dr Brinkley, the President enters somewhat at length, and with much propriety and great distinctness of statement, into the controversy more than once alluded to in this article. Our scientific readers are aware that Dr Brinkley, as far back as 1810, communicated to the Royal Society a very short notice of his observations upon the star *α Lyræ;* they were made with the eight feet circle of the Dublin observatory, and were 47 in number, 22 being made in opposition, and 25 in conjunction; and all these comparisons between the direction of the instrument at opposite points of the earth's orbit, agreed in showing a want of parallelism, and the mean angle, or the parallax, was found to be 2.52.—*Philosophical Transactions,* 1810, p. 204. This certainly indicated a much smaller distance than had been assumed or suspected by astronomers for any of the fixed stars. Dr Bradley satisfied himself by many observations, that the annual parallax of *γ Draconis* was not equal to 1″, (*Philosophical Transactions,* 1728, p. 637;) and Mr Michell thought Sirius himself, the nearest of them, in all probability, not more than 1″.—(*Philosophical Transactions,* 1767, p. 234.) Accordingly, Dr Brinkley's parallax has been doubted by other astronomers, and Mr Pond has denied it altogether. His argument is, that in proportion to the inaccuracy of the instruments employed, astronomers have been always led to believe they had discovered a parallax;

and that the instrument at Greenwich, the most perfect of all, shows none that is sensible to his observation, and he concludes, that if it exist at all, it cannot exceed a very small fraction of a second. Dr Brinkley repeated his observations; he tried other means of discovering the inaccuracy, if any, of his instrument; he certainly showed that the result of divers observations made on eighty-seven days, in thirteen summer solstices, proved it at least to be consistent with itself, and he found that the parallax of *α Lyræ* was sensible in no less than 262 observations. He also found a parallax in some other stars.

It must be observed, that he now makes larger allowances for aberration and solar nutation, which bring down the parallax, as evinced by the mean of his numerous observations, to 1″.14, for *α Lyræ*. It is not unnatural in him, then, to ask, if this constant result is the effect of imperfection in the instrument used, why should not the same cause show a sensible parallax in one star and not in another? Why so considerable a parallax in *α Lyræ*, and none in the Pole star, or in *γ Draconis*, in which we have observed that Dr Bradley had found a parallax of a second, or nearly so?

In commenting upon this scientific controversy, it gives us real pleasure to observe the testimony borne by the President to the perfectly amicable and dignified temper with which it has been carried on by both the distinguished disputants; a candour every way worthy of the men and the subject, but removed far above the comprehension of little minds. Mr Pond, to his very great honour, we are told, was the member of council who first proposed to bestow the prize-medal upon his antagonist in 1824; thus at once sacrificing the sort of preference which might otherwise have appeared to be given by the previous award in his own favour, and relying wholly for the acceptance of his doctrines upon their intrinsic merits.

The prize of 1825 is justly and liberally bestowed upon a celebrated foreigner, a Fellow of the Society, Mr Arago of Paris, for his discovery in Magnetism, by which he has shown that all metals, as well as iron, though in a less degree, and more transiently, are subject to the action of this singular and important fluid; and giving us ground to expect that the law will be extended to other substances. The subjects of Galvanism and Magnetism, and their union, electro-magnetism, have lately made such rapid advances, especially among the Philosophers of the Continent, that while we lament the disproportion of our own contributions to this brilliant harvest of discovery, we cannot avoid thanking the council of the Society for showing, by their

award in Mr Arago's favour, that they deem Science to be of no country. The following remarks on this topic are at once enlightened and ingenious. Truly we may be said to have outlived the day when it was thought loyal and orthodox to decry everything French, and when the literary creatures of a wretched government filled their periodical publications with attacks alike laboured and empty, upon those sublime geniuses of the neighbouring nation, who have never been outshone, except by Sir Isaac Newton himself.

'In transmitting (says Sir Humphry Davy, addressing Mr South,) this medal to Mr Arago, assure him of the interest we take in his ingenious and important researches, and inform him that we wait with impatience for the continuation of his labours on this new and fertile subject. As one of our Fellows, his discoveries have the same interest for us that they have for his brethren of the Royal Academy of Sciences, which, for more than a century and a half, has gone on encouraging and emulating our labours. You and our worthy secretary* are recent examples of liberality on their part, and of the respect paid to British talent; we, I trust, shall never be behind them in dignity and nobleness of sentiment; far be from us that narrow policy which would contract the minds of individuals, and injure the interest of nations by cold and exclusive selfishness; which would raise the greatness of one people by lowering the standard of that of another. As in Commerce, so in Science, no country can become worthily preeminent, except in profiting by the wants, resources, and wealth of its neighbours. Every new discovery may be considered as a new species of manufacture, awakening moral industry and sagacity, and employing, as it were, new capital of mind. When Newton developed the system of the universe, and established his own glory and that of the country, on imperishable foundations, he might be regarded as giving a boon to the civilized world, for which no adequate compensation could ever be made; yet even in this, the most difficult and sublime field of discovery, Britain has been paid, if not fully, yet fairly, by the labours of Eüler, La Grange, and above all, La Place; perfecting the theory of the lunar motions and planetary perturbations, and affording data of infinite importance in the theory and practice of navigation. Fortunately Science, like that nature to which it belongs, is neither limited by time nor by space. It belongs to the world, and is of no country and no age. The more we know, the more we feel our ignorance, the more we feel how much remains unknown; and in philosophy, the sentiment of the Macedonian hero can never apply; there are always new worlds to conquer.'

The British Mathematician, who beyond all dispute has approached the nearest to the Eülers, the La Granges, and the La

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* Mr Herschel.

Places, of the Continent, is our countryman, Mr Ivory; and the *Transactions of the Royal Society* are enriched with much of his extraordinary productions. Those on the Attractions of Spheroids, have received the most unbounded praise from M. de La Place himself: and there is hardly one of his investigations which, whether we regard its originality, or the profound acquaintance it displays with all the resources of modern analysis, could have been produced by any mathematician of the age, except him, whose irreparable loss, though mature in years and full of transcendent glory, the World of Science has lately had to deplore. It is pleasing to see this eminent person rewarded with the prize, and it is a sight, which, during the times that are but just past, we could not have witnessed. In bestowing the medal, the President dwells most justly on the rare endowments of the individual; he closes his well-deserved panegyric with an allusion equally appropriate to the retired unambitious life of one to whom philosophy is its own reward: and then turning to the sublime science itself which he cultivates, pronounces at once an ample recantation of the Society's past errors, and a beautiful eulogy of the highest and most arduous branch of human learning. We have unbounded pleasure in quoting this splendid passage:—

'I feel the highest satisfaction in anticipating that this reward may renovate the activity of the Society upon this department of science, and that it will return—'Veteris vestigia flammæ'—with new ardour to its so long neglected fields of glory.

'Whether we consider the nature of mathematical science or its results, it appears equally amongst the noblest objects of human pursuit and ambition. Arising a work of intellectual creation from a few self-evident propositions on the nature of magnitudes and numbers, it is gradually formed into an instrument of pure reason of the most refined kind, applying to and illustrating all the phenomena of nature and art, and embracing the whole system of the visible universe; and the same calculus measures and points out the application of labour, whether by animals or machines, determines the force of vapour, and confines the power of the most explosive agents in the steam-engine, —regulates the forms and structures best fitted to move through the waves—ascertains the strength of the chain-bridge necessary to pass across arms of the ocean—fixes the principles of permanent foundations in the most rapid torrents, and leaving the earth filled with monuments of its power, ascends to the stars, measures and weighs the sun and the planets, and determines the laws of their motions, and can bring under its dominion those cometary masses that are, as it were, strangers to us, wanderers in the immensity of space; and applies data gained from contemplation of the sidereal heavens to measure and establish time, and movement, and magnitudes below.'

We most willingly hail in such sentiments, pronounced from this place, the prospect of this ancient and illustrious body renewing its youth, by recurring to its pristine occupations; and we should be truly glad to say of it as an historian of the Roman Empire—'Consenuit atque decoxit, nisi quòd sub Trajano Principe movet lacertos, et, præter spem omnium, Senectus Imperii quasi redditâ juventute revirescit.'—(*Flor. Pro.*) But of this we feel well assured, that the second youth so much to be wished can only be hoped for in a careful retracing of the steps so lately made—not to call them strides—towards decay. The revival of the honour most due to the severer sciences, we reckon one very auspicious sign; that the President had himself begun to cultivate them, we gather from many parts of the Discourses before us. Another step, and a still more important one, will be the better choice of the Council; and the exclusive preference of learning and merit in the selection. It is true, that the patronage of wealthy, and noble, and powerful individuals fosters learning, by protecting and encouraging learned men; but among the personages endowed with those means of usefulness from the accident of fortune or station, there are always some to be found who join to such recommendations, some taste and some capacity for the studies which the Society was formed to promote. Let those individuals be distinguished by the learned body among their fellows, and then it receives the benefit of patronage as a return for the distinctions legitimately bestowed, in the encouragement of scientific pursuits among the wealthy and the great. Above all, should the President's health unfortunately require him to leave the chair he has so ably filled, let especial care be taken, in bestowing it, to select a successor by the consent of all so well fitted for the exalted station, that the choice shall not only be above blame, but above suspicion.

We trust, that in the remarks which we have thrown out on the present occasion, we shall not be thought to have in any the least degree departed from the perfect respect due to the highly-gifted individual whose discourses we have observed upon. Towards his part of the work, we repeat, there can be but one feeling. He has performed as well as possible a task which never should have been imposed on him, and the faults are altogether in the design, which is none of his contriving, and not at all in the execution, for which alone he is answerable. In addition to the admirable passages with which we have already taken a pride in adorning our pages, we cannot resist the temptation of imprinting upon them the eloquent and touching con-

clusion of his address upon the late geological discoveries. If such discourses are fit for such bodies, it would be vain to look for any one better able to pronounce them with surpassing effect.

'If we look with wonder upon the great remains of human works, such as the columns of Palmyra, broken in the midst of the desert; the temples of Pæstum, beautiful in the decay of twenty centuries, or the mutilated fragments of Greek sculpture in the Acropolis of Athens, or in our own Museum, as proofs of the genius of artists, and power and riches of nations now past away; with how much deeper a feeling of admiration must we consider these grand monuments of nature, which mark the revolutions of the globe; continents broken into islands; one land produced, another destroyed; the bottom of the ocean become a fertile soil; whole races of animals become extinct, and the bones and exuviæ of one class covered with the remains of another; and upon those graves of past generations, the marble or rocky tombs, as it were, of a former animated world, new generations rising, and order and harmony established, and a system of life and beauty produced as it were out of chaos and death; proving the infinite power, wisdom, and goodness of the Great Cause of all being!'

For our strictures upon the author of this work, then, we have no need to apologize; we have not found occasion to deliver any upon his part of the work. For the freedom of our remarks on the Society itself—on its late history and present condition—and on the abuses which have mixed themselves with the management of its affairs, we have no apology to offer. The day is long gone by when learned bodies could be reckoned exempt from discussion, merely because they might deem such an exemption desirable.

We live in times when the light is let in every moment upon all who fill a public station; and bodies of men are of necessity public. Matters of science are not indeed fit subjects for discussion before the multitude, whether assembled together, or reading the daily and the weekly journals. But the conduct of corporations touching the interests of science, and of individuals bearing office, connected with scientific affairs, is not matter of science; it is matter of policy, and enjoys no exemption from the most free and searching inquiry, in whatever shape may be most likely to promote the great end of all discussion upon public measures, prevent abuse, and see right and justice done. The eyes of the country may soon be fixed upon the Royal Society, with a yet more scrutinizing look than has hitherto been deemed requisite; and there is, we trust and believe, no manner of reason why it should shrink from the inquiry.

ART. IV.—*The Private Theatre of Kilkenny, with Introductory Observations on other Private Theatres in Ireland, before it was opened.* 4to. pp. 134. 1825.

THERE is no subject that we would sooner recommend to any male or female author, in distress for a topic, than a History of the Private Theatres of Europe. It has been said of Gibbon, that his work is 'like the great whirlpool of Norway, 'which sucks into its eddy bears, whales, ships, and everything 'that comes within any possible reach of its engulfing streams;' —and this, after all, in much humbler walks of literature than that of Gibbon, is the grand secret of book-making. To find a subject which is either capable, or may be made so by a little management, of pressing all other possible subjects into its service, is the grand desideratum to which the quarto-monger and the man of many volumes should aspire. Bayle, we know, contrived, in his 'Thoughts on the Comet,' to make the world acquainted with his thoughts on every other existent topic,—from Jesuits and Jansenists, and the Peace of Nimeguen, to Crusades, Demons, and the ever memorable Bishop of Condom. Berkeley has converted his Essay on Tar Water to purposes no less omnigenous and incongruous;—the principles of attraction, and repulsion—the story of Isis and Osiris—the Anima Mundi of Plato, and the doctrine of the Trinity, all administered to the reader through the somewhat nauseous medium of Tar Water.

With much less abuse of the privilege of discursiveness than has been assumed by either of those two celebrated sceptics,* the author of a History of Private Theatricals might interweave with his subject, not only an account of the Rise and Progress of the Drama, in the different countries of Europe, but by availing himself of the splendid names which have, from time to time, illustrated the annals of Private Theatres, he might, with perfect relevancy, branch out into such a rich variety of anecdote and biography, as few subjects—even among the best adapted for this sort of literary *Macédoine*—could furnish. By a converse of the proposition, 'all the World's a Stage,' he might, with little difficulty, succeed in making his 'Stage all the World.'

Among the ancient Greeks there are, we believe, no traces of private theatrical performances;—and the reason may be, that as, in the eyes of that enlightened people, no stigma attached

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* 'That all the arguments of Berkeley, (says Hume,) though other- 'wise intended, are, in reality, merely sceptical, appears from this— 'that they admit of no answer, and produce no conviction.'

itself to the profession of an actor, the wealthy and high-born might indulge, not only with impunity but with honour, in their taste for the practice of that art on the boards of the public theatres. 'It was allowed,' says Montaigne, 'to persons of the 'greatest quality to follow the profession of the stage in Greece.' The testimony of Livy to the same point is decisive;—speaking of the tragic actor, Aristo, he says, 'Huic et genus et fortuna 'honesta erant, nec ars, quia nihil tale apud Græcos pudori 'est, ea deformabat.' Some of the greatest dramatic poets of Greece, Æschylus, Sophocles, and Aristophanes, thought it not unbecoming to take a part in the representation of their immortal works; nor did the fellow-countrymen and contemporaries of Demosthenes feel themselves disgraced by having a great actor, Aristodemus, their representative at the Court of Philip.

This high appreciation of the ministers of the Dramatic Muse was worthy of the taste and liberal feeling of such a people. If the interpreters of the oracles of the gods derived a character of sacredness from their very task, those who gave utterance to the written spells of genius, might with equal justice participate in the homage paid to genius itself.

Far different was the estimation in which actors were held among the Romans. Their profession was pronounced by the law to be infamous,* and no person of free birth was to be found among its members. The pathetic address of Laberius, the Roman Knight, on being forced by Cæsar to appear on the public stage, is well known:—

'Twice thirty years I've borne a spotless name,
But foul dishonour brands, at length, my brow;
From home, this morn, a Roman Knight I came,
And home a jester I'm returning now.
Ah, would that I had died, ere men could say,
'He has outlived his honour—by a day.''†

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* The defence which a writer in the Mémoires de l'Académie attempts to set up for the illiberal law of the Romans, is mere sophistry:—'Les Comédiens n'étoient réputés infames à Rome que par le 'vice de leur naissance, et non pas à cause de leur profession; et si elle 'n'eut été exercée que par des hommes libres, ils auroient eu autant de 'respect que leur art en merite.' Whether the law pronounced the profession itself to be infamous, or attained the same end by allowing none but infamous persons to practise it, makes assuredly no difference in the real state of the case.

† 'Ego, bis tricenis annis actis sine notâ,
Eques Romanus ex lare egressus meo,
Domum revertar mimus: nimirum hoc die
Uno plus vixi mihi quam vivendum fuit.'

Where such ignominy was attached to the practice of acting in public, it was natural that the taste for theatrical personation, which is sure to spring up in all cultivated communities, should seek a vent for its indulgence in private performances. Accordingly, we find that there was a species of satirical Drama, called Atellanæ or Exodia, in which the free and noble youths of Rome, not only took delight to perform, but, with the true spirit of aristocratic exclusiveness, reserved the right of appearing in such dramas wholly to themselves; nor would suffer them, as Livy tells us, 'to be polluted by common histrions.'

On the revival of Dramatic Poesy among the Italians, it was in private theatres,—and, for a long period, in private theatres only,—that any advances in the cultivation of the art were made. The slow growth, indeed, of this branch of literature in that country, and the few fruits of any excellence which it has even yet put forth, would seem to warrant the conclusion to which the French critics have long since come, that the Italians are not, any more than their great ancestors, a dramatic people. It is certain, that their literature had produced its brightest and most desirable wonders before even the ordinary scenery and decorations of a theatre were introduced among them; and the poetry of Dante and Petrarch, and the prose of Boccaccio, had carried their beautiful language to its highest pitch of perfection, near a century and a half before a single play in this language was attempted. Nothing can, indeed, more strongly prove how little dramatic ideas or associations were afloat in the time of Dante, than that he should have ventured to call his shadowy and awful panorama of Hell, Heaven and Purgatory,—a 'Comedy.'

During all this interval, from the time of the great triumvirate of the fourteenth century to near the close of the fifteenth, an occasional representation of a play of Plautus or Terence, with, now and then, a drama, written in the same language, by some academician of Sienna,* and acted, or rather recited, by himself and his brethren, were the only signs of life that the Dramatic Muse of Italy exhibited. At length, towards the end of the fifteenth century, the poet and scholar, Politian—so bepraised during his lifetime, and so wholly unread almost ever since—presented his countrymen with the first native Italian

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* The academicians of Sienna were long famous for their theatrical exhibitions. The Intronati of that learned city played the 'Amor 'Costante' of the Archbishop Piccolomini before Charles 5th, when he visited Sienna in 1536;—and the Ortensio of the same archiepiscopal dramatist was performed by them before Cosmo 1st, in 1560.

tragedy;* and the Orfeo was acted before Lorenzo the Magnificent, amid the acclamations of all the wits and beauties of Florence.

What an audience might not imagination conjure up at a private performance of the Orfeo!—'Who is he, with the princely air and manly form,† to whose remarks Lorenzo de Medici listens with such deference?'—'It is the all-accomplished Lord of Mirandola, the phenix of the wits of his age, to whom every science, every art, every language is familiar,—but upon whose young brow the seal of death is already fixed, as the astrologers have already pronounced that he will not pass his thirty-second year.'‡—'And that child, with the cardinal's hat in his hand, whose red shoes and robes proclaim him already a counsellor of the Pontiff?'—'In that boy you see the future Leo the Tenth,§ the destined ornament of the Papacy, its first and its last.'—'But him yonder, with the neck a little awry;‖ with that portentous nose and purblind eyes?'** 'Tis Politian himself, the author of the Tragedy; and she, that fair maid, to whom he has just handed a Greek extempore, which she reads with the same facility with which it was written, is the beautiful and learned Alessandra Scala,—herself a distinguished private actress, as the verses of Politian, on her performance of the Electra of Sophocles, testify.††

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* 'La première tragédie qui parût sur le Théâtre, en bon style, et 'avec quelque idée d'une action regulièrement conduite, est l'Orphée 'de Ange Politien.' *Ginguené.* Doctor Burney traces the origin of the Italian Opera to the Orfeo.

† 'Il étoit le plus bel homme de son siècle—il avoit la mine haute, 'la taille extraordinaire.' *Varillas, Histoire Secrète de la Maison de Medicis.*

‡ 'Les Astrologues dressèrent l'Horoscope du Prince de la Mirandole, et trouvèrent deux choses remarquables;—l'une, qu'il ne mettroit pas la dernière main à son ouvrage contre eux, et l'autre, qu'il ne passeroit pas l'âge de trente-deux ans. Ils lui envoyèrent signifier cet arrêt, dont il se mocqua. Mais l'événement justifia leur prediction.' *Varillas.*

§ Leo was nominated a Cardinal in his thirteenth year.

‖ Sed quid te cruciat reflexa colla
Si interdum gero? *Polit.*

** 'Facie nequaquam ingenua et liberali, ab enormi præsertim naso, 'subluscoque oculo perabsurdo.' *Paul. Jov.*

†† There are several poems in praise of this lady among the works of Politian; and there is also an answer of hers, which—considering that it is Greek—is very modest and unassuming.

'With how little success the poet woos her, may be collected
'from his extempore :—

> Καρπον εμοι ποθεοντι, συ δ' ανθεα φυλλα τε μȣνου
> Δωρη, σημαινȣσ' ὁττι ματην πονεω.
>
> 'To teach me, that in hopeless suit
> I do but waste my sighing hours,
> Cold maid, whene'er I ask for fruit,
> Thou giv'st me nought but leaves and flowers.''

The example set by Politian was soon followed; and, an Italian Comedy being still a desideratum, the want was, not long after, supplied by Cardinal Bibbiera, whose clever, but licentious, comedy, the Calandra, was honoured with no less distinguished a place of representation than the private apartments of Leo the Tenth at the Vatican.* Gay times!—when Cardinals wrote 'right merrye' farces, and Popes were their audience. Had Leo contented himself with the classic indulgences of this world, without opening a mart for indulgences in the next, Luther would have wanted his best card, and the Papacy might have remained a little longer unshaken.

The illusions of scenic decoration,—which had been first introduced, it is said, by Pomponius Lætus, in a play performed by his scholars at Rome,†—were at this period not only universally brought into play, but assisted by all that splendour and pageantry, in which the luxurious prelates and nobles of Italy delighted. Among the givers of these dramatic fêtes, the Dukes of Ferrara shone preeminent, and Hercules 1st was the author of an Italian translation of the Menæchmi, which was acted at Ferrara in 1486. Ariosto furnished the design for the theatre of the Court, which stood on the spot now occupied by the Chiesa Nuova; and 'such,' says Gibbon, 'was the enthusiasm 'of the new Arts, that one of the sons of Alfonso 1st did not 'disdain to speak a prologue on this stage.'‡

But, among all the amateur actors of this period, he of whom the lovers of private theatricals have most reason to be proud, is the great Nicholas Machiavel,—he, the mighty searcher of courts, who stripped the leaves off the sceptre of tyrants, and showed the naked iron underneath. This author of the profoundest book ever written was not only a comic writer of first-

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* Baldastarre Peruzzi is said to have painted the scenery for this representation at the Vatican.

† By some the invention of painted scenes is attributed to Cardinal Riario, nephew of the unprincipled Sixtus 4th.

‡ Antiquities of the House of Brunswick.

rate power, but a comic actor, whose mimickry made Cardinals and Popes (as he himself expresses it) 'smascellarsi della risa.' How delightedly might a historian of private theatres dwell on all the details of the correspondence between Guicciardini* and Machiavel, respecting the plan of the former to induce his friend to visit him at Modena, by getting up a representation of the Mandragora, for his amusement! The supper of Machiavel at Florence, with the *cantatrice*, la Barbera;—his proposals to her to accompany him to the Carnival at Modena, and his anxiety for her assistance in the cast of his comedy,—all these little details derive a preciousness from the reputation of the men concerned in them, and from that charm which genius communicates to everything connected with its name.

Nor was it only among the profane ones of the world that this rage for private acting diffused itself. Even the recesses of the monastery and the convent were not sacred from the 'soft infection,' and the mask of Thalia was often found in the same wardrobe with the cowl and the veil. The wit of Plautus was not thought too coarse for the lips of the monks of S. Stefano,† and even the fair nuns of Venice were allowed to pour forth their souls in tragedy.‡ As might be expected, however, some of these sequestered young actresses showed a disposition to convert their fictitious loves into real ones, and an order was accordingly issued, prohibiting all such performances in convents, 'per l'indécenza della rappresentazione e delle maschere,' and restraining the poor stage-struck nuns, in future, to the innocent indulgence of a dull oratorio.

As this passion for private acting increased, new inventions and new luxuries were devised, to give a zest to the pursuit. The theatrical dilettanti of Vicenza, not content with their temporary stage in the Palazzo della ragione, applied to their brother academician, Palladio, to furnish them with the design of a theatre, worthy of the classic objects of their institution;—'adattata ai loro geniali esercizi, fra quali v'era quello delle tragiche rappresentazioni.' In the beautiful structure which he planned for them, was performed, in the year 1585, the tragedy of Œdipus; and the interest of the representation was, we are told,

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* The historian, who was then Governor of Modena.

† There is a published translation of the Asinaria of Plautus, which, as appears from the title-page, was 'rappresentata nel monastero di S. Stefano in Venezia, 1528.'

‡ Addison speaks of the theatrical amusements of the nuns at the time when he visited Venice, 1701.

most touchingly increased by the circumstance of the sightless king being played by Luigi Groto, the 'blind man of Adria,' as he was called,—himself a dramatic poet of no ordinary celebrity and power.

But it was not alone amid the pomp of a ducal hall, or surrounded by the forms of Palladian architecture, that these worshippers of the Drama indulged their devotions. That fine canopy, which the evening sky of Italy affords, not unfrequently formed their only theatre. For pastoral subjects, such as the Aminta and the Pastor Fido, the natural scenery of gardens and groves was thought to be the most appropriate; and vestiges of one of these rural theatres, in which the sweet dialogue of Ariosto and Tasso was recited by the 'donne' and 'cavalieri' of old, might, till very lately, be traced in the garden of the Villa Madama at Rome.

It is not within the scope of our present design to do more than merely intimate the many interesting details, into which a more extended research on this subject would lead. To the brilliant names, therefore, already mentioned, as having thrown a lustre over the annals of private acting, we shall content ourselves with adding a few more, as they occur to our recollection, without attending very much to form in the enumeration, or dwelling, at any great length, on the peculiar merits or histories of the personages.

Lorenzo de Medici, on the marriage of his daughter Maddalena, wrote a Sacred Drama, called 'S. Giovanni e S. Paolo,' which was performed in his palace, by his own children.

Cinthio, the novelist, to whom Shakspeare was indebted for some of his stories, had a private theatre, we are told, in his own house, where the most celebrated of all his own tragedies, 'Orbacche,' was performed, with splendid scenic decorations, before Hercules II., Duke of Ferrara.

About the same period, Luigi Cornaro, of vivacious celebrity, —having not yet, we presume, taken to measuring his wine by ounces,—gave a dramatic fête under his own roof, at which one of the plays of L'Anguillara was performed.

Chiabrera, misnamed the Pindar of Italy, was one of a classic society at Rome, called 'the Humorists,' who devoted themselves (says Muratori) 'to the composition and performance of 'beautiful and ingenious comedies.' The *Sala*, in which their meetings were held, still existed in the time of Muratori.

Beolco, one of the academic fraternity of the Infiammati, is said, by the historian of Padua, to have surpassed Plautus in composing comedies, and Roscius in representing them. The talent, indeed, of this Infiammato for acting, was thought worthy

of being commemorated, even on his tomb:—'Nullis in scri-'bendis *agendisque comœdiis*, ingenio, facundia, aut arte, secundo.'

Salvator Rosa was, it appears, a comic actor of infinite vivacity; and his personation of Formica, and of the Coviello of the ancient farces, is said to have thrown the Immortal City into convulsions of gaiety.* Another Neapolitan painter, of much less celebrity, Andria Belvedere, was, about the beginning of the 18th century, at the head of a society of theatrical amateurs at Naples, and diffused such a zeal for the drama among his fellow-citizens, that (says M. Amaury Duval)† 'l'on vit 'plusieurs seigneurs, par amour pour cet art, élever dans leurs 'palais des théâtres particuliers.'

The Duke Annibale Marchase, who resigned his government of Salerno in the year 1740, and retired to the Monastery of the Holy Fathers of the Oratory at Naples,‡ is said to have written his Sacred Dramas for the private theatre of that holy retreat, from whose performances the Oratorio, or Scriptural Opera, derives both its origin and name.

Coming down to a still later period, we find the 'Serse' of Bettinelli acted, for the first time, in a private theatre at Verona; the principal character of the piece being performed by the Marquis Albergati, who was, himself, the author of various comedies, and so accomplished an actor, that Goldoni says of him, 'non vi era in Italia comico ne dilettante chi rappresentasse al 'pari di lui gli eroi tragici e gli amorosi nelle commedie.'

Lastly, we have Alfieri, the great boast of the Italian stage, performing in his own Antigone at Rome, with the beautiful and majestic Duchess of Zagarolo—establishing afterwards his little theatre on the Lungo d'Arno, near the Ponte S. Trinita, at Florence, where he acted successively the parts of Filippo, Carlo, and Saul, in his own plays; and, finally, taking his leave for ever of the boards at the feast of the Illumination at Pisa, where (says the poet) 'ebbi la pueril vanagloria di andarvi, e 'là recitai per una sola volta, e per l'ultima, la mia diletta 'parte del Sául, e là rimasi, quanto al teatro, morto da Re.'

In France, as well as in Italy, it was on the boards of Private Theatres that the first glimmerings, the 'primus oriens,' of the

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* See Lady Morgan's lively account of these exhibitions in her Life of this Painter.

† Mémoires sur le Royaume de Naples.—Belvedere was followed by Amenta, the comic poet, who died in 1719. 'Comme Belvedere,' says M. Duval, 'il faisait jouer chez lui ses propres pièces par des 'amateurs qu'il avoit formés à l'art du Théâtre.'

‡ L'Oratorio de' PP. di S. Filippo Neri.

Drama appeared. The only difference was, that, in Italy, as we have seen, the originators of the art were scholars and nobles, while in France they were humble *bourgeois* and priests. 'C'est 'à la lettre (says Suard) que l'on peut dire que nôtre comédie 'naquit dans le sein de l'Eglise.'* Excited by the example of those religious shows, which, in the fourteenth century, were exhibited in different parts of Europe by the Pilgrims who had returned from the Holy Land, some pious citizens of Paris formed themselves into a society (on the model of the Christian Theatre, instituted by Gregory Nazianzene) for the purpose of improving upon these rude spectacles. Having established a sort of theatre at St Maur, near Vincennes, they there continued for some time to attract audiences of the faithful, and even to wean away crowds of good Christians from less amusing places of devotion.

Voltaire, who has thought proper, in an unusual fit of charity, to vindicate the scriptural dramas of this period from the charges of absurdity brought against them, assures us that they were performed with a solemnity not unworthy of their sacred subjects;—'il y avait (he says) sur le théâtre beaucoup plus de pompe 'et d'appareil que nous n'en avons jamais vus. La troupe 'bourgeoise était composée de plus de cent acteurs, indépend'amment des assistans, des gagistes, et des machinistes.'

The priests, naturally becoming a little jealous of these showy competitors, thought it the safest policy at length to court an alliance with them. The hours of prayer were altered so as to suit those of the theatre; reverend pens volunteered to dramatise new subjects from the Scriptures; and priests not only became managers of this devotional theatre, but condescended without scruple to appear as actors on its stage. It was not long, however, before this union between the Church and the Drama was dissolved; and it is perhaps on the principle of family quarrels being invariably the most violent, that actors and priests have continued on such deadly terms of hostility ever since.

The Drama, being thus disengaged from Religion, soon 'stooped its wing' towards an humbler and more congenial region, and in the affairs of this world found its most legitimate quarry. A society of private actors, styling themselves 'Enfans sans soucy,' was instituted about the beginning of the reign of Charles VI., and still flourished, after an interval of a hundred years, in the time of Marot, the poet. The professed object of their representations—which were called *Sotties*, or

* Mélanges de Littérature.

Sottises, and answered probably to our idea of farces—was to satirize good-humouredly the manners and vices of the age, and particularly those of the classes always most obnoxious, the Nobility and higher Clergy.

The most brilliant period of this merry fraternity was under the gentle reign of Louis XII., who had the good sense to tolerate their sallies, even when directed against himself. To judge from Marot's description of them—this charming French poet having apparently lived much in their society—they were, in general, young men of wealth and condition, and must have contributed, in no small degree, to prepare the way for the birth of a regular Theatre in France.

During the long interval that elapsed between these rude beginnings and the sudden maturity of the Drama in the beginning of the seventeenth century, when the Muse of Tragedy sprung at once, full-armed, from the brain of Corneille, all the essays in this department of literature were confined to the private theatres and universities. The plays acted in the colleges of Paris were a source of constant irritation to the higher powers; and we find decrees without end, not only from the Principals of the University, but from the Parliament, forbidding (particularly at the annual return of the Fête des Rois) the representation of any 'farces, momeries, ni sottises,' among the students. The reason given for these anti-dramatic interferences was one which, in all times and in all countries, has been made the pretext for the incursions of power upon intellect:—'La 'précaution étoit d'autant plus necessaire, que les exemples du 'passé faisoient craindre, que, dans ces jeux folâtres, on ne 's'emancipât à parler contre le gouvernement, et contre les 'premières personnes de l'Etat.' *

Sometimes these collegiate performances were made the medium of theological satire; as in the instance † of a Comedy played at the College of Navarre, in which Marguerite de Valois (on account of the supposed leaning of that celebrated Princess towards the Reformation) was represented under the shape of a Fury of Hell,—a piece of priestly pleasantry for which, on a complaint to the King, the learned amateurs were forthwith cast into prison.

Few names of any distinguished celebrity appear among the private actors of this period; but there is one worth whole millions of university pedants, who will be read as long as racy

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* Histoire de l'Université de Paris, tom. i. p. 191.

† Another instance may be seen in Bayle, Art. 'Schorus.'

language, attaching egotism, and philosophy without pretension, have any charms for mankind. 'I played,' says Montaigne, 'the chiefest parts in the Latin tragedies of Buchanan, 'Guerente, and Muretus, that were presented in our College 'of Guienne, with very great applause; wherein Andreas Goveanus, our Principal, as in all other parts of his undertaking, 'was, without comparison, the best of his employment in 'France, and I was looked upon as one of the chief actors. ''Tis an exercise that I do not disapprove in young people of 'condition, and have since seen our Princes, by the example of 'the ancients, in person handsomely and commendably perform 'these exercises.'

It was in the year 1552 that the first regular tragedy, the Cléopatre of Iodelle made its appearance in France. Having been first acted before the King at the Hotel de Reims, it was afterwards performed by the author and his friends at the College of Boncour. 'I was there present myself, (says Pasquier,) in 'company with the great Turnelus. All the actors were men 'of name, and Remy de Belleau and Jean de la Peruse played 'the principal parts.'

Of the merit of the dramatic pieces that succeeded this first attempt—almost all of which, as Suard tells us, were performed 'sur des théâtres particuliers'—the reader may form some idea from a specimen or two of their plots and dialogue. In the tragedy of 'La Force du Sang,' the heroine, Léocadie,—not having, as yet, the fear of the unities before her eyes—is seduced in the First act of the play, confined in the Fourth, and steps forth, the mother of a fine seven-year-old boy, in the Fifth. In another tragedy, founded on the Loves of Dido and Æneas, by Scuderi, (a wretched pretender, who was by a Court cabal set above Corneille,) the Trojan hero, during his scene with the enamoured Queen in the cave, having bethought him of the state of the weather, walks forth to see whether it has cleared up, and returns saying,

'Madame, il ne pleut plus—vôtre Majesté sorte.'

From the time of Louis XIV. downward, the annals of private theatres afford a still more ample field for discursiveness and research. Amidst the projects of ambition and the plots of bigotry, through all the war of priests, philosophers, economists, and courtiers, down to the very brink of that Revolution towards which all were hurrying, we find the practice of private acting prevalent throughout, and enlisting under its gay banner almost every name that high station, genius, or misfortune, has rendered celebrated.

The private theatre of Madame Maintenon, on a night when

Esther or Athalie was performed, affords, in itself, a gallery of historical portraits, where our attention is equally divided between the audience and the poet—between Louis and his sanctified mistress, on one side, and Racine, prostituting his fine genius to their bigotry and vanity,* on the other. Imagination carries us through the rehearsals of these honourable performances;—we see the actor, Baron, courteously keeping down his powers to the level of those of his amateur pupils;—we see Racine himself giving instructions to his Athalie, the fair Madame de Caylas, with whose 'soavità e l'altre grazie,' we are told by an eye-witness,† he was so captivated. In 1702, a few years after the death of Racine, when this consummate tragedy was acted before the King, the part of Josabat was performed by the Duchesse de Bourgogne, and that of Abner by the accomplished and dissolute Duke of Orleans, afterwards Regent.

In the subsequent reign we find another Duke of Orleans, the grandson of the Regent, and the father of *Egalité*, distinguishing himself by his superior talents as a comic actor.‡ Besides his various performances at Bagnolet—where, till the sale of this chateau, he maintained a regular theatrical establishment—we trace him acting in the 'Philosophe Marié' at St Cloud, and afterwards before Mesdames de France, in the now ruined chateau of Bellevue. The piece performed on the latter occasion was 'Les Trois Cousines'—the Duke de Chartres, as he was then, acting Delorme, and Madame de Pompadour taking the part of Collette;—and when this adroit mistress of the monarch, looking earnestly at her royal lover, sung the words,

'Mais pour un amant chéri
Tromper tuteur ou mari,
La bonne aventure,' &c.

'One may easily guess,' (says Collé, who relates the circumstance,) 'what was passing in the minds of all the audience at 'the moment.'

The details of the fêtes given by this dramatic Duke of Orleans at Villers-Cotteret—of the comedies in which he performed there with Madame de Montesson and Mesdames de Segur and Barbantane, and of the love that sprung up out of these festivities with Madame de Montesson, to the great grief of his

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* The allusions in the Esther to Madame de Montespan and the Revocation of the Edict of Nantz, are an eternal disgrace to Racine.

† The Abate Conti, who translated the Athalie into Italian.

‡ 'C'est le plus excellent acteur, (says Collé,) et le plus vrai, que 'j'aie vu.'

former fellow-actress and mistress, Marquise—all this gossip of the day may be found in Collé, and other writers, and would not a little enliven the Chapter on Royal Green-rooms, in such a History of Private Theatricals as we have suggested.

But, however amusing these Ducal exhibitions may have been, some of the performances that took place, at the same period, in circles less elevated by rank, were far more interesting; and the little theatre of Voltaire at Paris, where he performed the part of Cicero, in his own 'Rome Sauvée,' calls up associations in the minds of all lovers of genius, before which the splendour of Bagnolet and St Cloud fades into nothing. 'When 'this great man, (says Condorcet,) repeated the beautiful lines, 'in which Cicero excuses his own love of fame,

'' Romains, j'aime la gloire, et ne veux point m'en taire,' &c.

'the character and the actor seemed one; and the delighted auditory almost doubted whether it was Cicero or Voltaire that 'stood before them, avowing and pleading for this weakness of 'great minds.' The tragedian Le Kain—whose splendid talents, by the way, Voltaire first discovered and brought into notice, having by chance seen him acting among a company of amateur tradesmen*—thus speaks of the performance of Cicero by his patron,—'I think it is not possible that any one could be more 'true, more pathetic, or more enthusiastic, than M. de Voltaire 'in this part.'

So strong, indeed, was Voltaire's fancy for private acting, that wherever he went, a theatre seemed always a necessary adjunct to his establishment. His plays at Ferney, and his gay suppers of a hundred covers afterwards, attracted company, we are told, from a distance of twenty leagues round. When at Berlin, he used to indulge his dramatic propensity by performing tragedy with the brothers and sisters of the King; and, during his residence at Paris, a large room above his own apartment was converted into a theatre, in which he made his nieces act with Le Kain.

While the Philosopher of Ferney assumed the buskin with such success, the Citizen of Geneva, it appears, attempted the same accomplishment, and failed;—not even Madame d'Epinay could make anything of an actor of him. 'Malgré ma bêtise 'et ma gaucherie, (he says, in his Confessions,) Madame d'Epi-

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* See the whole of this anecdote in Le Kain's interesting account of his acquaintance with Voltaire, given by Condorcet, vol. ii.

'nay voulut me mettre des amusements de la Chevrette, châ-'teau près de Saint-Denis, appartenant à M. de Bellegarde. 'Il y avoit un théâtre où l'on jouoit souvent des pièces. On 'me chargea d'un rôle que j'étudiais six mois sans relâche, et 'qu'il fallut me souffler d'un bout à l'autre, à la représentation. 'Apres cette épreuve, on ne me donna plus de rôle.' It was, perhaps, jealousy of the superior talents of Voltaire in this line, that impelled Rousseau to inveigh so violently against the plays of Ferney.

To these few notices of the state of private acting in the reign of Louis XV., may be added the account given by Marmontel of the performances at the house of M. de la Popliniere, the rich financier, at Passy;—as also the details of the magnificent fêtes given at Pantin, by the Opera-dancer, Mademoiselle Guimard, for whose superb theatre some of the Proverbes Dramatiques of Carmonlet were written. Nor should the historian pass over in silence the Theatre of M. Trudaine, on whose boards 'Les Accidents, ou les Abbés,' a piece considered by Collé, its author, too licentious to be printed with his other works, was yet thought innocent enough to be acted in the presence of two bishops,—one of them holder of the Feuille des Bénéfices. 'There was also, I think,' says Collé, 'a third bishop there, 'whose name I forget—but of the other two I am certain.'

In the subsequent reign the Court gave the tone in acting, as in all other sorts of amusements. Never was there a more flowery path to ruin than that of the unfortunate Marie Antoinette; nor is it possible to read of the festivities of Marly, and of the Little Trianon, without shuddering to think of the dreadful tragedies that followed. The practice, so prevalent at that period, of throwing ridicule upon all established institutions, (a fate, for which established institutions had to thank their own corruption and folly,) was, with most short-sighted levity, adopted at Court; and one of the favourite amusements of the Queen and her gay companions, was to parody the sittings of the Parliament,* in a sort of mock-heroic pantomime,—one of the Princes playing the part of President, and the *beau* Dillon, Besenvald, &c., representing ludicrously the other personages. It was on one of these occasions that the *rôle* of Procureur-Général was sustained by a youth, who little then foresaw the destiny that awaited him;—who, instrumental in the formation of two great Republics, has survived, it is true, the brief glory of the one, but has lived to

* Ségur's Memoirs.

receive an immortal reward, in the universal gratitude and homage of the other.

To these pantomimes succeeded ballets, and such *jeux de société* as 'La Peur' and 'Decampativos;'—the former, a sort of dumb show, in which the actors put on the appearance of dying and coming to life again, and the latter, a more refined species of Blindman's Buff. To such an excess did these royal persons carry their love of sport and mountebankism, that the Comte d'Artois—his present Majesty Charles X.—actually took lessons, for some time, in rope-dancing from Placido and the celebrated Little Devil.*

At length, tired both of ballets and Blindman's Buff, these royal play-fellows aspired to regular acting; and to the Queen it was a relief, from the representation of Royalty, to act the soubrettes in the 'Gageure Imprévue,' and the 'Devin du 'Village.' It was not, however, without a struggle with some parts of her family, that she was allowed to indulge in this favourite pursuit. The brother of the King would not suffer Madame to act; and the King himself, in order to discourage what he considered an indecorous proceeding, is said to have hissed the royal débutante the first night. From what has transpired, indeed, of the merits of her Majesty's acting, there is little doubt that the great majority of the audience must have been 'de l'avis de l'aspic,' as well as the King. But royalty, 'quicquid agit, quoquo vestigia vertit,' is sure of applause, and the only honest opinion hazarded at the time, is that which Madame Campan, as well as Montjoie, has recorded;—'Il faut 'avouer que c'est royalement mal joué.'

Of the history of the German Drama we profess to know little; but, from the time of Reuchlin, the earliest writer and actor of plays in the academies of Germany, down to Schiller, whose sole experiment in the way of acting seems to have been still more unfortunate than that of Rousseau;† we have no

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* 'M. le Comte d'Artois, qui par sa taille, sa jeunesse, et ses graces 'naturelles, est fait pour réussir dans tous les exercices du corps, a 'ambitionné aussi la gloire de danser sur la corde. Il a pris long'tems en silence, et dans le plus grand secret, des leçons du Sieur 'Placide et du Petit Diable.'—*Mémoires Sécrets pour servir*, &c. Tom. 15, p. 182.

† Schiller acted, while at the university, in a piece played before the Duke of Wirtemberg. 'Il choisit le Drame de Clavigo, de Goethe, 'et s'y reserva le principal rôle. Ce ne fut point pour lui une oc'casion de succès; il se montra fort gauche et fort empêché.'—*Vie de Schiller.*

doubt that a sufficient contribution of materials towards a History of Private Theatres might be found.

In England the Drama, in its rise and progress, has followed pretty nearly the same course as in France. The sacred comedy, or mystery, was its first essay, and showmen and priests the earliest actors. From the church, too, after a similar sort of divorce, the histrionic art passed to universities and schools,—in the former of which it flourished to a very late period, while in the latter some relics of it even still remain. 'Gammer Gurton's Needle,' the production of a Bishop of Bath and Wells, and the first approach to anything like a regular comedy in our language, was acted at Christ's College, Cambridge, in the year 1522. About forty years afterwards, both Oxford and Cambridge represented plays before Queen Elizabeth, in English as well as in Latin; and a Drama composed by a learned Doctor of Divinity of Cambridge, had the honour, we are told, of putting his Majesty King James I. fast to sleep.

Warton is of opinion, that, to these early collegiate repre sentations, the dramatic taste of the nation was, in no small degree, indebted for its improvement; nor must some share of the merit be denied to another class of private actors, the Gentlemen of the Inns of Court, who, both by writing and acting, conduced considerably to the same object. John Roos, a student of Gray's Inn, and afterwards serjeant at law, wrote a comedy which was acted in the Hall of the Society in 1511; and the Tragedy of Ferrex and Porrex, the first specimen of a heroic play in our language, was performed by the students of the Inner Temple, in the year 1561, before Elizabeth at Whitehall.

We have seen that, in Italy and France, the cultivation of the histrionic art among amateurs of rank and station, had prevailed long before the establishment of public actors. But in England, mercenary stage-players existed from a very early period, and most of the entertainments we read of at court, and at the houses of nobility, were evidently performed by persons of this description. From the very infancy, indeed, of the Drama, there appears to have been a regular company of actors attached to the court, both in England and Scotland, and the only entertainments, of a theatrical nature, in which royal and noble personages themselves condescended to appear, were those allegorical Pageants and Pomps, with which it was the custom to celebrate all solemn occasions.

These costly shows, becoming gradually more refined and dramatic, assumed, at a later period, a more elevated character under the name of masques, and, calling incident and beautiful

poetry to their aid, have been enshrined imperishably in our literature, by the pens of Jonson and Milton.*

It was in the reigns of James I. and his successor, that these splendid creations attained their highest perfection. 'Thus 'magnificently constructed,' observes Mr Gifford, 'the Masque 'was not committed to ordinary performers. It was composed, 'as Lord Bacon says, for princes, and by princes it was played. 'The prime nobility of both sexes, led on by James and his 'Queen, took upon themselves the respective characters; and 'it may be justly questioned whether a nobler display of grace, 'and elegance and beauty, was ever beheld, than appeared in 'the masques of Jonson. The songs in these entertainments 'were probably intrusted to professional men; but the dia- 'logue, and above all the dances, which were adapted to the 'fable, and acquired without much study and practice, were 'executed by the court themselves.'

It would be by no means an unamusing or uninstructive task, to collect such particulars as are recorded of these rich and fanciful spectacles, on which the Veres, the Derbys, the Bedfords, the Cliffords, the Arundels, and other historical names, reflect such lustre. In Jonson's Masque of Blackness, the Queen, and the ladies Suffolk, Derby, Effingham, Herberts, &c. personated the parts of Moors, and had, as we are informed by Sir Dudley Carleton, 'their faces and arms, up to the elbows, 'painted black.'—'But it became them,' adds the learned Secretary, 'nothing so well as their own red and white.' In the Masque of Oberon, Sir John Finnet tells us, 'the little Duke 'Charles (Charles I.) was still found to be in the midst of the 'fairy dancers.' The 'Hue and Cry after Cupid,' as performed at Lord Haddington's marriage, 1608, transcended in expensiveness even the ever memorable fête this year at Boyle Farm—having cost the eleven noblemen and gentlemen concerned in it, 'L.300 a man.'†

The last attempt made to revive this species of entertainment was in the reign of Charles II., when the two future Queens, Mary and Anne, assisted by many of the young nobility of both sexes, performed a masque, called 'Calisto,' written by Crowne,

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* The Arcades of Milton was performed by the children of the Countess Dowager of Derby, at her seat Harefield-Place; and the Comus, says Johnson, 'was presented at Ludlow, then the residence 'of the Lord President of Wales, in 1634, and had the honour of be- 'ing acted by the Earl of Bridgewater's sons and daughters.'

† Lodge's Illustrations, vol. iii. p. 343.

and the unfortunate Duke of Monmouth appeared among the dancers. Evelyn thus speaks of this representation :—'Saw a 'comedy at night at court, acted by the ladies only; amongst 'them, Lady Mary and Anne, his R. H.'s two daughters, and 'my dear friend Mrs Blagg, who, having the principal part, 'performed it to admiration.'

From that time we hear no more of such courtly pageants in England; though, within these few years, a taste for performances somewhat similar seems to have sprung up in some of the courts on the Continent, where spectacles founded on the stories of Ivanhoe and Lalla Rookh have been got up with a splendour which even the masques of our ancient Kings could hardly parallel. In the 'Divertisement' from Lalla Rookh, performed at the court of Berlin in 1822, the present Emperor and Empress of Russia played the parts of Feramorz and Lalla Rookh: the Duke of Cumberland personated Abdallah, the father of the Royal Minstrel; and the other characters in the Tableaux, selected from the poem, were represented by the Princes and Princesses of Prussia, and by the most distinguished persons of the court and society of Berlin.*

We should have mentioned, that during the reign of Oliver and his Saints, when stage-plays in public were so strictly prohibited, there were, besides the entertainments set on foot by Sir William Davenant at Rutland-House, occasional representations of plays at the houses of the nobility; and Holland-House, among its other memorable associations, is particularly mentioned as having been used for this purpose. These performances, however, though clandestine, or at least connived at by the ruling powers, cannot fairly be classed under the head of Private Theatricals; their object being to give relief to the unemployed players, who chiefly, if not exclusively, performed on these occasions. The same remark applies to what is called the 'Private' Theatre of Davenant—Mr Malone, we believe, having no authority for asserting, that in the pieces at Rutland-House, 'no stage-player performed.'

From the time of Charles II., till near the end of the last century, the *Théâtre de Société* of England affords but little, as far as we know, that is interesting. In the Memoirs of Lord Orford, we find, under the date 1751, the following curious notice :—'The 7th was appointed for the Naturalization Bill, but

* 'Lalla Roûkh, Divertissement mélé de Chants et de Danses, exécuté au Château Royal de Berlin, le 27 Janvier, 1822, &c. &c.— 'avec 23 planches coloriés.'

'the House adjourned to attend at Drury-Lane, where Othello 'was acted by a Mr Delaval and his family, who had hired the 'theatre on purpose. The crowd of people of fashion was so 'great, that the footmen's gallery was hung with blue ri- 'bands.'

The performances at the Duchess of Queensberry's, for the amusement of the royal personages of Leicester-House, are only memorable, we believe, for having enabled the favourite, Lord Bute, to display his fine legs (of which he was so proud) in the gay character of Lothario. We might next pass in review the theatricals of Winterslow, where no less an actor on the stage of life than the late Charles Fox—'*cœlestis hic in dicendo vir*'—played Horatio in the Fair Penitent, and Sir Harry in High Life below Stairs. At Holland-House, too, Mr Fox played Hastings to the Jane Shore of the beautiful Lady Sarah Bunbury.

Richmond-House presents another patrician theatre of the by-gone times, whose attractions, on one occasion, shortened the solemn sittings of the Senate, and brought Mr Pitt himself (to use his own words, on another occasion,) 'under the wand of 'the enchanter.' If the anecdote be true, which attributes to that festive evening the glory of having collected Pitt, Fox, and Sheridan together in one hackney-coach—of which hackney-coach it might well be said, 'sideraque alta trahit'—it is an event that, among the memorabilia of Private Theatres, is deserving of special and emphatic record.

We have thus hastily, and, we rather fear, tiresomely, put together the few particulars relating to Private Theatres that have fallen within the range of our research. It is now time, we feel, to take a little notice of the volume which has been the innocent cause of all this *causerie*, and which, though not intended, we believe, for circulation beyond the members of the institution to which it refers, appeared to us to warrant, by its connexion with the general history of the drama, the use that we have made of it.

The city of Kilkenny—where the performances commemorated in this volume were continued annually, with but few interruptions, from the year 1802 to 1819—possesses some ancient claims on the reverence of all lovers of the drama. The celebrated Bale, whose tragedy of Pammachius was acted at Christ's College, Cambridge, in 1544, inhabited for some time, as Bishop of Ossory, the Palace of Kilkenny; and two of his sacred comedies, or mysteries, were, as he himself tells us, acted at the market-cross in that town. 'On the xx daye of August was 'the Ladye Marye, with us at Kilkennye, proclaimed Queen of 'England, &c. The yonge men in the forenone played a tra-

'gedye of 'God's Promises in the Old Lawe,' at the market-'crosse, with organe-plaingis and songes, very aptely. In the 'afternone, again, they played a comedie of 'Sanct Johan Bap-'tiste's Preachings, of Christe's Baptisynge, and of his Temp-'tacion in the Vildernesse.' '*

From that period, till the middle of the last century, Ireland furnishes but few materials for a History of the Stage, Public or Private. So slow, indeed, was the progress of the drama in that country, that, in the year 1600, when England had been, for some time, enjoying the inspirations of Shakspeare's muse, we find the old tragedy of Ferrex and Porrex, the first rude essay of the art, represented before Lord Montjoy at the Castle of Dublin. It was, indeed, about the same period, when, as we have said, the taste for private acting reappeared in England, that a similar feeling manifested itself among the higher ranks of society in Ireland; and, in the year 1759, a series of amusements of this kind took place at Lurgan, in the county of Armagh, the seat of that distinguished Member of the Irish Parliament, William Brownlow. 'To this meeting,' says the editor of the volume before us, in his Introduction, 'the stage is 'indebted for the popular entertainment of Midas. It was 'written upon that occasion by one of the company, the late Mr 'Kane O'Hara, and originally consisted of but one act, com-'mencing with the fall of Apollo from the clouds. The cha-'racters in the piece were undertaken by the members of the 'family, and their relatives, with the exception of the part of 'Pan, which was reserved by the author for himself. Many 'additions were made to it before its introduction to the pub-'lic, and, among others, the opening scene of 'Jove in his 'Chair,' as it is now represented.'

To these representations succeeded, in 1760, a sort of Theatrical Jubilee, at Castletown, the residence of the Right Hon. Thomas Conolly,—where, after the performance of the 'First Part of Henry 4th,' an epilogue was, it appears, spoken by Hussy Burgh—afterwards Baron of the Exchequer—one of the most accomplished men that the Bar of Ireland has ever produced. In the year 1761, the Duke of Leinster opened his princely mansion at Cartown, to a series of entertainments of the same description; and, in a list of the characters of the Beggar's Opera, which was one of the pieces performed on this occasion, we find, among a number of other distinguished names (Lord Charlemont, Lady Louisa Conolly, &c.) the rather startling an-

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* The Vocacion of John Bale.

nouncement of—'Lockit by the Rev. Dean Marly.'* This worthy *pendant* to the Bibienus of the Court of Leo 10th, spoke also a Prologue on the same occasion, written by himself, the concluding lines of which are as follows:—

' But when this busy mimic scene is o'er,
All shall resume the worth they had before;
Lockit himself his knavery shall resign,
And lose the Gaoler in the dull Divine.'

Among the most interesting of the other performances recorded in this volume, are those got up in the year 1774, at the seats of Sir Hercules Langrishe and Mr Henry Flood,—where the two celebrated orators, Grattan and Flood, appeared together on the stage, and, in personating the two contending chieftains, Macbeth and Macduff, had a sort of poetical foretaste of their own future rivalry,—'belli propinqui rudimenta.' We find the name of Mr Grattan again connected with private theatricals in the year 1776, when, after a representation of the Masque of Comus, at the country-seat of the Right. Hon. David La Touche, an epilogue from the pen of Mr Grattan was spoken—the only copy of verses, we believe, that this illustrious son of Ireland is known to have written. The verses of great statesmen are always sure to be objects of curiosity,—even when, like those of Cicero, they have no other recommendation than their badness. Some specimens of the poetry of Mr Burke have lately been given to the world, and those who complain of his being too poetical in his prose, will perhaps be consoled by finding him so prosaic in his poetry. Pope says, with perhaps rather an undue pride in his art, that 'the corruption 'of a poet is the generation of a statesman;'—if so, Burke must have been far gone in decomposition, when he wrote such verses. The epilogue of Mr Grattan, however, contains some lively and fluent lines, and our readers, we presume, will not be displeased to see a few of them here:—

' Hist! hist!—I hear a dame of fashion say,
' Lord, how absurd the heroine of this play!
' A god of rank and station was so good
' To take a Lady from a hideous wood,—
' Brought her to all the pleasures of his court,
' Of love, and men, and music the resort;
' Bid mirth and transport wait on her command;
' Gave her a ball, and offered her his hand;
' And she, quite *country*, obstinate and mulish,
' Extremely fine, perhaps, but vastly foolish,

* Afterwards Bishop of Waterford.

'Would neither speak, nor laugh, nor dance, nor sing,
'Nor condescend, nor wed, nor—any thing.'

* * * * *

'But, gentle ladies! you'll, I'm sure, approve
'Your sex's triumph over guilty love;
'Nor will our sports of gaiety alarm you;—
'These little bacchanals will never harm you;*
'Nor Comus' wreathed smiles; and you'll admire,
'Once more, true English force and genuine fire;
'Milton's chaste majesty,—Arne's airy song,
'The light note tripping on Allegro's tongue;
'While the sweet flowing of the purest breast,
'Like Milton tuneful, vestal as his taste,
'Calls Music from her cell, and warbles high
'The rapturous soul of song and sovereign ecstasy.'

We shall not further pursue the enumerations which this volume supplies of the various amateur performances that preceded those of Kilkenny,—except to remark that, in the list of the actors at Shane's Castle in 1785, there occurs one name, which, in the hearts of all true Irishmen, awakens feelings which they can hardly trust their lips to utter—Lord Edward Fitzgerald.

With the Theatricals of Kilkenny expired the last faint remains of what may be called the Social Era in Ireland. 'Adieu, 'Société!' was the lively dying-speech of one of the fellow conspirators of Berton, when about to submit his neck to the guillotine;—and 'adieu, Société!' might, with the same 'tra-'gical mirth,' have been ejaculated by Ireland at the period of the Union. To such times as we have been describing—to such classic and humanizing amusements—has succeeded an age of bitter cant and bewildering controversy. Instead of opening their mansions, as of old, to such innocent and ennobling hospitalities, the Saint-Peers of the present day convert their halls into conventicles and conversion-shops. Where the theatre once re-echoed the young voices of a Grattan and a Flood, the arena is now prepared for the disputations of the Reverend Popes and Maguires. The scenes of Otway and Shakspeare have given way to the often-announced tragedies of Pastorini, and even Farce has taken its last refuge in Sir Harcourt Lees.

We have only to add, that this curious volume, which will, one day or other, be a gem in the eyes of the Bibliomaniac, contains portraits of all the most distinguished members of the Theatrical Society of Kilkenny, Mr Grattan, Mr Thomas Moore, Mr

* The Masque was acted by children.

James Corry, &c. &c. There is also prefixed to the work, a portrait of the Founder of the Society, the late Mr Richard Power,—followed by a tribute to the high qualities of that excellent man, from 'one of the best and warmest hearts, (says 'the Editor of the work,) united with, perhaps, the finest ta-'lents that Ireland ever produced.'* From this just and eloquent eulogy we give the following short extract.

'It was truly said of him, that 'he never made an enemy, or lost 'a friend,'—and in a country distracted by civil and religious discord, a man could not be found, of any sect or party, who felt unkindly towards him. Yet this popularity was not earned by the compliances of a timid or assenting character; he had a benevolent disposition, which made it pleasure to him to make others happy, and he shrunk from giving pain almost with the same instinct that men shrink from suffering it. This made him prompt to approve, and slow to censure; indulgent to error, and encouraging to merit; yet there was something about him that repelled and rebuked whatever was sordid or mean; and, when firmness was required, his integrity was uncompromising, and his courage not to be shaken.'

Art. V.—*Remarks on the Financial Situation of Great Britain.* Pp. 70. London. 1827.

To attempt to prove by argument that many great and signal advantages would result from making a considerable deduction from the amount of taxation, will, probably, seem to many, an unnecessary waste of labour. We hope, however, to be excused for making a few observations on this subject, not so much in the view of showing the oppressiveness of taxation, as of pointing out the mode of its operation. A great deal of misapprehension is entertained with respect to the effect of taxation; and we are ready to admit, that an exaggerated influence has often been ascribed to it. Still, however, it is impossible to doubt, that when carried to the extent to which it has been carried in this country, it is productive of many most pernicious results. It is unnecessary, in order to establish the truth of this proposition, to enter into any details with respect to the nature and operation of particular taxes. However imposed in the first instance, they must ultimately fall on one or more of the three sources of all income—

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* The person alluded to as the writer of the Eulogy, is, we have reason to believe, the able and eloquent Chief Justice Bushe.

rent, profit, and wages; and it is obvious, that when they become very heavy, they inevitably occasion corresponding privations amongst all classes of the community. If taxes are laid directly on wages, or if they are laid on the commodities usually consumed by the labourer,—and unless they are imposed in one or other of these ways, they will very rarely be productive,—it is plain that they must either depress the condition of the labouring classes, who form the great bulk of every society, or they must, by raising wages, lower the rate of profit. Most commonly they have both effects; but in countries where the labouring classes are either very poor, or where they are as much distinguished for prudence and forethought, as in Holland or Great Britain, a tax laid on wages, or on the commodities consumed by the labourers, however injurious to them in its immediate operation, has almost invariably, in the end, the effect to raise their wages nearly in proportion to its amount. When this is the case, the tax falls wholly on the employers of labour, and consequently occasions a corresponding decline in the rate of profit.

It has been said, however, that if the principal effect of heavy taxation be merely to lessen the profits of the capitalist, or, as it is termed, to diminish the power of the rich to consume luxuries, its reduction would be of comparatively little consequence! But it is principally because a heavy taxation has this effect, that we are anxious it should be materially reduced. In our view of the matter, a decline in the rate of profit is decidedly the greatest evil of which taxation, when it becomes oppressive, is productive. The most comprehensive experience shows, that those countries in which capital is increasing with the greatest rapidity, are, *cæteris paribus*, uniformly the most prosperous. They have a constantly increasing demand for labour; and the quantity of necessaries and conveniencies falling to the share of the labourer, is large, compared with the quantity that falls to his share in countries that are nearly stationary. But the principle of increase, by keeping up the population of every country to the level of subsistence, renders it impossible, in most cases, for those who subsist on wages, to do more than support themselves and their families. It is from rent and profit, but in an incomparably greater degree from the latter, that capital is almost entirely formed; and there is no proposition in the whole compass of the science better established than that which teaches that the power of all countries to amass capital, and, by consequence, to advance in the career of wealth and civilization, must be dependent upon, and pretty nearly proportioned to, the respective rates of profit in each. It is obvious, for example, that

it is this circumstance, or the different rates of profit, that obtain in Holland, England, and the United States, that renders the increase of wealth and population almost stationary in the first, slowly progressive in the second, and comparatively rapid in the last. A capital of a million employed in these different countries, would, most probably, yield L.39,000 of nett profit in the first, L.50,000 in the second, and L.80,000 in the last:* And as the owners of capital must, in all cases, live upon its profits, it is plain that the surplus remaining to them, or that the means of accumulation, would, under the circumstances supposed, be in England more than double what they are in Holland, and in the United States more than double what they are in England.

It is plain, therefore, that the prosperity of a country is to be measured by the rate of profit which the capital in her possession yields, or, which is the same thing, by the capacity which she possesses of employing capital and labour with advantage, and not by the absolute amount of her capital, or the number of her people. The capital of Holland, as compared with her population, is undoubtedly larger than that of the United States; though, as the latter is able to employ her capital with infinitely greater advantage than the former, every one is ready to admit that she is also infinitely more prosperous. The *progressive state* is justly characterised by Dr Smith, as being, 'in reality, the 'cheerful and hearty state to all the different orders of the so- 'ciety; the stationary is dull, the declining melancholy.' But as this progressive state is wholly a consequence of a comparatively high rate of profit, it follows, that whatever has any tendency to reduce that rate, ought to be most particularly guarded against.

Not only, however, has a heavy taxation the effect to check the progress of a country by reducing the rate of profit, but it has also a powerful tendency to drive its capital and industry abroad. If a country were isolated from all others, if it were surrounded by Bishop Berkeley's wall of brass, a fall of profits would be of less consequence. It would then merely lessen the rate at which capital was previously accumulating, but it would not lessen its amount, nor consequently the power of the country to feed and support the existing population. But in the actual state of the world, capital is easily transferred to other

* These numbers are not set down as being perfectly accurate, (though, we believe, they are very nearly so,) but to illustrate the principle.

countries; and whenever its transference begins to take place, to any considerable extent, it forms an almost insuperable obstacle to the farther increase of wealth or of taxation. It is not because a man cannot pay more, but because he will not pay more, that taxes frequently cease to be productive. It is very difficult, indeed, to set limits to the power of a great nation, where the security of property and the freedom of industry are maintained, to bear taxes; but, as Mr Ricardo has truly stated, there are limits, and those not so remote as is commonly imagined, to the price which individuals will submit to pay for the privilege of living, or of employing their capital, in their native country.* The rate of profit is always tending to the same common level. That principle of competition which reduces the profits derived from the capital invested in different businesses carried on in the same country to the same average rate, extends its influence over all those countries that have any intercourse together. The same motives that prevent a capitalist from employing capital in any branch of industry carried on in Liverpool or Manchester, for example, unless it yields as large a profit as might be derived from employing it in London, would, provided the moral or immaterial advantages attending the investment of capital were the same, lead him to employ it in France rather than in England, if by so doing he could realize a larger return. It is, no doubt, true, that there are a variety of circumstances, such as the difference of language, the ignorance of foreign manners and customs, and sometimes the greater want of security, that in many cases, oppose the most formidable obstacles to the transfer of capital to foreign countries. But experience has shown, that a comparatively low rate of profit has invariably proved more than sufficient to overbalance these disadvantages. The low rate of profit in Holland, during the last century, prevented her capitalists from laying out any portion of their accumulations at home, and thus paved the way for the slow but gradual, and, ultimately, complete destruction of her fisheries, manufactures, and commerce. It will be singular infatuation, if we do not endeavour to profit by this awful warning. Our situation bears, in many respects, a very close resemblance to that of Holland in the early part of last century. The low rate of profit that has obtained amongst us since the peace, has already been productive of consequences that ought to excite the most anxious attention to the means by which their future recurrence may be averted. It

* Principles of Political Economy and Taxation, 1st edit. p. 340.

has served to counterbalance the most extreme risk that can be supposed to attend foreign investments, and has tempted our capitalists to adventure in the most ruinous enterprises. Every foreign state, no matter what sort of security she had to offer, has been able to negotiate loans in England; and notwithstanding the immense losses that have been already sustained, there is not, with the single exception perhaps of Ferdinand of Spain, a sovereign in Europe, or a cacique in South America, whom the capitalists of London would not willingly undertake to supply with the largest sums of money on the most reasonable terms.

In our view of the matter, therefore, we are inclined to consider the heavy taxation to which we are subjected, as likely to be infinitely more injurious in time to come than it has been hitherto, or is likely to be for some considerable period. During the war, capital could not be easily transferred to other countries; and the waste occasioned by the expenses to which we were subjected, was in a great measure defrayed by the increased spirit of frugality and industry that the increase of taxation infused into all classes. But a period of peace not only enables other nations to avail themselves of those superior facilities of production, which have hitherto enabled us to support our comparatively heavy burdens; but it also affords unusual facilities for the transference of capital to them. It is true, indeed, that the disastrous effects which a comparatively heavy taxation may thus be expected to produce, are not of a description that can speedily develope themselves; they undermine by slow degrees; and any considerable discovery in the arts might serve partially to counteract them; and, by increasing our powers of production, would, in so far, lessen the pressure of our burdens. But though such discoveries may be expected to occur, it would be wrong to calculate too confidently upon them; and though they should occur, still, as they cannot be monopolized, it is clear that a relatively heavy taxation must act as a constant *premium* on and incentive to the transference of capital from every country subject to its operation; and can hardly, therefore, fail of being, in the end, productive of the most disastrous consequences.

Under these circumstances, none can doubt that it is the bounden duty of Ministers to make every possible retrenchment, and to confine the public expense within the narrowest limit within which it can be compressed, consistently with the maintenance of the tranquillity and independence of the country. Nothing, therefore, could be more satisfactory or gratifying, than the statement made by Mr Canning, corroborated as it was by the pledge in the speech from the Throne at the prorogation, that Ministers had resolved to submit the consideration of all matters connected

with the public income and expenditure to a committee, and that they were determined to cut down every unnecessary expense. We believe that Lord Goderich and his colleagues have the public interest too much at heart, to hesitate about giving the fullest effect to every practicable scheme of retrenchment. And they may be assured, that a determination to act in the spirit of Mr Canning's declaration, notwithstanding the opposition that may be expected from interested and powerful individuals, will entitle them to the lasting gratitude of the nation, and will be productive of the most advantageous consequences. At the same time, however, we must say, that those who expect that any retrenchments, which it is in the power of the best intentioned and most powerful Ministers to adopt, will of themselves afford any material relief from the pressure of taxation, are a great deal more sanguine than we are. A diminution of the public burdens is neither, indeed, the sole nor even the principal recommendation in favour of an unsparing system of retrenchment. The corrupt influence engendered by the multiplication of unnecessary functionaries, and by an excess in the emoluments received by them, is productive of the most pernicious results. It is not in any respect necessary to a government possessed of the public confidence; though it is of the last importance to one that is deprived of that legitimate support, and may even enable it to maintain itself in power, and to prosecute a course of measures hostile alike to the wishes and interests of the public. A patriotic and really enlightened administration cannot be otherwise than anxious to take away a source of influence, which, while it can do no good, may be thus easily perverted to the very worst purposes, at the same time that it is productive of a heavy expense. But the advantages of a political description that would result from the suppression of this illegitimate source of unnecessary and much abused power, though not the only, are, in our apprehension, certainly by far the most important, that can be expected from retrenchment. If we would really lessen the heavy pressure on the national resources, and by rendering industry more productive raise the rate of profit, we must go much deeper than this. It is not by amputating a few sinecures, by paying off some dozens of supernumerary clerks, nor even by disbanding a few superfluous regiments, that the real evils which afflict the country can be materially mitigated, much less removed.

According to the official accounts, printed by order of the House of Commons, the total public expenditure of the United Kingdom, for 1826, was as follows:—

Public Expenditure of the United Kingdom, for the year ending 5th January 1827, after deducting Repayments, Allowances, Discounts, Drawbacks, &c. exclusive of the Sums applicable to the Reduction of the National Debt during the same period. (Finance Accounts for 1826, p. 19.)

	£	s.	d.	£	s.	d.
PAYMENTS OUT OF THE INCOME, in its progress to the Exchequer:						
CHARGES of Collection	4,030,337	7	2⅞			
Other Payments	1,357,047	7	11¾			
TOTAL Payments out of the Income, prior to the Payments into the Exchequer .				5,387,348	15	2⅝
PAYMENTS OUT OF THE EXCHEQUER:						
Dividends, Interest and Management of the Public Funded Debt, four Quarters to 10th October 1826, exclusive of L.5,591,231, 16*s.* 2*d.* issued to the Commissioners for the Reduction of the National Debt . . .	27,245,750	14	—			
Interest on Exchequer Bills	831,207	6	3			
				28,076,958	—	3
Issued to the Trustees of Naval and Military Pensions, per Act 3 Geo. IV. c. 51. . .	2,214,260	—	—			
Ditto to the Bank of England, per Act 4 Geo. IV. c. 22.	585,740	—	—			
				2,800,000	—	—
Civil list	1,057,000	—	—			
Pensions charged by Act of Parliament on Consolidated Fund, four Quarters to 10th October 1826	364,268	6	3¼			
Salaries and allowance . . do. . .	69,115	13	5			
Courts of Justice . . . do. . .	150,590	15	11½			
Mint . . . . . . do. . .	14,750	—	—			
Bounties . . . . . do. . .	2,956	13	8			
Miscellaneous . . . . do. . .	204,064	7	9			
Do. . Ireland . . . do. . .	301,427	10	6½			
				2,164,173	7	7¼
Advance on account of the Wet Docks at Leith	240,000	—	—			
For the purchase of the Duke of Atholl's Interests in the Public Revenues of the Isle of Man	150,000	—	—			
Towards rebuilding London Bridge, per Act 7 Geo. IV. c. 40.	120,000	—	—			
				510,000	—	—
Army	8,297,360	15	8½			
Navy	6,540,634	9	2			
Ordnance	1,869,606	6	8¼			
Miscellaneous	2,566,783	11	5¼			
				19,274,385	6	—
Lottery Prizes	69,802	5	10			
By the Commissioners for issuing Exchequer Bills, per Act 3 Geo. IV. c. 86, for the Employment of the Poor	443,300	—	—			
Advances out of the Consolidated Fund in Ireland, for Public Works	546,922	2	6½			
				1,060,024	8	4½
TOTAL				59,272,925	17	5⅜
Surplus of Income paid into Exchequer, over Expenditure issued thereout . . . . £				1,009,448	8	—¼
£				60,282,374	5	5⅝

Now, it is obvious from this Account, that the field for retrenching from the direct public expenditure of the country, is much more limited than is generally supposed. *About* A HALF *of the whole expenditure goes to the payment of the interest on the public debt, and is not, therefore, susceptible of the least diminution.* With respect to the payments on account of the Civil List and Pensions, amounting together to about L.1,400,000, there can be no doubt that savings, important in a political point of view, may be effected in them; but it is visionary to imagine that they can have any perceptible effect on the *financial* condition of the country. If any considerable savings are to be made, they must be effected either in the collection of the revenue, or in the Army, Navy, Ordnance, and Miscellaneous departments. In these, certainly, there is much room for retrenchment; though even there it will, we apprehend, be found, that that room is not nearly so extensive as is commonly believed. It is extremely doubtful whether anything can be saved from the expense of collection, otherwise than by a reduction of some oppressive duties, and an improvement in the mode of imposing others. The salaries of the officers of Customs and Excise are anything but excessive. In some departments, perhaps, as in the Scotch Custom-house, a few thousand pounds might be saved by the dismissal of a number of superior officers who are wholly unnecessary; but that is all. The great bulk of the expenditure is incurred on account of the inferior officers; and if any change is to be made in their salaries, they must be augmented, not reduced.

A considerable diminution might certainly be effected in the cost of the army, amounting at present to upwards of *eight* millions a-year. But, we incline to think that this diminution ought rather to be effected by gradually withdrawing the troops from the colonies, some of which ought to be abandoned, than by disbanding any portion of those that now form the peace establishment of Great Britain and Ireland. It is held by many, to whose opinion on such subjects the greatest deference is due, to be very doubtful whether there are at present any considerable number of supernumerary soldiers in this country. And it is clear that, in the peculiar circumstances under which Great Britain is placed, with an immense manufacturing population congregated into large masses, liable to be suddenly thrown out of employment, and exposed to every sort of privation, a powerful military force is indispensable for preserving the peace of the country, and giving confidence to the owners of property. Had it not been for the activity with which troops were poured into Lancashire, on the breaking out of the riots there in the spring of

1826, it is impossible to say how much property might have been destroyed: and should a suspicion ever get abroad, that the public force was inadequate effectually to guarantee the security of property, there would be an end of our manufacturing superiority, and the arts and wealth of Britain would speedily become the property of others. It has, we are aware, been said, that the place of the troops of the line might be as advantageously, for all purposes of security, and with infinitely greater cheapness, supplied by embodying a greater number of yeomen! But there are the strongest reasons for objecting to any such proposal. A well disciplined soldier is an incomparably better peace preserver than a yeoman. The former does what he is ordered, and he does no more; he is neither Whig, Tory, nor Radical; he has no political, party, or religious heresies to avenge—no partialities to gratify. A yeoman, on the contrary, is more than half a citizen; and as such, is influenced by all the feelings and prejudices common to the district and *caste* to which he belongs: When a corps of such persons is employed to suppress any disturbance, society is divided into distinct classes; and the revolting spectacle is exhibited of neighbour opposed to neighbour, and relation arrayed against relation. In consequence, the most irreconcilable antipathies are engendered; and instead of the public tranquillity being preserved by the employment of such a species of force, every sort of outrage is rendered more prevalent, and acquires a darker shade of atrocity. One of the first measures of Lord Cornwallis, after his assumption of the reins of government in Ireland during the rebellion, was to separate the yeomanry from the army, and to order them into quarters; and every one who knows anything of the history of that calamitous period, is ready to admit that the measure was productive of the best effects, and that it contributed more perhaps than any other to allay the public irritation, and to put a stop to the horrors of the most savage warfare of which modern history has preserved any account. Had regular troops only been employed at Manchester on the famous 16th of August 1819, it is most probable that the loss of lives that then took place would have been wholly avoided, and at any rate, the events that occurred would have been productive of infinitely less rancour and irritation. We do, therefore, enter our protest against any attempt to supply the place of regular troops, by embodying additional yeomen. It would, we are inclined to think, be sound policy, not only as it respects security, but also as it respects economy, to discharge the greater number of the existing yeomanry corps; but at all events, we trust that no open or underhand effort will

ever be made to increase their number at the expense of the troops of the line.

We have not information enough to say whether any considerable saving might be effected in any of the subordinate departments of the military service; though it is sufficiently clear that no deduction can be made from the pay either of the troops or the officers. But the country has a right to expect that every retrenchment which can be made, without impairing the efficiency of the army, should be unsparingly carried into effect.

With respect to the second great branch of the public expenditure susceptible of diminution, or that incurred on account of the Navy, we confess we have very great doubts whether it is not already reduced as low as it can safely be carried. The continuance of the odious and revolting practice of impressment, is at present the great defect in the naval policy of Britain. But it is worse than idle to declaim against the continuance of this practice, and at the same time object to the expense of keeping up a powerful naval force during peace. If such a number of seamen be not maintained in the king's ships in time of peace, as may suffice, when the ordinary number of landsmen and boys are taken on board, to man the fleet on the breaking out of a war, it is plain that impressment *must* be persevered in. It is continued, not because the Council of the High Admiral have any particular liking for crimping and man-stealing, but because John Bull, notwithstanding all his boasting about humanity, will rather tolerate such practices than part with his money. We have, however, been assured by those who have had good opportunities for forming an accurate opinion, that such retrenchments might be made, by discharging a considerable number of marines, by enforcing a greater degree of economy in the dock-yards, &c. as would enable 10,000 additional seamen to be kept afloat, without materially increasing the public expense; and such a force, added to that already in the pay of government, would probably be enough to enable us to meet any emergency that is likely to occur, without resorting to impressment.

With respect to the savings that might be effected in the Ordnance and Miscellaneous Departments, we do not profess to be able to form any opinion. That retrenchments may be made in them, is not, we believe, denied by any one; but we do not know whether they will be of any material importance.

On the whole, therefore, we are persuaded that if we estimate the entire amount of the savings that might be effected by such a retrenchment as should lop off every useless expense, without, however, in any degree impairing the power of government to

maintain the tranquillity and independence of the country, at *two* or *three* millions, we shall be very far indeed beyond the mark. And although we do not mean to say that a saving of this extent, by admitting of the repeal and reduction of some very oppressive and vexatious taxes, would not be of considerable service in an economical point of view, still we cannot deceive ourselves so far as to imagine for a moment, that it would perceptibly increase the rate of profit, or afford that real and substantial relief which is so indispensable. We do not wish to exaggerate the difficulties under which the country is at present placed. On the contrary, we are fully satisfied that they may all be made to yield to good legislation, and the adoption of sound principles; and that no incurable evil has as yet fastened itself on our vitals. But we should only be exciting expectations that must be wholly disappointed, and fostering an unfounded delusion which cannot fail to be productive of the most mischievous consequences, if we attempted to make the public believe, that any *measures of retrenchment*, which it is in the power of government to adopt, can be of any material advantage in the way of lightening the pressure on the national resources.

The truth is, that this pressure is not occasioned by the expenditure on account of the peace establishment of the country, but by an erroneous system of commercial legislation, and the magnitude of the public debt. It will not, indeed, require any very elaborate statement to show that the burdens imposed on the country, not for any purpose of common utility or national advantage, but in order to support some of the most oppressive and ruinous monopolies that ever were devised, are *decidedly greater than the whole expense incurred on account of the public service*, exclusive of the payment of the interest of the debt. The abolition of these monopolies is the grand object to which the exertions of a really enlightened administration, anxious to improve the condition of the country, and to strengthen the foundations of her prosperity and power, ought to be especially directed. Compared with this, all other objects of domestic policy are of secondary, and, indeed, very inferior importance. And should the great and signal relief that would be derived from this source, not be sufficient to remove the unfavourable symptoms in the situation of the country, it would still be in the power of government, by paying off a part of the public debt, to make the work of regeneration complete, to give a new and powerful impulse to industry, and to add prodigiously to the opulence, power, and resources of the nation. When these things have been done, when the abuses that threaten to subvert the whole public economy have been removed, we may begin to feel some interest

in the praiseworthy efforts of those who endeavour to catch at a little popularity, by making proposals for stripping the facings from the jackets of the hussars, or by denouncing an abuse in the contract for spurs!

We endeavoured to show, in the article on the Corn Laws, in the 88th Number of this Journal, that the quantity of the different sorts of grain annually consumed in Great Britain and Ireland, might be estimated at about 48,000,000 of quarters; and that, in the event of the ports being opened to the importation of foreign corn under a constant duty of 5s. or 6s. a-quarter, prices would most probably decline, upon an average, 8s. a-quarter. The multiplied discussions that this subject has since undergone, have tended to impress us with a conviction that we have considerably underrated the quantity of grain annually consumed in the empire, and the reduction of price that would be occasioned by opening the ports under a duty of 5s. or 6s. But moderate as our estimate most certainly is, it shows that the corn laws are, in their operation and effect on the consumer, equivalent to a tax of 8s. a-quarter; and that they amount, on the aggregate quantity consumed in the empire, to L.19,200,000 a-year, or to about the whole cost of the peace establishment! Neither is this the worst view that may be taken of this monopoly. It does not merely force us to pay an artificially increased price for our bread; but it forces us to do this without securing a corresponding advantage to any one else. The principle of competition will not allow the farmers to obtain a greater rate of profit on the capital they employ in the raising of corn, than that which is obtained by the manufacturers and merchants. An increase in the price of corn may, it is true, be of advantage to them during the currency of their leases, but when they expire their rents are increased proportionally to the increase of price; at the same time that the rate of profit is lowered universally by the forced cultivation of inferior soils, and by the increased share of their produce, that must of necessity go to the labourers employed in their cultivation. The landlords form the only class who derive any advantage from restrictions on the Corn Trade; but they are not benefited nearly to the same extent that others are injured. When an ordinary tax is imposed, when, for instance, a duty is laid on malt, those who receive the produce of the tax get the whole of what is lost by the public—But such is not the case with the sums forced out of the pockets of the consumers by a restriction on the importation of foreign corn. The restriction raises the price of corn; but it does so only because it forces the supplies that would, but for its operation, have been obtained at a cheaper rate from the fo-

reigner, to be raised from inferior soils at home; and the rise of price is proportioned only to the increased cost of cultivating such soils. That portion of the raw produce of a country which is over and above the expenses of its production, including therein the ordinary rate of profit on the stock belonging to the agriculturists, forms the rent of the landlords; and in so far as the price of this portion of the produce is raised by an artificial regulation, the landlords reap the benefit. But it is proved by evidence taken before the Committees of the House of Commons, on the Corn Laws in 1814 and 1821, and by the statements in the best agricultural works, that the proportion of the produce of the soil, which goes to the landlords as rent, does not in this country amount to a *fourth*—And supposing that those ruinously destructive fluctuations which are inseparable from the restrictive system, and which are fully as injurious to the landlords as to any other class, could be got rid of, still it is plain that they would not receive, on the most exaggerated estimate, FIVE millions of the NINETEEN which the Corn Laws force out of the pockets of the public! The rest are wasted without advantage to any individual whatever; are, in fact, as much destroyed as if they were cast into the sea or the fire.

The advocates of agricultural monopoly may rail, quibble, and carp at this statement; but the only objection to which it is really liable, is, that it depreciates the loss occasioned by the Corn Laws. Lords Malmesbury, Lauderdale, &c., were ready enough to condemn, in no very measured terms, the policy of Bonaparte, who loaded colonial sugar with an immense duty, in order to encourage its manufacture in France from the beet-root. But we take leave to say, whatever our hereditary legislators may think of this policy, that it is decidedly less vicious and absurd than that to which they are clinging with such desperate tenacity. Corn is an incomparably more important article than sugar, and an artificial increase of its price is, therefore, incomparably more injurious. We might, by exporting L.1000 worth of manufactured goods to Poland or Russia, obtain in exchange for them as much corn as would require L.1500 to produce in this country; and yet we interdict this exchange from being made! We force our people to give *three* days' labour, or the produce of *three* days' labour, for the same quantity of food they might otherwise obtain for *two* days' labour. We leave it to others to decide, whether this system be more disgraceful to the intelligence, or ruinous to all the best interests, of the country. By forcing the extension of tillage,

and consequently raising rents, it may, in the first instance, perhaps, be of some trifling advantage to the landlords. But it is clear that it must, by depressing the rate of profit, and forcing us to misemploy a large proportion of our capital and industry, be decidedly hostile to the manufacturing and commercial prosperity of the country; and, by consequence, to the real and lasting interests of the owners of land.

'The selfish policy of the landlords, must,' to use the words of Colonel Torrens, 'counteract itself; and their unjustifiable 'combination for enriching themselves, at the expense of the 'industrious classes, must end in reducing their rents considerably below what they would have been under a system of free 'trade and open competition. The landed proprietors of England possess at this moment the important advantage of immediate vicinity to the largest and most flourishing manufacturing towns in the world; and the consequence is, that, 'in proportion to its fertility, land in England must pay a higher 'rent than in any other country. Let not senseless avarice 'destroy the sources of the golden eggs—let not the proprietors 'of England, by restricting the importation of foreign agricultural produce, raise the value of such produce in our markets, 'and thus depress the rate of profit, until the seats of manufacture are transferred to France, or Holland, or Germany. 'No proposition in Euclid admits of a more rigid demonstration, than that the highest rents will be paid in countries in 'which manufacturing industry is carried to the greatest 'height. But it is obviously impossible that manufactures 'should continue to flourish in a country where restrictions on 'the importation of corn raise the value of raw produce in relation to wrought goods, and thereby depress manufacturing 'profits below the rate prevailing in the neighbouring countries. If we do not freely import foreign produce, our manufacturing superiority cannot be maintained, and, by necessary 'consequence, our high comparative rents cannot continue to 'be paid.'*

The abolition of the Corn Laws, or the opening of the ports, under such a duty as may be sufficient to countervail the peculiar taxes imposed on the agriculturists, ought, therefore, to be the first object to which the attention of Ministers should be directed. Such a measure would confer infinitely more real

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* See the fourth edition, p. 169, of the very complete and valuable work of Colonel Torrens on the Corn Laws.

advantage on the country, than any other which it is in the power of the legislature to adopt. But the number, rank, and influence of those who imagine, however erroneously, that they have a material interest in the support of the Corn Laws, is so very great, that unless Ministers are strongly supported by the public voice, they will neither be able to bring forward a good bill, nor to carry it successfully through the Upper House. This is not a matter of party politics, but of great national interest; and it is out of the question to suppose that it should be carried, if the public appear supine or indifferent to its success.

The next monopoly, every vestige of which ought to be swept off, is that of the West India planters and mortgagees. We have not only given them a monopoly of the British market, against the Brazilians and other foreigners, but we have imposed an extra duty of 10s. a-cwt. on all sugar imported from our dominions in the East Indies. A variety of estimates have been formed with respect to the cost of this monopoly to the people of Britain; and the zeal with which it is supported by the West Indians, shows that it must be very advantageous to them, or, in other words, very costly to us. It has been repeatedly stated, that if the same duties were imposed on all sugars imported into Great Britain, we should be able to buy as good sugar for 4d., or at most 4½d. per lb., as now costs 6d. But taking the difference at only 1d. per lb., it would make, on the total quantity imported into Great Britain, amounting on an average to about 380,000,000 lbs. a-year, a saving of no less than L.1,583,000. And it will be observed that we are obliged to incur this heavy charge for no object of public utility, but merely to enable a few West India merchants and planters to linger on in a disadvantageous employment, and to foster a system of slavery which we are constantly professing our earnest desire to abandon!

The monopoly of the tea trade enjoyed by the East India Company, is, if possible, still more injurious. For proof of this allegation, we beg our readers will take the trouble to refer to the article on the Company's monopoly in the 78th Number of this Journal. It is there established, by a comparison of the prices of the same descriptions of tea at Amsterdam, Hamburgh, and New-York, where the trade is free, with the prices of the teas sold in London by the East India Company, exclusive, in both cases, of the duty, that the latter receive, on the whole quantity of tea sold by them, about *two* millions a-year more than the same quantity of tea would cost if the Company's monopoly were abolished. No attempt has ever been made to

controvert this statement. It is bottomed on official documents, and is not liable to any sort of cavil or dispute.

The monopoly of the timber trade, enjoyed by the Canada merchants and the ship-owners, costs the public, in the increased price of timber, at least L.1,500,000; at the same time that it has the effect to force the employment of a large quantity of inferior timber, and to injure and depress one of the most important branches of our trade,—that with the North of Europe.

There are a variety of minor, though still sufficiently oppressive monopolies. But if measures were adopted for effecting the gradual abolition of those already specified, they would, besides many collateral advantages, save the public an unprofitable and useless expenditure of TWENTY-FOUR millions a-year! The items are—

Saving by the abolition of the Corn Laws, .	L.19,200,000
Do. by the abolition of the monopoly of the West India Planters, &c.	1,583,000
Do. by the abolition of the East India Company's Tea Monopoly, ...	2,000,000
Do. by the abolition of the monopoly of the Timber Trade, ...	1,500,000
	L.24,283,000

And deducting from this sum the *four* or *five* millions received by the landlords, in consequence of the increase of rent caused by the restrictions on the Corn Trade, there will remain a sum of NINETEEN OR TWENTY MILLIONS, which are annually wasted in the forced cultivation of bad soils, and in the support of the most odious monopolies. Here, then, is a sum considerably larger than the whole expenditure on account of the peace establishment, *three-fourths* of which are absolutely lost or destroyed, and the other *fourth* received by those who have not even the shadow of a right to any bonus whatever. It is really worse than absurd to suppose that an attention to 'cheese-'parings and candle-ends'—that any savings which can be effected in the ordinary expenditure, how desirable soever these savings may be on political grounds, can be of any real or effectual advantage to those who tolerate so scandalous a waste of the national resources. But if this system must be continued—if the landlords, the West India planters, the East India Company, and other privileged classes, are at all hazards to be pampered and supported at the expense of the nation, the best and cheapest plan would be to levy taxes to the extent of *ten* millions

a-year, and to divide the produce amongst them. A plan of this sort would be more advantageous for those who are to receive the bonus, at the same time that it would save the public upwards of *ten* millions a-year—a sum at least *four* times as great as will ever be saved by any system of retrenchment.

We have previously said, that the present situation of Great Britain bears, in many respects, a very close resemblance to the situation of Holland during the early part of last century—But the statements we have now made show also that the condition of the two countries is in other respects radically different. The low rate of profit in Holland was not occasioned by restrictions on the Corn Trade, or by oppressive monopolies granted to particular classes of citizens. It did not, therefore, admit of being raised by a change in the commercial legislation of the country. But such, fortunately, is our case. The resources of this country are very far indeed from being exhausted; it is in the power of government, by giving freedom to the corn and colonial trades, and by opening the innumerable markets of China and the East to the free and unfettered competition of the merchants of England, to raise the rate of profit, and to give a vast stimulus to industry. If we decline, it is because we refuse to avail ourselves of the means of production within our reach; because we have consented to sacrifice the wealth, power, and prosperity of the nation to the blind unthinking avarice of a few individuals.

But it is said, that though it cannot be doubted that the abolition of the various monopolies already referred to would greatly improve the condition of the country, still, so long as we are oppressed by a debt which costs us an annual payment of nearly *thirty* millions a-year, we must always be placed under a great disadvantage as compared with countries not subjected to so heavy a burden; and that unless means can be devised for lessening the pressure of this burden, we must eventually languish and decline! But supposing that this is a true representation, that surely can never be deemed a valid reason why we should relax in our efforts to free ourselves from the trammels of monopoly. The greater the weight of the legitimate burdens imposed on us, the more indispensable is it that we should be relieved of every other. And although it is impossible to speak with perfect confidence on such a point, we have the strongest conviction, that if the industry of the country were allowed full scope, if the fetters by which it is bound down were cut asunder, and our various productive powers and capacities allowed to develope themselves to the utmost, the taxation required to defray the peace expenditure of the

country, and the interest of the public debt, would not be found to press with undue severity on the industrious classes.

Supposing, however, that it were to be otherwise, still our condition would not be desperate. It would still be in the power of government—and in order to guard against the possibility of danger, sound policy would suggest that they should early avail themselves of that power—to discharge a part of the public debt. We do not mean to say that this is ever likely to be done by the operose jugglery of sinking-funds; and we do not presume to insinuate that any ministry will ever be found profligate enough to attempt to lessen the national debt, by depriving the public creditors of any part of their just claims. But we do say that if we are so disposed, the means are completely in our power, of making a *bona fide* payment of the whole, or any given portion, of the public debt, and of thus relieving the country in a proportional degree of the immense taxation required to defray the interest. We shall, in as few words as possible, endeavour to show how this might be effected.

Various schemes have been at different times proposed for immediately paying off the public debt; but these schemes, except in so far as they involve a proportional transfer of capital to the public creditor, are wholly fallacious and undeserving of attention. The scheme for discharging the national debt by assessing the capital of the country, was originally proposed by a very intelligent and patriotic member of Parliament, Mr Archibald Hutcheson, in the reign of George I., and has in our own day been strongly recommended by Mr Ricardo and others. According to Mr Hutcheson's plan, 10 per cent. was to be deducted from the principal of the funded debt, an assessment of 10 per cent. being at the same time laid on all the capital of the country to extinguish the remainder. A power was to be given to the proprietors of estates to sell as much of them as might be required to defray their share of the assessment, notwithstanding any disability arising from settlements or entails; and they were also to be entitled to deduct 10 per cent. from all mortgages and other burdens with which they might be affected.

Undoubtedly, however, were an attempt now to be made to extinguish the whole public debt, a larger assessment than that proposed by Mr Hutcheson would be required. If we take the principal of the funded debt at 760 millions, and suppose that the assessment is to be 24 per cent., it would require 578 millions for the extinction of the entire debt. But supposing that the half only of the debt, or that 289 millions, were to be paid off,

there can be no doubt that we are in a situation to make such an effort. And though we are by no means blind to the many difficulties that stand in the way of the accomplishment of such a measure, and to the immediate sacrifices which it would occasion, still it seems to us pretty clear, that the former might be made to yield to prudent, firm, and skilful management; and we do not think that the latter ought to be considered as forming any very material deduction from the many lasting advantages that would result from so great a diminution of the public debt, and consequently of the pressure of taxation.

Though it would be wrong to trust implicitly to the calculations of political arithmeticians, there are sufficient data to entitle us to conclude, that an assessment of 12 per cent. on the capital of the country, would be sufficient to cancel half the public debt. Mr Pitt estimated the taxable income of Great Britain in 1798, exclusive of the income arising from professions, from the interest of the public funds, and from foreign possessions, at 106 millions, which, at 20 years' purchase, would be equivalent to a capital of 2120 millions. There are no good grounds for thinking that this estimate was overrated. Dr Beeke, in the second edition of his very valuable and elaborate pamphlet on the Income Tax, estimated the entire capital of Great Britain, belonging to private individuals, at 2000 millions, exclusive of any value which might be assumed for personal labour, and also exclusive of the value of foreign possessions. Neither of these estimates, it will be observed, includes Ireland; but as the whole empire would be equally benefited by the reduction of the public debt, every part of it ought to contribute equally to that great object. We do not know that there are any very good materials for forming an estimate of the value of the capital of Ireland; but supposing it to amount to *one-sixth* part of that of Great Britain, or 333 millions, that would give 2333 millions as the value of the entire capital of the empire, which is 300 millions under Dr Colquhoun's estimate.

Assuming, therefore, and it is certainly very considerably within the mark, that the capital of the empire may be estimated at 2330 millions, it follows that an assessment of 12 per cent. on this sum would be about adequate to discharge the half of the existing public debt of the country. When, indeed, we call to mind, that the nett revenue, exclusive of the produce of loans, paid into the Treasury during the three last years of the war, amounted to 225 millions, every one must be satisfied, that, if we are so disposed, it is completely in our power, by a very little exertion, to extinguish the half, if not the whole, of the public debt.

It is evident that this scheme could not inflict any peculiar hardship on the holders of capital. A gentleman with a fortune of L.10,000, yielding an annual revenue of L.500, out of which he is, perhaps, obliged to pay L.100 towards the interest of the public debt, is, in fact, only worth L.8,000; and, in the most unfavourable view of the matter, he would be equally rich whether he continued to pay this L.100 a-year, or made at once and for ever a single payment of L.2,000. In reality, however, he would be a very great gainer by the change, in consequence, as will be immediately shown, of the addition it would make to the rate of profit, and the various collateral advantages of which it would be productive.

But it is alleged by the opponents of this plan, that the assessment could not be fairly apportioned, and that, while landlords, and other holders of fixed property, would be made to contribute their full share, the monied, commercial, and manufacturing classes, would be able to avoid a considerable portion of the assessment that ought to fall on them. That this statement is true to a certain extent cannot be denied. But the same thing may be said of all taxes whatever; none of them can be made to fall equally on all classes; they always press with greater or less severity on particular individuals. No one, however, has presumed to contend that the impossibility of adjusting any tax, precisely in proportion to the ability of the payers, ought to be held as a valid reason against taxes being imposed. The advantages derived from the institution of government, and the necessity of imposing taxes to provide for its support, are admitted on all hands to be a sufficient reason for disregarding the little inequalities that will always attach to the best concerted plan of taxation. The same principle ought to govern our decision with respect to the case we are now considering. Every effort should be made to render the assessment as equal and impartial as possible; and the inequality that might, after all, belong to it, would not really form a greater deduction from the many public advantages of which it could not fail to be productive, than the inequality in our present system of taxation, from the benefits derived from the institution of government, and the protection thereby afforded to our persons and properties.

The Income-Tax was imposed during the latter years of the war with very considerable fairness; and it is not easy to see why the capital belonging to individuals might not be assessed with equal facility as their incomes. The same sort of machinery by which the one tax was collected, might serve to collect the other. And, as the assessment on capital is not to be

continued, but is to cease and determine at once, there could be no good objection to arming the commissioners with powers on such an occasion, which might perhaps be justly reckoned oppressive were they given them to enforce the collection of a constant tax.

Supposing, however, that all sorts of capital might be equally assessed, still it may be urged, as was done by Mr Hume, in his remarks on Mr Hutcheson's scheme, in his Essay on Public Credit, that the labouring classes, and persons possessed of professional incomes, pay a considerable portion of the taxes, and that it would be oppressive and unjust to charge capitalists with the whole burden of the debt, of which they now bear a part only. But this objection is really fallacious. Taxation must, in the long run, raise wages in the same proportion that it raises the price of the commodities necessarily consumed by the labourer. The price of the necessaries of life is, in fact, the cost of producing labour. The supply cannot be procured if it is not paid for—And although a certain period, of greater or less extent, according to the circumstances of the country at the time, must commonly elapse before wages and prices are proportionally adjusted, there can be no doubt that, in the end, this adjustment will take place. But when wages rise in consequence of an increase of taxation, that rise must occasion an equal *deduction* from the profits of the capitalists; and when, on the other hand, wages fall in consequence of a reduction of taxation, the fall occasions an equal addition to the profits of the capitalists.

It appears, therefore, that the owners of capital could have no reasonable ground of complaint, because of their being called upon to discharge the principal of that part of the public debt of which the interest is now paid by the labouring classes ; for, any advantage they may appear to derive from this payment of interest, is not real but nominal, being purchased at the expense of a corresponding diminution of profit. It cannot, consequently, be justly maintained, that in sacrificing a portion of their capital for the purpose of paying off the public debt, capitalists would be taking on their own shoulders a burden which at present presses equally on all classes. In all old, settled, and fully peopled countries, wages are too low to admit of the labourer contributing any considerable portion of his earnings for the support of the state. After a tax has been imposed, it may press for a while with peculiar severity on the lower classes; but such a state of things cannot be permanent. A rise of wages is seldom or never, perhaps, exactly coincident with a rise in the price of necessaries; but they have a constant tend-

ency to equality, and on the average of a considerable number of years must nearly correspond. It is a fundamental principle, that whatever taxes fall, either directly or indirectly, on wages, must in the end fall almost wholly on rent or profits; and hence it follows, that, in providing for their discharge, landlords and capitalists are making no extraordinary sacrifice for the public benefit; but, in reality, are only discharging an encumbrance, which, whatever immediate mischief it may occasion to others, must at last fall entirely on themselves.

Mr Hume's objection is somewhat better founded when restricted to the case of professional men, as lawyers, physicians, &c.; for, although the incomes of such persons must always bear some proportion to the price of necessaries, they are not so directly and immediately influenced by its rise or fall. There can be no doubt, however, that the repeal of so great an amount of taxes as would follow the extinction of half the public debt, would occasion such an enhancement in the exchangeable value of money, as would lead to the speedy reduction of the nominal or money incomes of professional men. The present scale of fees would be reduced; and whatever advances a capitalist might make in the first instance, on account of his professional advisers, would be compensated by the reduced rate at which he would henceforth obtain their services.

It has been further objected to this plan, that it would cause so large a quantity of land and other fixed property to be simultaneously brought to market, as would occasion a great loss to the sellers; and that property would be forced into the hands of persons incompetent to its management. But a little reflection will serve to satisfy every one that this objection is either wholly fallacious, or at all events very greatly exaggerated. The number of buyers and lenders would be increased in the same proportion as the number of sellers and borrowers. The public creditors who were to receive payment of their claims on the state, would want an investment for their stock, and would feel anxious either to lend it to landholders, manufacturers, &c., or to purchase the property they might have to dispose of. It does not, therefore, appear that the adoption of this plan could really have the effect to force any one to part with property he was inclined to retain; it might indeed force him to borrow money upon it; but as it would, on the other hand, relieve him from an equal payment to government, he would not be in this respect in a worse condition; while he would reap his full share of the various national advantages resulting from the reduction of taxation.

It might, perhaps, be advisable, in order to occasion as little derangement as possible to the ordinary transactions of the country during the progress of the measure, to issue an increased supply of government paper, to assist in carrying it into effect. Suppose government were to commence the measure by issuing *fifty* millions of Exchequer bills to the holders of *fifty* millions of stock, which bills should be receivable in payment of the contributions of capitalists, it being at the same time declared, that if they were not used for that purpose, they should be paid in money on a specified day: Fifty millions of stock might thus be paid off without any considerable demand for the circulating medium of the country; and by immediately renewing the bills, and re-issuing them from time to time, the whole operation might be effected in a moderate space.

At the time when some conversation with respect to this plan took place in the House of Commons, it was contended that it would have the effect of throwing the whole landed property of the country into the hands of low and designing attorneys. But all apprehensions on this account might, we should think, be easily got rid of. The title of all land sold for the purpose of raising money to defray the assessment on capital, should be declared, by an act of the legislature, to be a perfect and unquestionable title. And it is easy to see, that although the title of such land might not have been good without this act, no injustice could be perpetrated by its enactment. Suppose, to illustrate this principle, that A sells a portion of an estate to defray the contribution on account of the public debt which is subsequently ascertained to belong to B; it is clear that B sustains no injury from this sale; for though his right to the estate had been previously established, he must equally have parted with the same extent of land, or its value, which has been sold under authority of the statute. There is not, therefore, any ground for supposing that this plan would have the effect of throwing the whole landed property of the country into the courts of law. On the contrary, it seems quite evident that no estates would be held by so good a title as those that were sold under the sanction of Parliament; and attorneys would certainly have less to do with them than with most others.

We do not, however, mean to say, that the adoption of this plan would not be attended with very considerable inconvenience. It was truly observed by Mr Fox, in a debate on the Bank Restriction Act, 'That he who talks of positive plans to 'go at once to the disease, who hopes to produce great good 'without hazarding some evil, is not the person from whom, in

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'a situation of difficulty, much advantage is to be expected. 'All that is left is a choice of evils. He that talks rationally 'will rejoice if he can discover a remedy that, with a mix- 'ture of evil, will be able to overcome the mortality of the dis- 'ease.'

Now, it is on the ground here laid down that we are disposed to recommend that the capital of the country should be assessed in order to procure the means of extinguishing a portion of the public debt. It is to no purpose to contend, in opposition to this measure, that it would be productive of serious inconveniences. We admit that such would be the case; but these inconveniences would necessarily be of very temporary duration, while, by consenting to submit to this sacrifice, we should get rid of a burden that must otherwise be permanent, and would enable all those taxes to be repealed which press most severely on the lower and middle classes. We have shown on former occasions that there is very little reason indeed for thinking that any considerable progress will ever be made in the extinction of our present encumbrances, by applying the surplus revenue of the country to buy up stock; and it is not very easy to conjecture what might be the consequence of so immense a debt were we again involved in war. But though peace were to be preserved for a long series of years, still our situation would not be, by any means, free from danger. The high rate of taxation to which we are subjected, must, under any circumstances, be a heavy clog on the industry of the country; and though it may not occasion our decline, it must at all events operate powerfully to retard our progress.

In his Essay on Public Credit, Mr Hume has stated, perhaps too strongly, that either the country must destroy the debt, or the debt will destroy the country. But sound policy, and the most obvious principles of justice, require that the burden should not be permitted to fall exclusively on those who have lent their capitals to the state. A real national burden cannot be removed by shifting it from the shoulders of those who justly ought to bear it, to those of another class who ought to bear no more than their fair proportion. Let us, therefore, make one great exertion to stop the farther progress of pauperism, and to relieve the pressure on the resources of the country. Let the national capital be assessed in order to pay off a large proportion of the debt; and let us not hesitate to subject ourselves to a temporary sacrifice for the sake of future security and prosperity. 'A country,' says Mr Ricardo, 'which has involved itself in the difficulties attendant on a large public debt, would act wisely in

'ransoming itself from them, at the sacrifice of any portion of 'its property which might be necessary for the redemption of 'the debt.'

Before concluding, we may observe, that it has sometimes been argued, that supposing this plan were carried into effect, the advantages derived from it would not really be so great as has been represented. Those who take this view of the matter contend, that as the capitalists who are at present burdened with taxes on account of the interest of the public debt, would, in the event of these taxes being repealed, and the debt paid off, have to transfer a corresponding portion of their property to the stockholders, their loss on the one hand would be exactly equivalent to their gain on the other, and the effect of the measure would therefore be really nugatory. Nothing, however, can be more marvellously incorrect than this representation. Suppose, for the sake of illustration, that the measure in question is actually carried into effect, and that a half of the public debt has been paid off. On this hypothesis, property worth about three hundred millions will have been transferred to the fundholders, and about *fifteen* millions of taxes will have been repealed. It is clear, therefore, on the first blush of the matter, that nothing has been lost by this proceeding; but is it not equally clear that a great deal has been gained?—By enabling fifteen millions a-year of taxes to be repealed, a reduction would be effected in the price of a vast number of commodities, and consequently in the expense of living; a rise would, therefore, take place in the rate of profit, and an immediate stop would, in consequence, be put to the efflux of capital to foreign countries; the foreign commerce of the country would be extended; and a powerful stimulus would be given to all the operations of industry—A portion of the public debt being placed to the account of every individual, and made a burden directly and exclusively affecting his own fortune, a new spirit of industry and economy would be infused into all classes. Every one would be as anxious to discharge his fortune of the encumbrances entailed upon it, in consequence of this measure, as if they had been contracted directly by himself. And if this measure were combined with the repeal of those indirect taxes to which we have already called the reader's attention, it is most probable that in a few years that portion of the capital of individuals which had been taken away by the assessment would be fully made up by increased frugality and activity.

Art. VI.—*Spirit of Party.* 8vo. London, 1827.

We design to make here a few observations, by way of supplement to the Article in our last Number, which has been in several particulars,* we are sorry to find, exceedingly misunderstood in some respectable quarters, as it has certainly, we are not surprised to remark, been grossly misrepresented in others of a widely different description.

The State of Parties, and the condition of public affairs generally, is, in some respects, materially different from anything ever known in this country. For some years, indeed ever since the termination of the wars arising out of the French Revolution, the opinions favoured by sound reason, and avouched by the practical test of experience upon all subjects of foreign and domestic policy, had been making a steady and sure, because a quiet and peaceful progress among the more intelligent parts of the community. As intelligence spread wider by the diffusion of knowledge, the dissemination of those opinions became more enlarged, and their operation upon all classes of society more efficacious. They had been making considerable advances both in France and England, during the period between the American and the French Revolutions. But the latter event had cruelly disappointed in its progress the hopes raised by its first fair prospects; and the horrors of the times of Anarchy, followed by the military tyranny of Napoleon, and the dreadful wars in which he involved his country and Europe, otherwise so deeply his debtors, had stampt all change with the most hateful characters, and accustomed men to confound reform with rebellion, reckoning the friend of freedom and improvement, one who would sacrifice order and peace, and all established institutions, to wild extravagant speculation—a victim as it were to the love of change for its own sake. The fall of Napoleon, and the peace that followed the French Restoration, finally put down those groundless prejudices against the safest course of policy, and made an end of the calumnies so long heaped upon the best friends of order and existing establishments—those who, by tranquil amendments, would destroy all the purchase that revolutionists ever can have whereby to

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* Among other mistakes, we find it ascribed to various persons, eminent statesmen and others, who, if they have ever seen it, which we know not, assuredly never could have seen it before it was published.

work their overthrow. Accordingly, the natural course of education and knowledge has silently been producing its fruits; sound and enlightened views of policy have been gaining ground; truth, no longer counteracted in its progress, has been making way everywhere; and wisdom, no longer overawed by noisy clamour or childish fears, has been teaching her lessons to a willing generation.

For some years of the period on which we are looking back, the Government of this country was intrusted to the management of men, who gave it a direction widely different from the course of public opinion, and conducted it upon all the principles of the most narrow and vicious policy, as if they alone, and the engine in their hands, stood still amidst the general advance of the age. While the Finances, and indeed all the internal affairs of the State were under the guidance of persons, whose notions were the refuse of the antiquated school; the Foreign Minister, though not by nature deficient in liberal feelings, and certainly gifted with no common talents, and, above all, with great sagacity, had, unhappily for his country and for his reputation, become intimately connected with the Continental Sovereigns and their chief Statesmen, and had imbibed from this intercourse a prejudice against free opinions, and a dislike of Constitutional Government, so strong as almost to renew in our political system, the exploded terrors about Jacobinism and French principles. All improvements in the Constitution of the Continental States were to be discountenanced as revolutionary: everything that could lead to a change, how slowly and peaceably soever, was to be resisted: the strong arm of absolute power was to be deemed the only security for the public peace; and the iron hand of military force, the only means by which that arm could work its destined end. These principles soon embodied themselves in the famous League so universally dreaded at first, then detested, and since despised, under the name of the Holy Alliance. Professing only to have the intention of keeping the peace, those combined Princes, extending their union over almost all Europe, guaranteed to each other, not only the integrity of their dominions, but the unchanged existence of all their internal institutions; and some of them having succeeded in reconquering their dominions from Napoleon, by the aid of their people, to whom they had promised a Representative Government, as the appropriate reward of a constancy worthy of freemen, Europe, with astonishment, saw those very Monarchs become parties to this combination against all improvement, as if for the very purpose of preventing themselves from redeeming pledges so sacred, and which had passed for so mighty a con-

sideration. The wonder, however, stopt not here: The leagued Sovereigns made war at their pleasure to prevent the peace from being disturbed. Wherever a Prince was compelled or induced to adopt free institutions, the Allies marched an army to restore his absolute authority and his people's subjection; and the formal accession of England was alone wanting to make the sway of this grand nuisance universal; nay, to extend its claims, which were once actually preferred, over our own country. In all these unheard of proceedings, infinitely more dangerous to National Independence than the wildest fury of the French Republic, or the mightiest projects of Napoleon himself, it was a miserable sight to behold England, once the patroness of public freedom,—the enemy of aggression,—the refuge of all oppressed nations, stoop to become the willing witness, and even the unresisting tool of the most flagitious conspiracy the world ever saw, excepting, perhaps, the high crime last perpetrated by the same despotic Princes, the partition of Poland. Yet so it was; and such was the price we paid for our Minister having acted as our Ambassador, and kept the high company of Absolute Monarchs, and their unconstitutional and irresponsible counsellors. The tone, too, of those foreign Courts was imported into our Parliament and our Cabinet; it became customary to deride everything free and liberal as new-fangled, and low, and dangerous to good government; men extolled all the little drivelling notions of Austrian *Hof-raths* and *Kriegs-raths*, as sound, old, well-wearing maxims, and laughed at the doctrines of the New School, as wholly unknown to the warriors of Leipsick and Waterloo, or the negotiators of Vienna and of Aix. It is true, that our official statesmen had all this pleasantry to themselves; they made no converts in the country; they found neither sympathy nor support from the people; and as often as they attempted in Parliament to countenance their favourite topic, the sorry reception they met with, seemed adjusted in a nice proportion to its intrinsic merit, and the talents by which it was recommended.

Meanwhile, upon questions of internal policy, the liberal feelings of the country generally prevailed, even in Parliamentary divisions, over the narrow views of the Court. One after another, the Government abandoned many of the most pernicious taxes and lines of mercantile policy, and at length, after long resistance, it adopted sound principles upon the important subject of reform in the system and administration of the laws. While its opponents were preparing new measures, and expecting additional triumphs at home; while its allies abroad were about to carry their aggressions on all national indepen-

dence farther than ever, by the most iniquitous of all their measures for extirpating liberty; the melancholy event of the minister's decease, who had erred, we believe, much more from want of foresight and deliberate reflection in the early stage of the intercourse, than from any evil designs towards liberty at any period, gave a new and happier aspect to the face of affairs in this country, as far as the Government was concerned, and eventually produced a very sensible change for the better in the policy of other powers, and in the prospects of a large portion of the world. He was succeeded by a statesman of far more enlarged views, and more brilliant talents, his inferior certainly in some of the qualities calculated to gain a following in Parliament, but worthy of all acceptation in comparison of him, because unconnected with the enemies of freedom, and committed to none of the worst principles at least of later times, by which improvement had been stifled abroad and obstructed at home. Catastrophes very different indeed, but almost equally sudden, have now deprived the country of both those statesmen; and we may be enabled calmly to reflect upon their conduct and their merits, without heaping on the one unmerited obloquy, though, unfortunately for his fame, he died when events had brought the policy he was connected with to its lowest pitch in public consideration,—without raising altars to the other's memory, because we lost him when the system he maintained looked the fairest in all men's eyes, and dazzled them into a forgetfulness of all that had happened before.

The progress of liberal opinions was immediately and rapidly accelerated by the conduct, and still more by the language, of the Government in 1823 and the subsequent years. In a few months the disgraceful connexion with the Holy Alliance was at an end, and the further proceedings of that combination were so far checked, that it can hardly now be said to have any real existence. The recognition of the new commonwealths in South America, and the establishment of political as well as mercantile relations with them, very soon followed; the odious provisions of the Alien Bill were suffered to expire, and a restriction of little or no moment substituted in their place; and the most decisive steps were taken to defend Portugal, harassed by the intrigues, and menaced by the arms of Spain, for the crime of having accepted a Constitutional Government. At home, the policy so long recommended by the Liberal Party both in and out of doors, was as steadily and effectually pursued, as that which they had maintained to be the sound, and British, and statesman-like view of Foreign Affairs. Oppressive and impolitic taxes were repealed, among others the duties on law proceedings; the principles of Free Trade were adopted in many im-

portant cases, and the way was paved for extending them to all the parts of our mercantile system; some of the reforms in the Criminal Law, which Sir Samuel Romilly had so long in vain laboured to recommend, and which had been resisted with too much success till 1819, when Sir James Mackintosh, his follower in the same honourable career, carried a Committee for examining the state of that Code, were, on the principles of those enlightened individuals, taken up by their former antagonists, and received the sanction of the Legislature; nay, so harmless was the name of juridical reform become, and so popular its pursuit with both court and country, that the same persons stopt not there, but introduced improvements, though more limited in principle, into other branches of jurisprudence.

The effects produced by this fortunate and unexpected change in the conduct of the Ministry, upon the state and distribution of parties, both in Parliament and in the Country, were such as might have been expected, unless men had lost all regard for principle and consistency in their personal animosities, or in the worst abuse of party feelings. The Opposition lent their warm support to Government, as often as they saw a disposition to pursue the sound and enlightened policy always recommended by them. Far from the despicable, unprincipled inclination to discover faults in the manner of executing designs often suggested by themselves, and thus apparently save their consistency as to measures, while they continued their opposition to the men, they were even above the feeling of jealousy which would have kept inferior minds from coming forward to grace the triumphs of a rival; they scarcely ever, certainly never but where the necessity of explaining their conduct to the public required it, reminded either the Government or the country, how long they had supported the policy, now luckily adopted in the quarter most likely to give it effect. All the while, (and we speak of some years, certainly of the Sessions 1824, 1825, and 1826, but in not a few particulars of 1823 too,) there was nothing that indicated the least understanding between the parties who had been so long opposed to each other; no appearance of any intercourse in private among their chiefs; and we believe it is universally understood that no arrangement, nor any treaty for an arrangement, had been so much as talked of in any political circle of the least importance. Indeed one symptom must remove all suspicion on this head; whensoever the measures of the Ministry were objectionable, their adversaries were at their post, as ready as ever for the strife; few more vehement debates, or with more party animation, have ever been carried on, than the discussions on the Catholic Association in 1825; and even

trivial matters from time to time, furnished fuel to maintain the heats which contending parties engender, though oftentimes separated by a narrow space.

Nevertheless, with the symptoms which we have just noted, near observers did not fail to mark others, that seemed to give prognostics of greater change, and more permanent co-operation. The Ministry were known to be much divided among themselves. One class supported the claims of the Catholics, as essentially just in themselves, and maintained the expediency of complying with them, as necessary for the safety of the empire. Another refused upon any account even to consider this great question; they had taken their ground upon it, and from that ground they announced that no lapse of time, no change of circumstances, could move them. There seemed here a sufficient source of disunion to make a disruption of the Ministry not merely a natural, but an unavoidable event. But this was very far from being the only ground. The same parties were divided upon all the great principles of foreign and domestic policy, which having been discountenanced by the late Foreign Minister, both in the Cabinet, in his negotiations, and in Parliament, were now become the favourite maxims of his successor; but on these principles, the individuals who differed with him, were not so inflexible as upon the question, whether Ireland should be saved to the empire; and opposing him on this, on those they only thwarted him, leaving the liberal course, in all or almost all cases but the most important, to be pursued by the State. That their assent was most reluctant; that it often was extorted by the apprehension of breaking up the Ministry; that matters were frequently kept quiet by the common unwillingness of all parties to press them to extremities—not seldom by the controlling influence either of the first person in the Ministry, or the first person in the State—cannot any longer be doubted. But in the course of these altercations two parties had been formed, and differing in all questions, constant dissent had produced frequent dissensions; and, as always happens in such cases, those dissensions were not confined to things, but extended to persons, until as much of animosity, probably, and as little mutual good-will, prevailed between the two parties that divided the Cabinet, as are found to subsist in ordinary times between the parties that divide the senate or the nation.

Another symptom not unconnected with this, was now more and more perceptible. The Opposition became less vehement, less unremitting, in proportion as the breach was supposed to widen in the Ministry; and their support in great part, their courtesies entirely, were now given with a kind of reserve or discrimina-

tion: it was to the 'Liberal part of the Government' that they lent their aid; it was to *them* they looked for the reform of abuses; it was in *their* sound principles that they reposed confidence for the future. To give *them* encouragement in their wise and honourable course, became an object of importance for the good of the country; and aware how their opponents in the Cabinet endeavoured to hinder their progress, the Opposition employed all means for comforting and strengthening *their* hands, and enabling them to overcome the common enemy.

The year 1826 began with the measures rendered necessary by the commercial distress; and the Liberal Parties on both sides of the House agreed fully in the support of them. A Session followed, remarkable for nothing so much as its want of interest; and there had not been within the memory of man, so few points of difference between the contending parties in both Houses of Parliament. The General Election followed, and a marked distinction was everywhere to be traced in the conduct of the Opposition towards the *Liberal*, and towards the *Illiberal* 'portion of his Majesty's Government.' The new Parliament met, and the conduct pursued in Portugal, the grounds upon which it was defended, and the language so worthy of constitutional Ministers, in which that defence was couched, drew forth the most cordial and unqualified approbation from the Opposition Leaders. The period of the Christmas recess arrived, and it is perfectly certain that up to that time no arrangement whatever had been made, or even propounded, or discoursed of between the two great portions of the Liberal Party, those in office, and those in opposition.

Immediately after the recess, the noble Lord at the head of the Government was stricken with a grievous malady, which compelled him in a few weeks to resign his situation. In what way his place should be supplied, was a question calculated to trouble his colleagues at all times; for he had great weight with them; and though, on Irish questions, he adopted the illiberal views of one party to the uttermost extent of impolicy and intolerance, on other matters he leant towards their adversaries, or at any rate, by his personal consideration with all, and his ancient intimacy with the leader of that side, he was enabled to preserve the Government from the violent end it so often seemed near coming to. But if the difficulty would at any time have been great, of finding a successor to that noble person, it was incalculably augmented by the present aspect of affairs abroad, and by the new balance of parties. What had been passing for some time in Parliament, above all, what had passed just before the recess, showed how infallibly the great body of the Opposition,

both in and out of Parliament, that is, the only powerful party in both Houses, and an immense majority of all ranks in the country, would give their cordial support to the liberal part of the Cabinet; and it might be safely predicted, that if Mr Canning were placed at the head of the Government, no remains either of party or of personal animosity would interfere with their desire to give him and his friends, because of the policy they had so wisely adopted and so ably patronised, a cordial, and, if wanted, a systematic support. It was equally clear, that should they be driven out of the Ministry, a cordial and systematic co-operation would be easily established between them and those who had indeed for years been their allies. So that while, on the one hand, the Liberal Part of the Cabinet could stand more triumphantly than before, should the Illiberal resign, these had not the most trifling chance of maintaining their ground, should they, by taking the upper hand, drive their adversaries from office.

If it be clear that such was the posture of affairs, the question was manifestly decided; and it only remained for the opponents of Mr Canning in the Cabinet, either to submit, or to retire, should he be placed by their common Master at the head of the Government. He was plainly in a situation to dictate his own terms, while they had no power over him, either of continuing to govern without his assistance, or of opposing the Ministry he might form. Of the two courses, submission and resignation, they chose the latter, partly upon personal grounds of objection to the individual, partly upon public principles which they held widely differing from his, and which would have been betrayed, by serving under one who openly attached himself to the contrary system. Accordingly, after a short interval spent in fruitless negotiation, and in unavailing attempts to form a purely Tory Ministry—attempts wholly uncountenanced, it is believed, by the Sovereign, and which the most sagacious of themselves knew from the first to be desperate—they resigned in a body, leaving his Majesty without advisers, and the country without a Government.

Far be from us, however, any design of imputing blame to the distinguished persons who suddenly, and, it is said, without any actual concert, took this step. Their feelings of personal honour may have justified it; their differences of opinion upon fundamental points may have required it. We are quite aware of the change in the aspect of the Catholic Question, which the substituting its zealous advocate for its determined opponent, as Prime Minister, was calculated to create. Indeed, we can much more easily comprehend the enemies of that great measure feeling the impossibility of acting under Mr Canning as

their leader, both in the Government and the House of Commons, than we can understand their so long allowing him the preponderance he had in the Cabinet, with the ostensible position he occupied in Parliament, before Lord Liverpool's political demise. But there was one resignation not so easily understood upon any of those grounds, and which remains unexplained, either by personal or political disunion; we mean Lord Melville's—whose conduct in his important office had given satisfaction; whose opinions had uniformly been upon the liberal side in all questions, Irish as well as English; and who was not understood to be separated, by any dislike, from those whose principles were his own. His retirement, therefore, while it was regretted, could only be accounted for upon the supposition of some punctilious notions of duty towards his other colleagues, or towards the Ministry, in the abstract, with which he had so long been connected;—notions certainly in nowise calculated to lessen any one's respect for him, though all might desire to see them give way after a season. Mr Peel's retirement was also matter of some regret, because he had of late shown a disposition, worthy of all encouragement in official characters, to probe abuses both in the practice and structure of our judicial system,* and had adopted some of the principles, nay, fostered

* The Newspapers have been filled with some very singular effusions during the late progress of the Western Circuit, purporting to be charges to various Grand Juries and Petty Juries, and addresses to prisoners, both before and after conviction, and interlocutory observations during the course of trials. To these, the name of the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas is appended; and the reader is frequently tempted to believe that they must be efforts of pleasantry, as where the learned Judge tells a convict, that 'we (of course meaning the prisoner as well as the Judge) are much indebted to the salutary change of the law, whereby the punishment is now raised from seven to fourteen years' transportation.' However, be those productions genuine or not, we (and in *this* plural the learned Judge *is* certainly included) are not indebted to them in any respect whatever. They are distinguished by a great flow of language, eminently spirited, impressive, and often felicitous; by any one judicial quality they assuredly are not marked. A great magistrate, the second in England, travelling the second of its circuits, to read lectures upon what ought to be the law, which he is only sworn to administer as it is; and making every charge the vehicle of unmeasured praises heaped upon one of the leaders of a well-known political party, is not a spectacle which the friends either of the bench or of the law can take great delight in beholding. The absurd exaggeration of all those eulogies, we are convinced, must be far more painful to the distin-

the very measures of amendment so long recommended, with boundless learning and unwearied zeal, by the chiefs of the Liberal Party. But though Mr Peel's conduct in leaving office might be regretted, it could not by any candid man be blamed; neither could the grounds of it be misunderstood; his resignation was widely different from Lord Melville's; he *could* not with any regard to his character, or with any kind of consistency, have remained in office, at least in the Home Department, under one so pledged to the Catholics as Mr Canning. Until this question should be settled, his retirement from power seemed almost unavoidable, the impossibility of his friends forming a Government being admitted on all hands; and his wish to do so being to our apprehension more than problematical, as we are confident his interest in its being done is anything but doubtful; for upon almost all other questions he has espoused the more liberal policy of those whom he left in office.

We have now given the plain story of the late change, as it appears from facts known to all the world; and we have had no occasion to invoke the aid of secret history for the untying of any knotty passages. Although it has never been pretended among all the silly and the wilful mistatements which have been put forth, that any private understanding subsisted between the Liberal Ministers and the leaders of the Opposition previous to the Easter recess, the most groundless and even ridiculous charges were advanced of perfidy and intrigue during those holidays, sometimes against the Ministers, sometimes against the Opposition. That not an instant was lost in opening a communication with the chiefs of that party, when the former Administration had been broken up, is very certain; and that such a step was as consistent with the purest honour and fair dealing in the one party, as it was with entire consistency in the other, and perfectly natural in both, no one who has honoured the preceding narrative with his attention, can for a moment doubt. Great reluctance was, however, shown in the Opposition to take office. Some of the new Ministry were known to oppose the

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guished individual who is their subject than to any other person; if he is bepraised in respect of what he has done, he is also lauded for attempts not quite successful; and he is openly extolled for what others did, and not a little for what has never been done by any one. With reference to his own share of the gain derived from this circuit, he may be tempted to say—'*Pessimum inimicorum genus laudatores*'—but of his panegyrist he may truly say—'*Satis eloquentiæ, sapientiæ parum*,' and may thus explain how he has himself contributed to make of a great Advocate, a very moderate Judge.

Catholic claims; some of the leading Whigs felt it impossible to join them officially; and this begot an unwillingness in those who felt no such difficulties, to become members of a Cabinet divided on so great a question, and likely to be opposed by so highly respected friends.

Happily for the country, happily for their own reputation as statesmen of firm, consistent, and manly character, those scruples were overcome. A Cabinet was formed, in which the liberal part of the former Ministry were cordially united with the leading men of the Opposition, and with two or three individuals not attached to the same views of policy, but whose very worst errors, as we must be allowed to call them, afforded, with their high stations, a security to the country against any rash and headlong attempts being made to bring about changes, which, if gradually effected, may yet remedy all the evils of our domestic situation.

The Session opened with much of complaint, and somewhat of menace. We love not to dwell on painful recollections. We are willing to hope that calmer reflection may render the retrospect for ever as unnecessary as it is unpleasing. In a very short time, the attacks upon the new Ministry were left in the hands of those, of whom, wishing to speak with all *possible* respect, we may be permitted to say, that their weight in the country, and the place they occupy in the annals of its Council, are proportioned to their intrinsic merits; and that their adversaries must always feel contentment, if they should feel little pride, in being opposed to their hostility.

The close of the Session was speedily followed by the death of the Prime Minister,—too early for his country, though not for his own fame; and the Sovereign, in strict accordance with the universal desire of his people, directed the Government to be reconstructed upon the same principle as before. One change, though not in the Cabinet, attended this event; the command of the army was again given to its most distinguished ornament, who never, in our opinion, should have for a day stooped from the loftier height he had scaled by his wisdom, his valour, and his brilliant fortune, to join in the little details and low intrigues of vulgar politics. We have said nothing of some of the Ministers who resigned; but we suspect that no very deep affliction was suffered by the country from their loss. After the very long period during which they had lived in office, their departure could hardly be deemed untimely; and though one of those veterans retired with a great name, and all of them in the full possession of their faculties, there seemed a prevailing disposition, in the public mind, to express no sorrow for the loss, un-

til they saw whether they could* be worse governed by their successors. They sunk gradually into a kind of watching Opposition—a corps of observation; and one thing must be admitted on all hands, whatever opinion may be entertained of the new Opposition from the recollection of their past services, that no man looked forward to much occasion for them in their new capacity, since the new Ministry stands unrivalled by any former Government in popularity with the country, and surpassed by none in favour with the Crown.

It must be evident to every person of ordinary understanding, and be admitted by any one of moderate candour, that, in the effectual assistance which some of the Opposition render to the new Government, by taking part in it officially, and the disinterested, though necessarily less efficient, support which others give it out of place, nothing is done by either class inconsistent with the strictest notions of party principle, or which, tried by the most rigorous standard of party duty, could be found wanting. Suppose the whole principles and distribution of political parties to have remained unaltered of late years, we affirm, nor indeed has it ever been in terms denied, that the late Coalition was framed on the most approved models known in the best times of our history.

The only justification of party unions has always been found in their necessity, sometimes for curbing the influence of the executive power, sometimes for promoting certain other principles held by the members of such associations in common, and deemed by them essential to the good of the country. Men have, through ambition, or avarice, or the other forms of selfishness, abused this privilege, or rather duty, of public men; they have leagued themselves together to extort better terms from their Sovereign, their opponents, or the public; they have in reality been holding out and keeping together for some personal reasons, and not because they differed from their adversaries, and agreed among themselves in holding certain opinions—but they were never yet shameless enough to avow such motives: their profligacy has always paid the homage to political virtue, of pretending to act together because they concurred in maintaining principles different from those of other parties. Even where the ground of contention seemed the most narrow, and reduced as it were to a mere personal point, they sedulously magnified this by all the powers of refining and sophistry, if

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* In this country, we are often puzzled with *will* and *shall*, *would*, *should*, and *could*, so we don't venture to suggest any alteration.

they could put forward a larger justification, and conceal the reason. Thus, when the great body of the Whigs, in an evil hour for their public reputation and their influence in the country, joined Lord North against Lord Shelburne, and opposed the peace which they had so long been urging, they were far from admitting that the mere assumption of the Treasury by one of their number instigated them to this ill-omened step, much less that they had sacrificed their principles on the American Question to gratify their spleen against a former colleague, and obtain the highest station of power. They alleged that the new Minister had changed his principles upon the recognition of American independence; that he was resolved to screen Indian delinquency; that he owed his elevation to unconstitutional designs entertained by the Court against all the great parties of the country, for the purpose of governing more absolutely through creatures of its own. It was their adversaries who charged them with personal motives, and urged as an accusation against them, that the appointment of the Prime Minister was the real cause of their secession. Does it not follow from such principles, rather is it not a proposition of the very same purport, that when a body of men originally collected and banded against others by a political faith, in holding which it differed from them, finds all differences at an end, and former adversaries acting upon its own much cherished principles, a new line of conduct ought straightway to be pursued? Common honesty to the country, as well as a regard for consistency, requires that there should be an end of the Opposition, when there is an end of the only diversity that called for it, or indeed could justify it. Whoever would still keep aloof in such circumstances, and continue in Opposition when there is no longer any public ground of difference, plainly admits his real motives all along to have been personal and selfish, however cunningly he may have varnished them over with the pretence of principle. To this charge it is manifest the Whigs would have exposed themselves, had they held back from Mr Canning's party, whom they had no tangible ground of differing with.

But we may put the case still more strongly upon mere party grounds. Coalitions have ever been held allowable, and sometimes admitted to be the duty of statesmen, when necessary to further some great object of public good. To frame a strong Government in 1757, Lord Chatham's Ministry was formed out of every conflicting party; and it carried the country to the highest pitch of glory. This precedent was cited by Mr Fox and Mr Burke in defence of the coalition with Lord North; and though the diversity of facts did not well justify the appli-

cation, there can be no doubt of the principle in proof of which it was referred to. The coalition sought by many, to be effected between Mr Fox and Mr Pitt in 1784 and 1804, could only be grounded upon the necessity of giving the country a good and vigorous Government; and the junction of Lord Grenville and the Whigs in 1804, and afterwards in office, was dictated, as it was triumphantly defended, by their agreement on some great questions, and their disposition to sacrifice lesser points of opinion, and all personal considerations, to the important object of promoting those grand principles in which they coincided. But in all these cases, and in none more than the last, there were various differences of principle; not only were Whig and Tory, Alarmist and Reformer, to coalesce; but during the war, and for the sake of carrying it on to a better issue, they who were the authors of it, were united with its constant and sturdy opponents. Yet all men approved of the union, because lesser things should yield to greater, and upon one or two great questions there was a fortunate concurrence of opinion. It would be very difficult, however, in the present case, to find the subject upon which the new allies did not agree—Catholic Question—Currency—Free Trade—Judicial Reform—Foreign Policy—South American Independence—on all these they had for years fought side by side; on all these they had been combating together against the Ministers who lately resigned; while, with the exception of Parliamentary Reform, upon which the members of the same party differed among themselves, there was not a single practical point of dissension to be descried. Any two, almost any one of those great subjects was important enough to justify a union, even had the parties differed upon most of the others; but when the agreement extended over the whole, can any man seriously maintain that it was not their duty to coalesce, if their cordial co-operation could alone secure the success of their common principles, and the exclusion from power of their common adversaries?

It has been said, that there is in the Cabinet, as now composed, an admixture of members unfavourable to the Catholic Claims, and reports have reached us of very strong, but not perhaps very well considered objections being taken on this head. Beside our former general argument, we shall content ourselves with two observations in reply. The first is, that three members in the whole Cabinet, and these in no way connected, either with the head of the Administration, or with the management of Irish affairs, do not alter the features of tolerance and liberality impressed upon it by the union which has created the rest of the body. The other is, that such a criticism

proceeds with a strange air from the ancient friends and associates of Mr Fox, who, in 1783, took office with Lord Shelburne, differing from him, as he afterwards avowed, on many points, and extremely reluctant ever to join him, and with Lord Thurlow, whom he had all his life been opposing upon all points, and who had held the Great Seal during the American war. But still more marvellous is such a remark from any who held office in Mr Fox's last Administration! Is it really forgotten already how the Cabinet of 1806 was composed? There was at its head Lord Grenville—the colleague and kinsman of Mr Pitt—the main promoter of the first war, and instigator to the second—the author of the letter to Bonaparte, which prolonged it from 1800—the stanch enemy of reform—the avowed friend and protector of the Wellesleys in India. Against him were to be set Mr Fox and Mr Grey, peacemakers, reformers, managers of Indian Impeachments. Then came Mr Windham and Lord Fitzwilliam, the administrators of Mr Burke's fury, as their new colleagues had often termed them, and going as much beyond the Grenvilles in hatred of peace, as they exceeded the Foxites in fondness for war. It is true, that all these great men strenuously supported the Catholic Claims; but those claims were as vehemently opposed by other members of the Cabinet, by Lord Ellenborough, and by Lord Sidmouth, whose former accession to office had been expressly grounded upon his hostility to the question. Yet the exigencies of the State induced Mr Fox and Mr Grey to form parts of this Cabinet, where the interest of Ireland was so little consulted, that by common consent the subject was not to be mentioned, unless in order to bring forward a small measure, no sooner attempted than abandoned. It is true, that one great and righteous deed was done, in spite of all the divisions which variegated the aspect of this motley piece of Cabinet making; they abolished the Slave Trade; but not because they agreed upon this any more than upon those penal laws which they left unrepealed; for Lord Sidmouth, Lord Moira, and Lord Fitzwilliam, were determined enemies of the measure, and Mr Windham was perhaps the most zealous of all its antagonists, not to be a planter.*

We have been meeting the two opposite objections made to the late coalition, by two very different classes of adversaries, the High Tories, who exclaimed against it as an unnatural and

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* It will not be supposed that we are painting the Administration of 1806 as we ourselves view it; we are showing in what light the facts would justify its enemies in now representing it, upon the grounds on which some of its members are opposing the present Government.

unprincipled league for power, at the expense of consistency; and a few much respected members of the old Whig party, whose accusations were less precise, but who seemed to dislike it only because persons once their antagonists formed a branch of it; an objection to which every coalition must be equally liable. The answer to all these attacks is plain and simple. The inconsistency would have been in men continuing the conflict when they were no longer divided in their sentiments; the unnatural conduct would have been for men to attack their natural allies and join their natural enemies; the disregard of principle would have been shown by those who sacrificed their public duty to personal views, and regardless of their pledged opinions, sought the gratification of personal feelings, not the less personal, nor the more amiable, because they were those of hatred, jealousy, or vexation.

But suppose we come down to a more humble level in the argument, and listen to the suggestion, why did the Whigs join Mr Canning, when, by holding out, they must have occasioned a total change? We are far from being satisfied that such a change was preferable to the united Ministry; we are sure the union was more acceptable to the country as well as to the court; but we answer the question as it is put, and after the manner of our nation, we answer it by propounding another—What was to hinder Mr Canning from joining his former colleagues, and submitting to fill a second place, a submission which the Whigs would then have forced him to? If he found himself disappointed in the estimate he had formed of his new allies; if he found that all their regard for their common principles could not overcome their selfish lust of power, or mitigate their equally selfish hatred of him, had he not a right to distrust them, and to prefer any government which perpetuated their exclusion? Then, suppose he had been driven out of office, was there no chance of his rejoining his former colleagues, and no possibility of this union effecting at court the downfall of a party, which had showed so little moderation as to gain no credit with the Sovereign, and so little regard for its long professed principles, as to lose all respect in the country? As for the only other event that can be stated, it may be spoken of, but it surely cannot be conceived possible; we allude to the Whigs joining those ministers who had resigned, and uniting with them in opposing their liberal colleagues. We at once pronounce so prodigious an inconsistency impossible. It would have been abandoning all their principles either to storm the government, or spite a former opponent, whose recent conduct upon all great questions of policy they had loudly applauded.

It was as impossible for them to think of such a course, as it now would be for those most eminent and respected individuals, whose alienation from the government we join the whole country in deploring, to unite themselves with men, whom they differ from upon every question of public policy, and to seek with them the overthrow of a Ministry, all whose principles they profess.

In the remarks which we have made, nothing, we trust, has escaped us, tending to evince the least disrespect for the principles of party, so essential to the existence of a free government. Those attachments arising from similarity of principle, are in truth the very ground-work of our argument. They have in all good times, and among the best men, been held pure and patriotic bonds of union; honourable to the individuals, profitable to the commonwealth. Nevertheless, it is impossible to deny, that in proportion as the body of the people become more enlightened, and take a more constant interest in the management of their own affairs, such combinations becoming less necessary, lose somewhat of the public favour; and we believe that at no period of our history, did, what is called 'Party,' enjoy less popularity and exert less influence with the bulk of the community. It may indeed be affirmed with safety, that the efforts and the personal weight of individuals, have, of late years, done far more to keep alive the power and authority of Parties, than the influence of party has done for the protection of their particular members. A new casting also of political sects has taken place; the distinctions, and almost the names, of Loyalist and Jacobin, Whig and Tory, Court and Country Faction, are fast wearing away. Two great divisions of the community will, in all likelihood, soon be far more generally known; the *Liberal* and the *Illiberal*, who will divide, but we may be sure most unequally, the suffrages of the Nation.

Nor is it in name only that this arrangement will be new; the people will be differently distributed; the coalition, which has been gradually forming among the public men whose personal respect and mutual confidence has brought about so fortunate a union, extends to the community at large. Some of the older questions, by which Whig and Tory were wont to be divided, retain all their importance; but, upon these, the Liberal party, of whatever denomination, are well agreed. Indeed, it used to be a saying of Mr Wilberforce, when he regarded the importance of those questions, compared with the ones they still differed about, that he would not answer to the name of Tory; conveying thereby, as that great man is wont, a lesson of his mild wisdom with the relish of attractive and harmless

wit. The only consequence with respect to doctrines which such a junction can produce, is likely to be beneficial both to the State and to the progress of sound opinion. Extremes will be avoided; alterations in our system will be gradual; and the only risk which the existence, or the measures of a Liberal Government could run, will be avoided,—that of a reaction against them,—when it is distinctly perceived by all men, that we are governed by individuals, whose great parts are under the control of sound discretion, and whose conduct is, in all things, tempered with the moderation of practical wisdom.*

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* The affairs of the Peninsula are perhaps the topic most likely to bring on a conflict between the Ministry and its opponents. Of the latter, one class, the Ex-Ministers, can hardly, without the most reckless inconsistency, object to a policy in which themselves joined their deceased colleague; the other, and we grieve to say, one or two of them are among the foremost names in the history of later times, can only object to the tardiness of English interference, which (we fully admit) would have been effectual some years back, and we believe would have been applied, had Mr Canning not been new in office. No man (we may really say no two men), in either House, can blame the interference of last December, whatever be the event. The course of our observations in the text did not lead us to discuss particular questions of policy, otherwise this must have claimed especial consideration. We greatly dread the design of the Portuguese expedition being too far pursued. Men in this Government are so apt to think only of Parliamentary effect, that we earnestly wish our Ministers may look to the *principle* of their conduct alone, and disregard the utmost clamour which the most inauspicious results can raise against them. It should never be forgotten, that the Interference was justified by one only consideration; we armed to keep *foreign* armies from overthrowing the Portuguese Constitution. On no other ground can we for an instant defend the armament. But if the people of Portugal, left to themselves, declare against that Constitution; if they overturn it, or break in upon it, or submit to a tyrant, and aid him in his attempts to enslave them, or quietly yield to these attempts—the British army is not there to take either part, and its interposition would be a violation of all duty, and in defiance of all the principles of the armament itself. In truth, such an interference would justify France and Spain in fitting out an expedition against ours. We are there, be it ever remembered, not to support any form of Government, but only to defend the country against foreign aggression.

Art. VII.—*The History of Ireland.* By John O'Driscol. In two volumes 8vo. pp. 815. London, 1827.

A good History of Ireland is still a *desideratum* in our literature;—and would not only be interesting, we think, but invaluable. There are accessible materials in abundance for such a history; and the task of arranging them really seems no less inviting than important. It abounds with striking events, and with strange revolutions and turns of fortune—brought on, sometimes by the agency of enterprising men,—but more frequently by the silent progress of time, unwatched and unsuspected, alike by those who were to suffer, and those who were to gain by the result. In this respect, as well as in many others, it is as full of instruction as of interest,—and to the people of this country especially, and of this age, it holds out lessons far more precious, far more forcible, and far more immediately applicable, than all that is elsewhere recorded in the annals of mankind. It is the very greatness of this interest, however, and the dread and encouragement of these applications, that have hitherto defaced and even falsified the record—that have made impartiality almost hopeless, and led alternately to the suppression and the exaggeration of suffering and atrocities too monstrous, it might appear, in themselves, to be either exaggerated or disguised. Party rancour and religious animosity have hitherto contrived to convert what should have been their antidote into their aliment,—and, by the simple expedient of giving only *one* side of the picture, have pretty generally succeeded in making the history of past enormities, not a warning against, but an incitement to, their repetition. In telling the story of these lamentable dissensions, each party has enhanced the guilt of the adversary, and withheld all notice of their own;—and seems to have had it far more at heart to irritate and defy each other, than to leave even a partial memorial of the truth. That truth is, no doubt, for the most part, at once revolting and pitiable;—not easily, at first, to be credited, and to the last difficult to be told with calmness. Yet it is thus only that it can be told with advantage—and so told, it is pregnant with admonitions and suggestions, as precious in their tenor, as irresistible in their evidence, when once fairly received.

Unquestionably, in the main, England has been the oppressor, and Ireland the victim—not always a guiltless victim,—and it may be, often an offender; but even when the guilt may have been nearly balanced, the weight of suffering has always fallen on the weakest. This comparative weakness, indeed, was the

first cause of Ireland's misery—the second, her long separation. She had been too long a weak neighbour, to be easily admitted to the rights of an equal ally. Pretensions which the growing strength and intelligence of the one country began to feel intolerable, were sanctioned in the eyes of the other by long usage and prescription;—and injustice, which never could have been first inflicted when it was first complained of, was yet persisted in, because it had been long submitted to with but little complaint. No misgovernment is ever so bad as provincial misgovernment—and no provincial misgovernment, it would seem, as that of a free people,—whether arising from a jealous reluctance to extend that proud distinction to a race of inferiors, or from that inherent love of absolute power, which gives all rulers a tendency to be despotic, and seeks, when restrained at home, for vent and indemnification abroad.

The actual outline of the story is as clear as it is painful. Its most remarkable and most disgusting feature is, that while Religion has been made the pretext of its most sanguinary and atrocious contentions, it has been, from first to last, but a cover for the basest cupidity, and the meanest and most unprincipled ambition. The history which concerns the present times, need not be traced farther back than the days of Henry VIII. and Queen Mary. Up to that period, the petty and tyrannical Parliaments of the Pale had, indeed, pretty uniformly insulted and despised the great chiefs among whom the bulk of the island was divided—but they had also feared them, and let them alone. At that era, however, the growing strength and population of England inspired it with a bolder ambition, and the rage of proselytism which followed the Reformation, gave it both occasion and excuse. The passions which led naturally enough to hostilities, in such circumstances, were industriously fostered by the cold-blooded selfishness of those who were to profit by the result. Insurrections were now regularly followed by forfeiture; and there were by this time men and enterprise enough in England to meditate the occupancy of the vast domains from which the rebel chieftains were thus to be driven. From this period, accordingly, to that of the Restoration, the bloodiest and most atrocious in her unhappy annals, the history of Ireland may be summarily described as that of a series of sanguinary wars, fomented for the purposes of Confiscation. After the Restoration, and down till the Revolution, this was succeeded by a contest equally unprincipled and mercenary, between the settlers under Cromwell and the old or middle occupants whom they had displaced. By the final success of King William, a strong military government was once more imposed on this unhappy land, under which its spirit seem-

ed to be broken, and even its turbulent activity repressed. As it slowly revived, the Protestant antipathies of the English Government seem to have been reinforced or replaced by a more extended and still more unworthy National Jealousy—first on the subject of trade, and then on that of political rights:—and since a more enlightened view of her own interests, aided by the arms of the volunteers of 1780, have put down these causes of oppression,—the system of misgovernment has been maintained, for little other end, that we can discern, but to keep a small junto of arrogant individuals in power, and to preserve the supremacy of a faction, long after the actual cessation of the causes that lifted them into authority.

This is 'the abstract and brief chronicle' of the political or external history of the sister island. But it has been complicated of late, and all its symptoms aggravated by the singularity of its economical relations. The marvellous multiplication of its people, and the growing difficulty of supplying them with food or employment, presenting, at the present moment, a new and most urgent cause of dissatisfaction and alarm. For this last class of evils, a mere change in the policy of the Government would indeed furnish no remedy: and to find one in any degree available, might well task the ingenuity of the most enlightened and beneficent. But for the greater part of her past sufferings, as well as her actual degradation, disunion, and most dangerous discontent, it is impossible to deny that Government is justly responsible. Without pretending to enumerate, or even to class, the several charges which might be brought against it, or to determine what weight should be allowed to the temptations or provocations by which they might be palliated, we think it easier and far more important to remark, that the only secure preventive would have been an early, an equal, and complete incorporating Union of the two countries—and that the only effective cure for the misery occasioned by its having been so long delayed, is to labour, heartily and in earnest, still to render it equal and complete. It is in vain to hope that a provincial government should not be oppressive—that a delegated power should not be abused—that of two separate countries, allied only, but not incorporated, the weaker should not be degraded, and the stronger unjust. The only remedy is to identify and amalgamate them throughout—to mix up the oppressors and the oppressed—to take away all privileges and distinctions by fully communicating them, and to render abuses impossible, by confounding their victims with their authors.

If any one doubts of the wretchedness of an unequal and unincorporating alliance, of the degradation of being subject to a

provincial parliament and a distant king, and of the efficacy of a substantial union in curing all these evils, he is invited to look to the obvious example of Scotland. When the crowns only were united, and the governments continued separate, the weaker country was the scene of the most atrocious cruelties, the most violent injustice, the most degrading oppressions. The prevailing religion of the people was proscribed and persecuted with a ferocity greater than has ever been systematically exercised, even in Ireland; her industry was crippled and depressed by unjust and intolerable restrictions, her parliaments corrupted and overawed into the degraded instruments of a distant court, and her nobility and gentry, cut off from all hope of distinction by vindicating the rights, or promoting the interests of their country at home, were led to look up to the favour of her oppressors as the only remaining avenue to power, and degenerated, for the most part, into a band of mercenary adventurers, the more considerable aspiring to the wretched honour of executing the orders which were dictated from the South, and the rest acquiring gradually those habits of subserviency and selfish submission, the traces of which are by some supposed to be yet discernible in their descendants. The Revolution, which rested almost entirely on the prevailing antipathy to Popery, required, of course, the co-operation of all classes of Protestants; and by its success, the Scottish Presbyterians were relieved, for a time, from their Episcopalian persecution. But it was not till after the Union that the nation was truly emancipated, or lifted up from the abject condition of a dependant, at once suspected and despised. The effects of that happy consolidation were not indeed *immediately* apparent; for the vices which had been generated by a century of provincial misgovernment, the meannesses that had become habitual, the animosities that had so long been fostered, could not be cured at once, by the mere removal of their cause. The generation they had degraded, must first be allowed to die out—and more, perhaps, than one generation: But the poison tree was cut down—the fountain of bitter waters was sealed up, and symptoms of returning vigour and happiness were perceived. Vestiges may still be traced, perhaps, of our long degradation; but for forty years back, the provinces of Scotland have been, on the whole, but the Northern provinces of Great Britain. There are no local oppressions, no national animosities. Life, and liberty, and property, are as secure in Caithness as they are in Middlesex—industry as much encouraged, and wealth still more rapidly progressive; while not only different religious opinions, but different religious establishments, subsist in the two ends of the same island in unbroken harmony, and only

excite each other, by a friendly emulation, to greater purity of life and greater zeal for Christianity.

If this happy Union, however, had been delayed for another century—if Scotland had been doomed to submit for a hundred years more to the provincial tyranny of the Lauderdales, Rotheses, and Middletons, and to meet the cruel persecutions which gratified the ferocity of her Dalzells and Drummonds, and tarnished the glories of such men as Montrose and Dundee, with her armed conventicles and covenanted saints militant—to see her patriots exiled, or bleeding on the scaffold—her teachers silenced in her churches and schools, and her Courts of Justice degraded or overawed into the instruments of a cowardly oppression, can any man doubt, not only that she would have presented, at this day, a scene of even greater misery and discord than Ireland did in 1800; but that the corruptions and animosities by which she had been desolated would have been found to have struck so deep root as still to encumber the land, long after their seed had ceased to be scattered abroad on its surface, and only to hold out the hope of their eradication after many years of patient and painful exertion?

Such, however, is truly the condition of Ireland; and such are the grounds, and such the aspect of our hopes for *her* regeneration. So far from tracing any substantive part of her miseries to the Union of 1800, we think they are to be ascribed mainly to its long delay, and its ultimate incompleteness. It is not by a dissolution of the Union with England that any good can be done, but by its improvement and consolidation. Some little injury it may have produced to the shopkeepers of Dublin, and some inconsiderable increase in the number of the absentees. But it has shut up the main fountain of corruption and dishonour, and palsied the arm and broken the heart of local insolence and oppression. It has substituted, at least potentially and in prospect, the wisdom and honour of the British Government and the British people, to the passions and sordid interests of a junto of Irish borough-mongers,—and not only enabled, but compelled, all parties to appeal directly to the great tribunal of the British public. While the countries remained apart, the actual depositaries of power were almost unavoidably relied on by the general government for information, and employed as the delegates of its authority—and, as unavoidably, abused the trust, and misled and imposed on their employers. Having come into power at the time when the Catholic party, by its support of the House of Stuart, had excited against it all the fears and antipathies of the friends of liberty, they felt that they could only maintain themselves in possession of it, by keeping up that distrust and

animosity after its causes had expired. They contrived, therefore, by false representations and unjust laws, to foster these prejudices, which would otherwise have speedily disappeared—and, unluckily, succeeded but too well. As their own comparative numbers and natural consequence diminished, they clung still closer to their artificial holds on authority; and, exasperated by feeling their dignity endangered by the growing wealth, population, and intelligence of the country at large, they redoubled their efforts, by clamour and activity, intimidation and deceit, to preserve the unnatural advantages they had accidentally gained, and to keep down that springtide of general reason and substantial power which they left rising and swelling all around them. Their pretence was, that they were the champions of the *Protestant Ascendency*—and that whenever that was endangered, there was an end of the *English connexion.* While the alliance of the two countries was indeed no more than a *connexion,* there might be some truth in the assertion—or at least it was easy for an Irish Parliament to make it appear to be true. But the moment they came to be incorporated, its falsehood and absurdity should at once have become apparent. Unluckily, however, the incorporation was not so complete, the union so entire, as it should have been. There still was need, or was thought to be need, of a provincial management, a domestic government of Ireland;—and the old wretched parliamentary machinery, though broken up and disabled for its original work, naturally supplied the materials for its construction. The men still survived who had long been the exclusive channels of communication with the supreme government; and though other and wider channels were now opened, the habit of employing them, aided by the eagerness with which they sought for continued employment, left with them an undue share of its support. Still more unluckily, the ancient practice of misgovernment had left its usual traces on the character, not only of its authors, but its victims. Habitual oppression had produced habitual disaffection; and a long course of wrong and contumely, had ended in a desperate indignation, and an eager thirst for revenge.

The natural and necessary consequences of the Union did not, therefore, immediately follow its enactment—and are likely indeed to be longer obstructed, and run greater hazard of being fatally intercepted, than in the case of Scotland. Not only is the mutual exasperation greater, and the wounds more deeply rankled, but the Union itself is more incomplete, and leaves greater room for complaints of inequality and unfairness. The numerical strength, too, of the people is far greater, and their causes of discontent more uniform, than they ever were in Scotland; and,

above all, the temper of the race is infinitely more eager, sanguine, and reckless of consequences, than that of the sober and calculating tribes of the north. The greatest and most urgent hazard, therefore, is that which arises from their impatience;—and this unhappily is such, that unless some early measure of conciliation is adopted, it can scarcely be any longer considered as a matter of doubt, that upon the first occasion of a war with any of the great powers of Europe, *or America*, the great body of the nation would rise in final and implacable hostility, and endeavour to throw off all connexion with, or dependence on Great Britain, and to erect itself into an independent state. To us it certainly appears that this would be a most desperate, wild, and impracticable enterprise. But it is *not* upon this account the less likely to be attempted by such a nation as the Irish—and it cannot be dissembled that the mere attempt would almost unavoidably plunge both countries in the most frightful and interminable ruin. Though the separation even of distant and mature dependencies is almost always attended with terrible convulsions, separation, in such circumstances, is unquestionably an ultimate good;—and if Ireland were a mere dependency, and were distant enough and strong enough to subsist and flourish as an independent community, we might console ourselves, even for the infinite misery of the struggle attending on the separation, by the prospect of the great increase of happiness that might be the final result. But it is impossible, we think, for any one but an exasperated, unthinking, impetuous Irishman, not to see and feel that this neither is, nor ever can be, the condition of Ireland. Peopled by the same race, speaking the same language, associated in the same pursuits, bound together and amalgamated by continual intermarriages, joint adventures in trade, and every sort of social relation, and, above all, lying within sight and reach of each other's shores, they are in truth as intimately and inseparably connected as most of the internal provinces of each are with one another; and we might as well expect to see two independent kingdoms established in friendly neighbourhood in Yorkshire and Lancashire, as to witness a similar spectacle on the two sides of the Irish Channel. Two such countries, if of equal strength, and not exasperated by previous contentions, never could maintain the relations of peace and amity with each other, as separate and independent states;—but *must* either mingle into one—or desolate each other in fierce and exterminating hostility, till one sinks in total exhaustion at the feet of the bleeding and exhausted victor. In the actual circumstances of the two countries, however, the attempt would be attended with still more deplorable consequences. Ireland, with whom alone

it can originate, is decidedly the weakest, in wealth, population, and all effective resources—and probably never will venture on the experiment without foreign assistance. But it must be at once apparent how the introduction of this unhallowed element darkens all the horrors of the prospect. We are far from making light of the advantages it might give in the outset. By the help of a French army and an American fleet, we doubt not that the separation might be accomplished. The English armies might be defeated or driven from its shores—English capitalists might be butchered—the English religion extirpated—and an Irish Catholic republic installed with due ceremony in Dublin, and adopted with acclamation in most of the provinces of the land. Under the protection of their foreign deliverers this state of triumph might even be for some time maintained. But how long would this last? or how can it be imagined that it would end? Would the foreign allies remain for ever, on their own charges, and without interfering with the independence or the policy of the new state which they had thus been the means of creating? If they did, it would, after all, be but *a vassal republic*—a dependency on a more distant and still more imperious master—an outlying province of France—a military station from which to watch and to harass England, and on which the first burst of her hostilities must always be broken—and exposed, of course, in the mean time, to all the license, the insolence, the rigour, of a military occupancy by a foreign and alien soldiery. But this, it is plain, could never be more than a temporary measure. The defenders and keepers of the Hibernian republic would in no long time make peace with England, and quarrel, both with their new subjects and with each other—and then would come the renovated, the embittered, the unequal struggle with that exasperated power. Weakened as England might be by the separation, it would be absurd to suppose that she would not still be a tremendous overmatch for Ireland, single-handed;—or that this new state, wasted and exhausted by the war of her independence, could supply the means of making and equipping a fleet, or appointing an army, such as would be required to make head against this formidable antagonist. Though the great majority of her people, too, might be zealous for maintaining her independence, it is obvious that England would still have in her bosom a body of most formidable allies. The most intelligent, the most wealthy, the most politic and sagacious of her inhabitants, are at this moment in the English interest;—and, however sweeping and bloody the proscription by which they were overthrown, multitudes would still remain, with means and influence sufficient to render their co-operation most

perilous in a contest for its restoration. Even if left to her own resources, we have little doubt that the country would soon be a prey to civil wars, plots, and insurrections, which the want of skill and experience in the new rulers, as well as the state of their finances, would aggravate into an universal disorder. It is no easy thing to settle a new government amicably, even where there is no foreign interference:—and, in Ireland, from the temper of the people, and the circumstances which would leave less than an ordinary proportion of men of rank, education, and personal authority in the bands of the successful party, the difficulty would probably be insurmountable. It is impossible, however, not to suppose that England would eagerly avail herself of those dissensions, both by intrigue, corruption, and force, and equally impossible to doubt that she would succeed, if not in regaining her supremacy, at least in embroiling the unhappy country which was the subject of it, in the most miserable and interminable disorders.

The sum of the matter is, that there could be no peace, and, consequently, no prosperity or happiness for Ireland, as a separate and independent neighbour to England. Two such countries, after all that has passed between them, could no more live in quiet and comfort beside each other, than a wife who had eloped from her husband, could live again in the bosom of his family, as a mere friend or visitor—having her expenses supplied, and her society enlivened by the frequent visits of her seducer: Nor can any lesson of prudence be addressed to the fiery and impatient spirits who may now meditate in Ireland the casting off of their ties with the sister island, more precisely applicable to their prospects and condition, than the warnings which a friendly adviser would address to an exasperated matron, whose domestic grievances had led her to contemplate such a fatal step. By the aid of some flattering admirer, she may indeed accomplish the separation, and plunge her undeserving husband and his innocent family into mourning, and misery, and disgrace. Under the protection of her new champion, she may even live for a time in splendour and triumph. But that union, in itself unhallowed, must end in discontent and wretchedness. If the paramour continue to live with her, it is certain, from all example, that he will speedily prove more imperious and tyrannical than her lawful lord, and make her pay for his degrading protection ten times more, in comfort and independence, than she had ever been asked to give before. But the probability is, that he will speedily desert her—and then, feeling the utter impossibility of living with her exasperated family on any terms of friendly intercourse, what would remain for her, in her weakness, but the ne-

cessity of submitting to any seclusion, and to any miserable allowance, that her alienated husband might, in his anger or his pity, appoint for her? The counsel, then, that any faithful and even partial friend would give her, must be to bear much from her husband, rather than venture on so desperate a remedy; to turn her thoughts rather to conciliation, than recrimination or revenge; to avoid as much as possible all causes of reasonable or unreasonable offence—and, above all, to have her interest secured by sufficient provisions in her marriage articles, and to trust to the legal and temperate interference of the trustees appointed to enforce them.

Such are the warnings which we would address to the offended and exasperated party, in whose vindictive and rash proceedings the catastrophe we have been contemplating must originate. But though we certainly think they must appear convincing to any calm spectator, it is not the less probable that they could be of little avail with the inflamed and excited party, unless they were seconded by conciliatory and gentle measures on the part of the supposed offender. Nor are there wanting motives sufficiently urgent and imperious to make such measures, in all sound reason, indispensable. In the event of a war for independence, Ireland would probably be the scene of the greatest carnage, havoc, and devastation—and, in the end, we think her lot would be the most deplorable. But to England also, it is obvious that such a contest would be the source of unspeakable calamity, and the signal, indeed, of her permanent weakness, insecurity, and degradation. That she is bound, therefore, for her own sake, to avert it, by every possible precaution and every possible sacrifice, no one will be hardy enough to deny—far less, that she is bound, in the first instance, to diminish the tremendous hazard, *by simply doing justice and showing mercy* to those whom it is, in all other respects, her interest, as well as her duty, to cherish and protect.

One thing we take to be evident, and it is the substance of all that can be said on the subject, that things are fast verging to a crisis, and cannot, in all probability, remain long as they are. The Union, in short, must either be made *equal* and *complete* on the part of England—or it will be broken in pieces and thrown in her face by Ireland. That country must either be delivered from the domination of an Orange faction, or we must expect, in spite of all our warnings and remonstrances, to see her seek her own deliverance by the fatal and bloody career to which we have already alluded—and from which we hold it to be the height of guilt and of folly to hesitate about withholding her, by the sacrifice of that miserable faction.

Little, however, as we rely, without such co-operation, on the effect of our warnings, we cannot end without again lifting our feeble voice to repeat them—without conjuring the lovers of Ireland to consider how hopeless and how wretched any scheme of a permanent separation from England must necessarily be, and how certainly their condition must be ameliorated by the course of events, the gradual extinction of the generation in whom the last life-use of antiquated oppressions is now centred, and the spread of those mild and liberal sentiments, to which nothing can so much contribute, as a spirit of moderation and patience in those who have so long suffered from the want of them. By the Union, such as it is, we think the axe has been laid to the root of the old system of oppression and misgovernment in Ireland—and though its branches still look green, and afford shelter to the unclean birds who were bred, and have so long nestled in their covert, the sap ascends in them no longer, and the whole will soon cease to cumber the ground, and to obstruct the sight of the sky. In these circumstances, the only wise and safe course is to watch, and gently to assist the progress of their natural decay. If, in some fit of impatience, the brands are thrown into the mouldering mass, and an attempt made to subject the land at once to the fatal Purgation of Fire, the risk is not only that the authors will perish in the conflagration, but that another and a ranker crop of abominations will spring from its ashes, to poison the dwellings of many future generations.

We may seem to have forgotten Mr O'Driscol in these general observations: and yet they are not so foreign to his merits, as they may at first sight appear. His book certainly does not supply the *desideratum* of which we spoke at the outset, and will not pass to posterity as a complete or satisfactory History of Ireland. But it is written at least in a good spirit; and we do not know that we could better describe its general scope and tendency, than by saying, that they coincide almost entirely with the sentiments we have just been expressing. The author, we have recently understood, is a Catholic; but we had really read through his work without discovering it,—and can testify that he not only gives that party their full share of blame in all the transactions which deserve it, but speaks of the besetting sins of their system with a freedom and severity which no Protestant, not absolutely Orange, could easily improve on. We needed no extrinsical lights, indeed, to discover that he was an Irishman,—for, independent of the pretty distinct intimation conveyed in his name, we speedily discovered a spirit of nationality about him, that could leave no doubt on the subject. It is the only kind of partiality, however, which we can detect in

his performance; and it really detracts less from his credit than might be imagined,—partly because it is so little disguised as to lead to no misconceptions, and chiefly because it is mostly confined to those parts of the story in which it can do little harm. It breaks out most conspicuously in the earlier and most problematical portion of the narrative, as to which truth is most difficult to be come at, and of least value when ascertained. He is clear, for example, that the Irish were, for many centuries before the conquest of Henry II., a very polished, learned, and magnificent people—that they had colleges at Lismore and Armagh, where thousands upon thousands of studious youth imbibed all the learning of the times—that they worked beautifully in gold and silver, and manufactured exquisite fabrics both in flax and wool—and, finally, that the country was not only more prosperous and civilized, but greatly more populous in those early ages, than in any succeeding time.

We have no wish to enter into an idle antiquarian controversy—but we must say that no sober Saxon can adopt these legends without very large allowances. It is indubitable that the Irish, or some of them, did very anciently fabricate linen, and probably also some ornaments of gold; and it would appear, from certain ecclesiastical writers of no great credit, that they had among them large seminaries for priests,—a body possessing, in those ages, no very extraordinary learning, even in greater communities. But it is at least equally certain, that they were entirely a pastoral people, unacquainted with agriculture, holding their herds as the common property of the clan, dwelling in rude huts or wigwams, for the most part deplorably ignorant, and, in spite of their priests, generally practising polygamy and other savage vices. But what chiefly demonstrates the bias under which our author considers those early times, is his firm belief in the great populousness of ancient Ireland, and the undoubting confidence with which he rejects all the English accounts of their barbarism, even in the times of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth. A pastoral country never can be populous—and one overrun with unreclaimed bogs and unbroken forests, still less than any other. More than two-thirds of the present population of Ireland undoubtedly owe their existence to the potatoe; and men alive can still point out large districts, now producing the food of more than a million of new inhabitants, which they remember in their primitive state of sterile and lonely morasses. Without potatoes, without corn, turnips, or cultivated grasses—with few sheep, and with nothing, in short, but roving herds of black cattle, if Ireland had a full million of inhabitants in the 10th or 12th century, she had

a great deal; and in spite of her theological colleges, and her traditionary churches, we doubt whether she had as many.* But whatever may have been the number or condition of her people in those ages, of which we have no statistical memorial and no authentic account, it is a little bold in Mr O'Driscol to persuade us, that in the time of Elizabeth they were by no means an uncultivated or barbarous people. To the testimony afforded by all the official documents, and the full and graphic accounts of Spenser, Davis, and the writers referred to by Camden, long resident in the country, and eye-witnesses of all they describe, we really do not know what Mr O'Driscol has to oppose, but his own patriotic prejudices, and his deep-rooted conviction that no English testimony is to be trusted on such a subject. We must be forgiven for not sharing in his generous incredulity.

As to the more modern parts of the history, though he never fails to manifest an amiable anxiety to apologize for Irish excesses, and to do justice to Irish bravery and kindness, we really are not aware that this propensity leads him into any misrepresentation of facts; and are happy to find that it never points in the remotest degree, to anything so absurd as either a separation from England, or a vindictive wish for her distress or humiliation. He is too wise, indeed, not to be aware of that important truth, which so few of his zealous countrymen seem, however, able to comprehend—that there are no longer any of those injured Irish in existence, upon whom the English executed such flagrant oppressions two hundred years ago; and that nine-tenths of the intelligent Irish, who now burn with desire to avenge the wrongs of their predecessors, are truly as much akin to those who did, as to those who suffered, the injury. We doubt whether even the O'Driscols have not, by this time, nearly as much English as Irish blood in their veins; and are quite sure, that if the lands pillaged from their original Celtic owners, in the days of Elizabeth and Cromwell, were to be given back to the true heirs, scarcely one of those who now reprobate the spoliation in good English, would profit by the restitution. The living Irishmen of the present day may have wrongs to complain

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* If we remember rightly, the forces engaged in the conquest or defence of Ireland in the time of Henry the Second, were most insignificant in point of numbers. Less than a hundred men-at-arms easily took possession of a whole district; and even after the invaded had time to prepare for resistance, an army of three or four hundred was found quite sufficient to bear down all opposition.

of, and injuries to redress, on the part of the English Government; but it is absurd to imagine that they are entitled to resent the wrongs and injuries of those who suffered in the same place centuries ago. They are most of them half English by blood and lineage—and much more than half English, in speech, training, character, and habits. If they are to punish the descendants of the individual English who usurped Irish possessions, and displaced true Irish possessors, in former days, they must punish themselves;—for undoubtedly they are far more nearly connected with those spoilers than any of the hated English, whose ancestors never adventured to the neighbouring island. Mr O'Driscol's partiality for the *ancient* Irish, therefore, is truly a mere peculiarity of taste or feeling—or at best but an historical predilection; and in reality has no influence, as it ought to have none, on his views as to what constitutes the actual grievances, or is likely to work the deliverance, of the existing generation.

It is a far graver objection, that he scarcely ever cites his authorities:—more particularly as he occasionally differs from those which are most generally relied on, in his accounts of important transactions. He seems, for instance, to represent what is usually called the conquest of Henry the Second, as a mere voluntary submission to his authority—and at all events, takes no notice whatever of the various conflicts by which all other historians assure us that the subjugation of the country was then effected. He also gives, in many respects, a new aspect to the policy of Elizabeth, and the motives and character of her deputies in that island, without giving us the least hint of the sources from which his peculiar lights have been derived. He makes odd slips, too, in minor matters. He talks, for example, of Columb*kill* as one of the many eminent *men* that Ireland has bestowed on Scotland; and always represents *Clanduboy*, which is mentioned by all other writers as the name of *the district* where Shan O'Neil was murdered, as that of *the Scottish chieftain* by whose followers he fell. It is true, that it is chiefly in the earlier parts of the history that this defect is conspicuous:—For when he comes to more recent and important transactions—though he never condescends directly to quote any voucher for his accounts, he pretty generally mixes up with his narrative such extracts from contemporary documents, as in a great measure to supply the omission, and to verify all the material parts of his statement. He ought to be aware, however, that the neglect of direct authorities cannot fail to impair his credit, and diminish his weight with readers of all descriptions; and, while it invites the scornful contradic-

tion of those who are hostile to the opinions he maintains, leaves the unlearned part of those who would be glad to support him, without the means of vindicating his veracity, or even of satisfying themselves of its existence.

From this, as well as from some other peculiarities in his work, indeed, we are led to conclude that Mr O'Driscol, though obviously an acute and vigorous thinker, and probably well acquainted, in a general way, with the history of his country, is not a very laborious or exact man; and, in all likelihood, a little too impatient of that toilsome and obscure industry, without which no standard history can ever be prepared, or expected to maintain its authority with the public. His work abounds with striking and original remarks on the particular events which it records, and even with profound and important views of the general policy and tendencies of the measures which pass under his review. But it is impossible not to feel that his sentiments on these subjects are, for the most part, rather occasional than systematic—that they are often taken up rashly, and incautiously expressed, and that a malicious reader might consequently, with no great difficulty, produce passages from no remote pages of the book, which it would be difficult enough for the author to reconcile with each other. He is a person, in short, it would appear, of more quickness than profundity; or, at least, more apt to acquiesce in the views which his quickness suggests to him, than to digest and mature them either by careful research, or long deliberation. The style of his work, too, is in accordance with this character. It is often forcible and striking, but it is too abrupt, epigrammatic, and familiar. In passages of mere narrative or description, it is generally luminous and spirited. It is in the remarks and reflections that it is chiefly defective. The author, like most of his countrymen, is not particularly scrupulous about the purity or dignity of his diction. He regularly calls the settlers in the time of the Commonwealth, 'the Cromwellians;' and because the Earl of Strigul, under whose authority the first colony was planted in the time of Henry II., was generally known by the nickname of Strongbow—he uniformly distinguishes these primitive usurpers by the portentous denomination of 'Strongbouians.' * In a grave and excellent account of the famous siege of Derry, he tells us that King James, on being unexpectedly greeted by a

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* Mr O'Driscol is also inexcusably careless and inaccurate in the orthography of proper names. In the course of a few pages we find the domain of the O'Neils called Tirowan, Terowen, and Tyrone.

discharge of ordnance from the walls, was induced to halt 'and 'inquire *the meaning of the matter*;' and informs us a little after, that the regular troops 'did not consider the place tena-'ble, except by enduring *a degree of starvation, for which they had* '*no fancy*,' and that they were, moreover, '*greatly amused at the* '*comical choice* which the mob had made of a commander.' Alternating with this slipslop, we have occasionally pieces of *fadé* eloquence, or misplaced vivacity. In speaking, for example, of the complaisant priests who had become Protestants under Henry VIII., and were willing again to be Catholics under Mary, he touchingly observes, that 'Some, however, had un-'fortunately *carried their convictions into the bosom of beauty*, 'and taken wives!' and afterwards, in allusion to the first English adventurers in Ireland, he informs us that 'many found '*the death they dared*, and some the wealth they sought for.' Of his lively vein, the following, we suppose, will be taken as a sufficient specimen. He is speaking of King William's efforts to stop a petty traffic, by which certain poor people in Dublin supplied his Irish enemies with provisions. 'On this disco-'very, pursuit was made, and some of the traffickers in those 'dangerous commodities were overtaken, or nearly so. It ap-'pears that a female merchant actually dropped her Petticoat in 'the pursuit, which was triumphantly taken possession of by 'the exulting pursuers. The petticoat was thought a danger-'ous article; but this identical petticoat had, besides being po-'pish, *(perhaps popery may be interesting in a petticoat,)* the fur-'ther interest of containing a letter in its folds! Here were 'materials for a plot—a letter and a petticoat! and both deci-'dedly popish! But this was not all; upon further search, a 'roll of Tobacco was discovered at no great distance from the 'spot where the petticoat was found. Whether it dropped from 'the fair owner of the petticoat, or from a male companion, our 'historian does not say, but in the centre of the roll another 'letter was detected lurking! What might have been the pur-'port of those letters, we are not informed, whether love, 'brandy, tobacco, or treason, but the consequences were seri-'ous. The houses of all Papists in Dublin were searched, and 'the proprietors 'of most of them,' we are told, were commit-'ted to prison.' It would be unfair to Mr O'Driscol, however, not to say that those are but occasional blemishes; and that his style in general, though not remarkably correct, and deficient, perhaps, in historical calmness and gravity, is clear, concise, and manly, as our readers indeed will immediately perceive from the specimens which, for other purposes, we are about to lay before them.

The work, we believe we have forgotten to say, comes no farther down than to the great pacification of Ireland by the articles of Limerick in 1691, though Mr O'Driscol holds out hopes, that if this attempt meets with the encouragement which we decidedly think it deserves, he may be induced to continue his labours. It is, upon the whole, concisely and pleasantly written, the earlier and less important period being despatched in a pithy abstract, and the latter events explained and unfolded with more ample details.

We care little for anything earlier than Henry VIII.; but it may be worth while to notice, that though converted long before to Christianity, and carrying on indeed a great manufactory of priests, the Irish rejected the authority of the Roman Pontiff till after the conquest by Henry II., having previously followed the rites of the Greek Church, to which St Patrick belonged, but acknowledging no other ecclesiastical head than the Archbishop of Armagh. Henry VIII., as is well known, attempted seriously to introduce the reformed religion into Ireland,—and the following short account of the result is well entitled to attention.

'The British power in Ireland was too feeble, and the personal character of the King was too little felt, to impose much restraint upon the people, in expressing their abhorrence of the innovation proposed. Cromer, Archbishop of Armagh, and an Englishman, denounced the new doctrines as heretical and abominable, and was supported by the whole Church of Ireland. The king, however, did not despond. He saw that violence would accomplish nothing in this case, and he took the course of an able and judicious statesman. He waited till the rage which had been kindled by the first proposition of the reformation had somewhat abated; and until O'Neil, who had been excited to take arms by Cromer and the Pope, had returned voluntarily to his allegiance, after having met some slight checks in the field; and he induced this great chieftain to visit him at his court in London. The king received the chief of Ulster with the most flattering courtesies; he prevailed upon him to accept the title of Earl of Tyrone; he placed a chain of gold on his neck; and won him not only to the strongest professions of attachment and allegiance, but induced him with little difficulty to renounce the Church of Rome, and adopt the reformed religion. O'Neil's example was followed by some of the chief nobles of Ireland, and even by some of the Romish bishops who were connected with their families. O'Brien of Thomond, the Lord Desmond, M'William, Clanrickard, and others, waited on the king at London, and were all received with favour and attention, and presented with gifts, titles, and honours. They returned to their country highly gratified with the king, and well disposed towards his religion: For the remainder of Henry's reign, universal peace prevailed in Ireland; and a groundwork was laid for a gradual introduction of the great

change in the religion of the country, which was necessary to assimilate the worship of the two islands. It is surprising that the success of this experiment of Henry's, upon the vanity and good-nature of his Irish subjects, seems never to have tempted any of his successors to imitate this cheap and easy mode of governing that precious portion of their dominions.'

A change of policy in this respect, excited new troubles in the time of Edward VI.; and the sacrilegious violence with which the English garrisons plundered and defaced some of the rich Catholic churches, so irritated the national spirit of O'Neil and his associates, that even before the accession of Mary, they relapsed into the errors of their ancient faith, and prepared to maintain it by force against the armed reformers of the youthful king. The succession of Mary, however, assured them of abundant protection; and the nation went quietly back to its original creed. The following passage is memorable:—

'As the reformed faith had made little progress in Ireland, the ancient religion was restored without difficulty or violence. It is much to the credit of the people of Ireland, that, satisfied with a quiet and peaceable restoration of their faith, they, in no instance, persecuted or disturbed those who still thought proper to profess the religion of the reformation, and there were many such. While the fires of a ferocious proscription raged in the sister island, in Ireland the Protestants enjoyed their opinions in full security and peace; and numbers fled from persecution in England, to find freedom and protection amongst a people, whom they considered as almost savage, and blindly devoted to the worst of superstitions. Neither in this reign, nor afterwards in that of James the Second, when the religion of the Church of Rome was triumphant, did the Catholics of Ireland persecute or proscribe on account of religion. A rare merit; and which proves that neither superstition nor fanaticism had wholly blotted out all religious principle, nor the misfortunes of the nation extinguished entirely the natural kindness of the Irish people.'

Our author's account of the important reign of Elizabeth is clear and vigorous; and, on the whole, temperate and indulgent. He acquits that princess, and indeed the English government generally, of any direct encouragement of the insolence and oppression by which her deputies and commanders excited hostility in Ireland, or of the atrocious cruelties by which they afterwards sought to repress it. Much of these, he conceives, was unknown at the seat of government, and more shamefully misrepresented; while, on many occasions, attempts were seriously, though ineffectually made, to punish or prevent those provincial oppressions which came slowly and imperfectly to the knowledge of the distant sovereign. It was in this reign, however, and under the queen's direct authority, that the fatal scheme of repressing what was called rebellion by forfeiture, or rather of

breaking the power of the great chiefs, by the most sweeping confiscation of their domains, was first adopted and carried into rigorous execution. Up to this time those *reguli* had been treated somewhat on the footing of sovereign princes—vassal sovereigns indeed, and owing fealty and homage to the English monarch, but entitled within their own territories to most of the prerogatives of royalty. Between them and the English governors of the Pale, there had, indeed, been frequent hostilities, and inroads, and reprisals, with various fortune and on various pretexts;—but these had always been followed by pacifications which left the territories substantially unchanged, and seldom went even so far as to transfer the clannish sceptre to some more submissive member of the ancient family;—and the little parliament of the Pale, though calling itself the Legislature of Ireland, had hitherto enforced its enactments only over the province of Leinster. In the time of Elizabeth, however, the wars with O'Neil and Desmond, which were carried on on both sides with frightful barbarity, terminated in the absolute confiscation of all the possessions of those great chiefs, comprehending the whole provinces of Ulster and Munster, and much of the adjoining country; and the whole of this vast region was immediately divided among the English adventurers, who had flocked to the distracted land, for the very purpose of enriching themselves by its plunder, and had undoubtedly sought both to provoke and to perpetuate the wars, with a view to this desirable result. We cannot now enter into any detail of the course of those terrible contentions; of which Mr O'Driscol, however, has here given a very animated sketch, and in the course of it, vindicated, we think, very successfully, his Irish favourites from the imputation either of inferior discipline, or superior cruelty, to the English. It is enough for us to remark, that under the sway of Sydney, Grey, and Essex, not only were the most inhuman butcheries practised upon the Irish, but a disposition unequivocally manifested, by these and other provocations, to goad them into irreconcilable hostility, with a direct view to the profit to be derived from their forfeitures. It is also certain that Elizabeth herself, though ignorant perhaps of the horrors actually perpetrated by her officers, was perfectly aware of the existence of this detestable principle, and of its efficacy in reconciling her armies to the continuance of the war. 'If it goes on,' she is known to have said to her council, 'it will be the better for 'you, *for there will be estates for you all.*' When things were once placed on this footing, it is easy to conjecture in what spirit government would be conducted, and war waged by that band of adventurers, who had pressed into employment for the avow-

ed purpose of aggrandising themselves and their followers. Nor can we be very much surprised that it should at last have been openly maintained, both in printed works by persons in authority, and in memorials graciously received by the Sovereign, that the only way to secure the peace and prosperity of Ireland, was utterly to *extirpate* or displace the whole of its native population, and to settle it anew, as a waste or vacant country, by colonies of industrious English! A great part of the forfeited property was accordingly distributed, at this period, to various new created lords, 'upon the express condition 'that each should plant a certain number of English families 'on his own estate, and that he should not suffer any Irish to 'rent or otherwise occupy any part thereof.' The experiment was tried, too, with the most intrepid cruelty, and persevered in with the most relentless severity for a long series of years; but it succeeded only in embittering the animosity which divided the hostile races, and sowing the seeds of almost incurable hatred.

'The northern plantation had failed entirely. The grantees of the Tirowen territory could not make good their possession, even with all the aid of government. Warned by this difficulty, the southern plantation had been conducted upon a surer principle, as it was supposed,—by removing the population. Nevertheless, it was hardly more fortunate; but few of the grantees were enabled to keep possession of their new estates: those who were so successful soon discovered that there was but one mode by which their possession could be secured, and that was by abandoning the system of plantation, and making terms with the old Irish tenantry, or such remnant of them as could be found.'

One short gleam of comfort was afforded amidst these horrors, by the mild and equitable administration of Sir John Perrot.

'The principle of his government was, to do justice to the old Irish, to protect them from oppression and confiscations, and give them their due share of influence and employment in the state. By such a system of government, he was confident that he could preserve the peace of Ireland, and answer for its security without a military establishment. But Perrot's plan of government was hardly relished by the old English, because it gave them no preference over the mere Irish; and it was thoroughly detested by the new English, whose object was not the peace and improvement of Ireland, but war and confiscation. That party, though they could not prevail with the queen to remove Perrot, had succeeded in weakening his influence with her majesty. His representations were neglected, his complaints were unheeded, and his enemies in the council, feeling the encouragement thus held out, urged their system of insult and annoyance beyond the forbearance of the deputy. He entreated the queen to be recalled. He assured her majesty that he found no difficulty in governing her Irish

subjects, but that it was impossible to rule her English servants in Ireland. The queen yielded to Perrot's wish and the anxious solicitations of his enemies. He was commanded to deliver the sword of state to Sir William Fitz-William; and having done so, he declared that he left the kingdom in peace; and that, now a private man, he would engage to procure, within twenty days, the submission of any chief in Ireland, without employing force of any kind. Such was the confidence which this good man had in the power of his own character for truth and faithfulness. His departure from Ireland exhibited a scene which has more than once occurred in that country. He was accompanied to the shore by the whole population of Dublin, and by the old Irish of every rank and class, princes and people, all in tears. The grateful recollection of the past, and the fears of the future, pressed heavily upon every heart. Every tongue was loud to acknowledge him as a father and benefactor, and to lament the public loss. Sir John Perrot's administration was a proof that, even in the worst state of society in Ireland, and nothing could be worse than the state of society in this reign, ordinary justice and common humanity are all that are needed to govern the Irish people. The short experiment which Elizabeth made of this principle of government, confirms the truth of Sir John Davis's testimony: that the Irish love justice so much, that they will be content with it, even when its decisions press most heavily against themselves.'

Religious differences, though they might exasperate existing animosities, were scarcely used, even as a pretext for the wars of this reign. These were waged professedly for the purpose of putting down or reducing to obedience the great turbulent chiefs of the north and the south—in reality, for the purpose of procuring the confiscation of their estates—and were, as Mr O'Driscol has truly stated, 'substantially mere struggles of the old pro-'prietors to preserve their importance against the tide of new 'adventurers, which the rapid political changes in Great Bri-'tain, and the growing wealth and population of the larger 'island had thrown upon the lesser.'

'The Reformation,' he afterwards observes, 'had made no progress in Ireland during the reign of Elizabeth. Those who were compelled to war with the power, would not be disposed to favour the religion of the queen. The authority of the queen did not extend beyond her camp, and the religion of the Reformation had even narrower limits. Two-thirds of the British army who won the victory at Kinsale, were Irish Catholics; and the Earl of Clanricard, to whom it was chiefly due, was remarkable for his steady attachment to the religion of Rome. The wars of this reign served, on the contrary, to raise up a powerful and permanent obstruction to the progress of the Reformation. The Irish knew it only as the religion of those strangers who contended with them in mortal strife for their inheritances. They knew it only as the profession of those English ecclesiastics who were sent from time to time from the other island, and are de-

scribed by all the British writers of that day as a class of men remarkable for their profligate lives, their ignorance, and entire neglect of the few duties they had to perform. The religion of Rome, on the contrary, was not only their own, but it was the religion of their allies of Spain, Italy, and France. Their political struggles drew closer the ties that bound them to their ancient faith.'

The reign of James was a softened copy of that of Elizabeth, in so far as regards wars and forfeitures. It was marked, however, by a new and more pacific measure, which in the end was productive of great benefits. The law of England was now, in some measure, enforced all over the island—sheriffs at least were appointed, and circuits established in its different provinces, and the supreme court at length solemnly decided that the old Irish tenures by *tanistry* were at an end, and that their titles must now be made out according to the English method. A still more important change, though naturally resulting from the other, was, that instead of holding his lands in a great degree at the pleasure of his chief, or at least of being liable to indefinite exactions on their transmission to an heir, a rent was now fixed in lieu of all feudal services, and subject to this rent, the title of inheritance was absolute. This prince also created forty new boroughs, and an order of Baronets. His most oppressive measure, was the institution of a commission for inquiring into defective titles—his most paltry, the attempt to set aside the new grants made by himself in Connaught, in consequence of an accidental omission of an enrolment in Chancery, for which, however, the grantees had actually paid the full fees.

The reign of Charles, though opening auspiciously, brought the disorders and sufferings of Ireland to their height. The Catholic Lords, with the concurrence of many of the leading Protestants, drew up a sort of Bill of Rights, which they presented to the King, with an offer of a large subsidy, on condition of their petition being granted. The King accepted the subsidy, and assented to the petition. But Strafford prevailed with him ultimately to refuse the charter in which those Graces, as they were termed, were embodied, and proceeded to exact money by every sort of oppression. The following passages, which introduce the history of the great rebellion in 1641, are written, we think, with singular clearness, and true historical impartiality.

'Strafford's administration, though an exceedingly guilty one, was not wholly without merit. He attempted to reform the Established Church, then known in Ireland only as an engine of oppression, and to make it, what it ought to be, an instrument of popular instruction. He attempted to improve and new-model the college of Dublin; he was the first to encourage and promote the linen manufacture, and

expended large sums of money of his private property in the undertaking. It is true, that he also did all in his power to injure and destroy the woollen trade of Ireland, then beginning to flourish. But it was the genius of the man to mingle good and evil; and he had become apprehensive that the woollen manufacture of Ireland might arrive at a degree of prosperity injurious to the trade of England; and it was the notion of the day, to consider that the pre-eminence of the latter country was to be promoted by the depression of all others. The discontent occasioned by the insincerity of the king, on the subject of the Graces; the terror of Strafford's violent proceedings; the menaces of the puritans (a party then rising into power) against the Catholics; the decline of the royal authority, and the approaching commotions in England,—all these circumstances furnished ground of hope to the dispossessed Irish of the late reign, that the time was arrived for making a struggle, with fair prospect of success, for the recovery of their ancient inheritances. The higher classes of the expelled Irish had been received with distinction in France, Spain, Germany, and Italy. Many of them held high rank in the armies of the three former powers. Those were now in close and frequent communication with each other, and with the continental courts. Ireland was full of their vassals and connexions, with whom they held constant intercourse, and who endured with impatience the neighbourhood of the strangers who held possession of their lands.

'The expelled tenantry of these counties had continued pent up in the mountains, till the disorders of the government in England afforded them the opportunity of combining with their exiled chiefs, in one great effort, for their mutual restoration. The time was now arrived, and in the winter of 1641, in the month of October, they descended in vast torrents from the mountains, swept the new plantations from the face of the land, and obtained full possession of their ancient settlements. This great change was accomplished without bloodshed. The plan of the insurrection prescribed, that the English settlers should be dispossessed peaceably, and that the Scotch should not be at all disturbed or molested. The latter were, many of them, connected in the country, and some of their settlements had been made with the sanction of the Irish chiefs. But this wise and humane principle of the insurrection did not endure long, nor perhaps was it in the nature of the case that it should do so. The first military movements were directed by Sir Phelim O'Neil; and though successful from the overwhelming nature of the force collected, and the total absence of any effectual opposition, yet when at length a vigorous resistance was made, and the incapacity of the leader began to display itself, the fury of the collision produced its natural effect upon the tumultuous mass now in movement, on both sides. Both parties shed blood freely. The rage of the Irish exhausted itself upon the intruders upon their lands. The British and Scotch retaliated in the massacre at Island Magee, and wherever else an opportunity presented itself. Nor ought we to be surprised that the slaughter committed by the Irish in the first burst of the rebellion was grossly exaggerated. It is in the

nature of fear to exaggerate; but in this case there was even a greater exaggerator than fear. The cause of the quarrel was property; and it was the interest of the party whose claim was opposed to that of the old Irish proprietors, to represent them as monsters, who could not be satiated with blood. Accordingly, the Irish were represented as having put to death thirty thousand Protestant inhabitants of the north. It was, however, admitted, that a great proportion of the northern Protestants were saved and protected, for this fact could not be denied. And it is also ascertained, that the entire Protestant population of the north of Ireland did not then amount to twenty thousand. Cromwell's commission of inquiry estimated the number killed at six thousand; and this also was probably an exaggeration, as Cromwell's commissioners were neither inclined to underrate, nor very strict observers of the truth.'

The following view of the state of parties at this momentous crisis, appears also to be conceived with great vigour, and unfolded with much perspicuity.

'There were now four great parties in Ireland, all actuated by different motives; that of the ancient, or pure Irish; that of the Anglo-Irish, both of which formed the great body of the CONFEDERATES; that of the king's party, as it was called; and that of the puritans, or parliament party.

'These four apparently composed but two great divisions; the king's party and the parliament party affecting to acknowledge but one interest; and the Irish and Anglo-Irish parties seeming to be bound by one principle, and to act together for one object. But they were all really distinct. The separation between the two latter, however, was much broader and more decisive than between the former.

'The arming of the northern Irish, which had been concerted by the Irish officers on the continent, had for its object the recovery of their ancient estates, and some few went the length of a separation of Ireland from the crown of Great Britain. The views of the Anglo-Irish went no further than a confirmation of the Charter of Graces, and protection against the designs of the puritans. They were opposed to any restoration of property to the ancient Irish, and still more hostile to every scheme of Irish independence. They feared that if Ireland were severed from the British crown, it would give such a preponderance to the old Irish interest, as would endanger their own possessions, or at least affect the rank and station they then held in the country. Instead of being the first in power and importance, they could only, after such an event, look to a second place in the nation. Nothing, therefore, was more sound and sincere than the loyalty of the Anglo-Irish lords. They were united with the ancient Irish in the insurrection, by force of circumstances, not by choice. A community of religion was the chief bond, as it was the pretext of a common persecution; next the necessity of self-defence; and in some instances, the force of kindred and relationship.

'The third party was a small one; but it was one of great importance, as well from the persons composing it, as from the part they

had to perform. The party of the confederates, in its two great branches of Irish and Anglo-Irish, were all Catholics. The king's party were Catholic and Protestant: it consisted of Catholic lords, whose horror of Irishry was too strong for any fears on the score of religion to compel them into even a temporary union with that interest, or whose loyalty could not be shaken by any delinquencies of the crown, or made to yield to the safety of the nation.'

We give these passages as specimens merely of the spirit and temper in which the work is composed. For we cannot now pretend to give even the slightest abstract of the substance of the story. The whole details, however, of this sanguinary contest, of the Kilkenny convention in 1642, and of the King's secret treaty with Glamorgan in 1645, and his subsequent most disreputable disavowal of it, are here given with a degree of fulness, clearness, and moderation, which, we have no difficulty in saying, are not to be paralleled in any other account of the same transaction. Soon after the establishment of the Commonwealth, the Protector came himself to Ireland, to extinguish, if possible, the power of the Catholic confederation; but he accomplished nothing by his campaign at all answerable to his reputation. He besieged a few towns, and met with a brave and obstinate resistance, which he resented by the greatest cruelties;—and Mr O'Driscol holds it to be clear, that his ultimate success was entirely owing to the internal dissensions of the confederates, and those jealousies and animosities among their leaders, that deprived them at last of all means of co-operation, and condemned them to see their great force moulder away and dissolve, before the face of a far inferior enemy.

'The old Irish of the confederacy, hopeless now of achieving any thing for their country, and weary of the eternal and absurd negotiations of the convention lords, entered into terms with the Cromwellians. Many laid down their arms and submitted; but far the greater number made conditions to be sent at the cost of the parliament to France or Spain, and were furnished with stores and shipping for that purpose. The military were gladly received into the service of those two powers; and in the course of three years about forty thousand men, chiefly of the Irish army, left their country in this manner, and were conveyed abroad at the cost of the new government of England. The whole number, however, of Irish who quitted their country in the course of the Cromwellian wars, is estimated at about two hundred thousand. A dispersion which formed a remarkable event of the time; and which is still to be traced in France, Spain, and various other parts of Europe.

'The Ormond party was extinct. The party of the convention was in a state of utter decay. Their own army, which was of necessity composed of *mere* Irish, followed the example of the northern battalions, and disbanded, or retired by regiments into foreign service.

The Cromwellians found themselves in quiet possession of the kingdom almost without firing a shot, and to their own great amazement. They proceeded without a moment's delay to appropriate to themselves the great estates of the lords and gentlemen of the confederation.

'The Irish war was now concluded. Cromwell sent over his son Henry to superintend a settlement of the kingdom. This was soon effected in Cromwell's usual style of decision and despatch. Connaught was set apart for the Irish who had not made terms. Ulster was already disposed of to the London companies and the Scotch: these were to remain undisturbed. The other two provinces were allotted almost entirely to the Cromwellian soldiers and adventurers, in satisfaction of their arrears of pay and advances towards the expenses of the war. In this partition of the land, which was as complete as that of Canaan to the children of Israel, the Anglo-Irish nobility and gentry were the chief sufferers.

'The Cromwellians thus established in Ireland were a bold and hardy race of men; and superior, perhaps, to any of the swarms which had passed the Channel from time to time, and settled on the rich lands of Ireland. They were not like the crafty land-jobbers, who came over avowedly to traffic in forfeited estates, many of whom laid the foundations of wealthy families; neither did they belong to the class of needy and dissolute adventurers, whose object was to rebuild a fortune, which vice and depravity had destroyed; nor were they of the low and unprincipled stock of official and military speculators in confiscations, whose determination was to make a fortune, no matter how.

'The Cromwellian soldiers came to Ireland unwillingly. They were for the most part men who had engaged from principle in the cause of the parliament; or, as they believed, the cause of civil and religious liberty. They were enthusiasts, with somewhat of the dignity of enthusiasm about them. They had not deprived, by personal management or contrivance, any man of his estate in Ireland. The lands were vacant. The events of the war had swept away the late possessors; and the Protector, assuming a right over those lands, assigned them to his soldiers in lieu of pay.

'The conduct of the Cromwellian army and of their great leader, in Ireland, is abundant proof that there is no tyranny like the tyranny of republicans. All the despotism of corrupt courts, unprincipled monarchs, and profligate courtiers, had been exhausted upon Ireland; and all which these instruments could accomplish in a course of ages, fell infinitely short of what was effected in as many years by the army of the Commonwealth. Nothing in history is more dreadful than the slaughter committed by the Cromwellians when the country fell into their power. They spared neither age, nor sex, nor infancy. But there is little doubt that these gloomy fanatics imagined they would have sinned in sparing. When they became weary of slaughter, they transported the people in thousands to the West Indies, and to all parts of the Continent; and it is probable that, like the Jews when they spared a remnant of the people of Canaan, they considered this

lenity to popery as an offence that would be visited upon their children. Like all fanatics, they were more conversant with the horrors of the Old Testament than the mild precepts of the New.

'Cromwell's plan for the settlement of Ireland consisted of a legislative union of the three nations, incorporated now into one great republic. By an order, called an INSTRUMENT OF GOVERNMENT, he directed that thirty Irish members should be elected to represent Ireland in the united parliament. His plan of representation seems to have been very crude and defective: but it was worthy of his bold and commanding intellect to furnish the first outline of the only scheme, consistent with the connexion with Great Britain, which could supply a remedy for the enormous abuses then prevailing in Ireland. The Restoration put an end to this plan of union; which, if it had been adopted by Charles II., would probably have prevented the two years' war of the Revolution.

'But Cromwell's plans of improvement were not confined to his scheme of union: he directed that particular attention should be paid to the advancement of learning; and that a second college should be erected in the neighbourhood of Dublin, or some other part of Ireland. Cromwell had always paid marked attention to learning and learned men, and was well aware how much the glory and prosperity of nations depend upon their degree of knowledge and reputation in the world.'

On the Restoration, the claims of the Anglo-Irish Catholics, who had stood out so manfully for the royal cause, were urged with great force on the returning king.

'He and his father had repeatedly treated with them, and confirmed the terms of their treaties. They had both been in incessant intercourse with them. The Catholics had powerfully assisted the royal cause in England, Scotland, and on the Continent, with liberal supplies of men and money. They had continued the war against Cromwell in Ireland to the last extremity; and their loyalty had been such that they had rejected the most favourable terms from the parliament; had quarrelled with the nuncio and the clergy; and broken with O'Neil and the northern Irish, whose loyalty was too much mixed with common motive. And finally, to crown their merits, they were abandoned by the old Irish, subdued by the new English, and had lost their estates, property, power, everything.

'They had, in fact, done too much to expect any recompense. The king might have remunerated ordinary services, but when such a mass of obligation as this was cast upon him, there was no way of treating it but by throwing it off in a lump. Charles had already decided the point with his conscience, upon the arguments of state which Ormond had suggested. But he had the grace to make a show of looking into the matter. The claims of the Irish were debated before the English privy council, at which the King attended regularly. The matter in dispute respected the states which the confederates had lost, and the Cromwellians had gained. The council first decided as a preliminary

that the Cromwellians should not be disturbed, and then gravely proceeded to inquire into the case.'

After a great deal of very unhandsome and unkind evasion, the acts of Settlement and Explanation were at last passed, giving effect to this resolution,—a proceeding which draws from our author the following bitter, but just observations :—

'There is no doubt that to have restored the confederates to their estates would have required an exertion of vigour far beyond what Charles was capable of. The Cromwellians were determined not to resign them without battle : they were prepared to fight. They had their friends and fellow-soldiers scattered throughout England, with whom they maintained a constant correspondence. The army in Ireland was at their disposal. The king's position was still critical ; and these men would undoubtedly have raised a storm that would have embarrassed so weak a man. It was some sign of grace that he anxiously cast about in search of some shadow of excuse for abandoning his old and burdensome friends, the confederates. The Cromwellians, observing the nature of his perplexity, set themselves to work to relieve him. By great exertion and industry they procured copies of the instructions sent by the supreme council of the confederates to their agents at Rome and the other continental courts. Those instructions authorized the Irish agents to make a tender of the kingdom to the Pope, or to France, Spain, or any country or government that would deliver them from the burden of their own affairs. These papers were read before the council ; the king affected the utmost indignation and surprise, and ordered that in future no petitions should be received from the Catholics. The door was thus closed upon those mendicant loyalists. The indignation of Charles was but dissembled, for he was well acquainted with the instructions, and had been a concurring party to some of them. His anger would have been well warranted in any other man, and even in him, some contempt might be pardoned, if sincere, for those who could traverse Europe in search of a meaner servitude.'

On the death of Charles II., Mr O'Driscol makes the following strong and pointed observations :—and, though the influence of his religious persuasion is, perhaps, discernible in some of them, we must say that we know not where else to find so clear, concise, and original a view of that critical passage of our history.

'Charles stood between his father and brother, a more agreeable and a worse man than either. Cold, cruel, profligate, false, he was yet instrumental, by his very faults, in laying the foundations of British liberty, and, by the only virtue he possessed, of preparing the ruin and overthrow of his family. If he had been a prince of any character or energy, those securities against arbitrary power, which were the fruit of his reign, would probably not have been sought for, or would not have been obtained. If he had not had some small regard for religion, and some slight degree of principle as connected with that subject, it would have been easy for him to have established, upon a Pro-

testant foundation, the most grievous tyranny the country ever experienced. But his inclination towards the Catholic church made him disregard the prostrations of the universities, and turn a cold eye upon the long train of churchmen that crept in the dust at his feet, and courted even his most scornful regard. By this conscientious conduct the king fostered that discontent of the establishment, which, after renewing its vain submissions to his successor, at length took arms against the throne, and helped to overturn it.

'The extreme anxiety of the church to preserve its connexion with the crown was not surprising. The established religion of England is the religion of the rich and the polite; but as these classes are rarely religious, the church has little hold upon society, whatever may be its importance as a parliamentary or state machine. Deprived of the countenance of government, the Episcopal church would lose almost all its sole support. The middle and lower orders of the people hang loosely upon it, or are scattered among the sectaries.

'The church of England has never been able to attain what that of Rome has so perfectly accomplished, to be the religion of the rich and the poor. The secret, perhaps, is to be found in the grand spectacle of the *sacrifice* which the Roman church presents in her celibacy; which gives her ministry the semblance if not the reality of a *vocation*, while the British church has all the appearance, and in many cases the reality of a mere *profession*.

'The reformed church, too, had in the outset the taint of impure motive. The great men of the Reformation had little other object in view than the plunder of the old establishment. Nor, when the new church had accumulated wealth, was the contrast favourable, which she presented, with the old. The old establishment, like the new, had been greedy of wealth, but had used it differently. Notwithstanding many abuses, the poor were provided for: at her expense the sick and the stranger had provision made for their wants. Her 'Orders of Charity' were multiplied as the exigencies of the people increased. Mansions of 'hospitality' were erected for the way-farer in the desert. Her 'missions' extended over the globe, and were often zealous and devoted. At home, her tenants lived in ease and abundance on her domains, and hardly felt the light rents they paid, while she reared everywhere costly and beautiful churches at her own expense, and without charge to the people, for the worship of God and the ornament of the country.

'All this was changed at the Reformation. With the purer doctrines of the reformed church came an increase of the burdens of the people. Charity and zeal (odd effect) seemed extinguished by the truth. The poor, and the sick, and the stranger, were left to the tender mercies of the parish officers; the missions ceased; the Orders of Mercy were no more; the expense of building churches was thrown upon the laity; and a new and meaner order of architecture showed the melancholy change which had taken place. The tithe was collected with severity; and the pastors and the flock exhausted their animosities in the courts of law.

'The Reformation in England and Scotland, as on the Continent,

derived its chief support from the division of the church domains amongst the first reformers. Those who had got church and abbey lands contended strenuously for the truth of the Reformation, and the gospel purity of the new worship. In Ireland there was still a stronger interest combined with the cause of the Reformation. The entire Cromwellian interest rested upon it. The re-establishment of the Roman church would include the re-establishment of the Irish proprietors in their estates. The preservation of the Protestant worship was considered as a security for the possessions of the Cromwellian soldiers. Hence the zeal for the Protestant faith, and the struggles for the reformed religion which prevailed at this period, and long after in Ireland. A rare and happy union of the interests of this world and the next; though pronounced to be impossible.

'James the Second was a professed Catholic in religion; in politics he entertained the high prerogative notions of his father and grandfather. He was a man of too little mind to discern that those notions were unsuited to the age and nation that he lived in. The storm which drove him from his throne had been felt even in his brother's reign; but James had not sense enough to be warned. He relied too much upon the support of France, and upon the apparent submission of the people of England. The easy defeat of Monmouth's rebellion was fatal to him; but what was more fatal still, was the general corruption which prevailed at his court, and of which he himself had set the first unhappy example.

'Charles and James were humble pensioners of France; Lewis feared the power of England. He had seen what she could accomplish, when, for the short period of the Commonwealth, she put forth her strength and took her place, without question, the first and greatest of the nations of Europe. This place he had himself assumed, and was ambitious to preserve for the kingdom, whose glory and splendour were all concentrated in his own person. He had an idea of the magnificence of simple despotism; and was by no means disposed to suffer Charles to be invested with this high and enviable dignity. Lewis was too refined a politician, and frequently defeated his own schemes, by excess of artifice and finesse. If he had gone directly to his object, and chosen to make Charles, or at a later period, James, absolute in England, he might probably have accomplished it. But in attempting to keep up a balance of parties in the state, for the purpose of creating a general weakness and distraction of all, he left place for some strong and straight-forward power to pierce through the confusion, whenever, in the progress of events, such a power should appear.

'Lewis pensioned the king, his family, his favourites, his mistresses, his ministers. A general system of foreign bribery was established. But it was not confined to the court; the French minister bribed all parties; the Catholic party and the Protestant party; the King's party and the Country party; the Episcopalians and the Dissenters; the Monarchy-men and the Republicans. All, or almost all, received stipendiary or occasional bribes from France, not to accomplish a common object, but that the general conflict and collision of parties

might be so sustained and kept up, that the result might be a general weakness and distraction of the nation.'

These extracts, we find, are gaining too fast upon us, and we must now hurry to a conclusion—briefly referring to Mr O'-Driscol's second volume, for a most copious and interesting account of the final national struggle of Ireland, in her war for the ungrateful James, against the hero of our Revolution. His great object in that brilliant and important narrative, is, to show with what admirable courage and fidelity the Catholic party maintained itself against the disciplined and veteran forces of William and his generals—with what reluctance they sought the co-operation of France in that great struggle, and to what losses, mortifications, and insults they were exposed, by the leaders even of those scanty and inadequate auxiliaries, with which the ungenerous policy of Louis led him to foment, but not to decide the struggle—how easily, in consequence, they might at all times have been cordially reconciled to the British government, and to what accidents the ultimate success of the Protestants was actually owing. The author, we think, has a singular talent in the description of battles, sieges, and military operations; and though a little too anxious, perhaps, to exalt the valour and skill of the Irish, and to impute to the personal cruelty of their adversaries those excesses, which, we fear, are inseparable from such a system of warfare; we think the whole narrative is conducted with laudable impartiality, and interspersed with many original and most salutary reflections. There is something very striking, at all events, even if a little fanciful, in the following remark:—

'William had scarcely rested from the fatigues of the Boyne, when he received news of the defeat of the combined fleets of England and Holland by the French off Beachy Head. It is remarkable that this battle was fought the day before that of the Boyne; and as at the Boyne, so also upon the ocean, the Dutch maintained the fight with a bravery never surpassed, and the English hardly did their duty. Though overpowered by superior force, the Dutch sustained the high character which their nation then enjoyed in Europe by land and water. This, no doubt, was some consolation to William, for he was a true Dutchman and a true soldier.

'The moral impulse of the Dutch Revolution was not yet worn out. The spirit which their resistance to Spain had given birth to, was still nourished and sustained by their arduous struggle against France, and gave the little republic of Holland that glorious eminence in arts, industry, and arms, which she then enjoyed. But the spirit of England, subdued by the failure of her Revolution under Cromwell, degraded by the restoration of the Stuarts, and polluted by the flood of political and moral profligacy which followed the footsteps of those weak princes, was now again bowed down under the weight

and disgrace of the Dutch yoke, which she had imposed upon herself. England was *cowed.* She felt that Holland was the true seat of empire, and that she acted but a second part to that little republic of the fens, and was no longer anything but an appendage to the *States.* This idea weighed upon the heart of the country; it ran like icy coldness through her fleets and armies, and they became spiritless and benumbed. The same cause which had for ages unstrung the nerves and sinews of the Irish military in their own country, and offered them up, bound and enfeebled, to every invader, was now acting with great power upon the British themselves.

'The incessant squabbles and ill-humour of the Parliament with William, were not because that prince exceeded the limits of legitimate authority. It was nothing more than a peevish and fretful effort of the nation to vindicate its supremacy; a constant struggle against the notion of Dutch superiority, which yet they could not shake off.

'The Dutch were passionless; and such a people have never been great for a long period. They were also too commercial. Commerce is a great support and ornament to empire, but if it be made the main pillar of the state, it will be found a dangerous one, and liable to decay. The English had the courage and the calmness of the Dutch; but they had more; they had warmth, and genius, and fancy; qualities which are not the ornament only, but the vital principle of power. It is a great advantage in the triple empire of the British islands, that her people afford a variety of character, which supplies almost all that is desirable in the human mind; steadiness and thoughtfulness; energy and industry; vivacity and fancy.'

Mr O'Driscol has given a very full and distinct account of the negotiations which preceded the pacification of Limerick, and the objects which the celebrated articles then agreed to were intended to answer. We believe there are not many, even of the Orange faction, who will now maintain, what we have seen, however, confidently asserted in various pamphlets, not many years ago, that the stipulations then made were for the benefit of the garrison or inhabitants of Limerick alone, and not of the rest of the nation. The audacity of such an assertion may well excite our amazement, when the express tenor of these articles, which Mr O'Driscol has very properly printed at large, from the Letters Patent in which they were ratified by the Sovereign, under the Great Seal of England, are attended to. The very first article bears on the face of it, 'That the Roman Catholics OF THIS KINGDOM shall enjoy such privileges in the exercise of their religion, as are consistent with the laws of Ireland, or as they did enjoy in the time of Charles II.; and that their Majesties shall endeavour, in Parliament, to procure THEM *such further security in this particular*, as may preserve them from any disturbance on account of their said religion.'

The *second* declares, 'That all the inhabitants or residents in 'Limerick, *or any other garrison* now in possession of the Irish, 'and all officers and soldiers, now in arms, under any commis-'sion from King James, in the several counties of Limerick, 'Clare, Kerry, Cork, and Mayo,' (being the only counties in which there were any Irish troops embodied,) 'and all such as 'are under their protection, within the said counties, who shall 'accede to this capitulation, shall be entitled to all rights, pri-'vileges, &c. as in the reign of King Charles II. &c.' By the *ninth* article, again, it is provided, that 'The oath to be admi-'nistered *to such Roman Catholics as submit to his Majesty's 'government,* shall be the oath above mentioned, (viz. the oath 'of allegiance,) *and no other.*' Upon this point, then, of these articles being the conditions of a General Pacification, and applicable to the whole kingdom, no doubt can now be raised—and too much, indeed, has been said on the subject.

It is of more importance to observe, that the extent of the rights and privileges thereby bestowed on the Catholics, is generally fixed, by their condition in the reign of Charles the Second. What that was, both parties, of course, knew quite well in the year 1691; but the lapse of time has since made some things uncertain, or liable at least to dispute, and renders it necessary therefore to refer to contemporary documents and authorities. In the *first* place, then, it is certain, *from the rolls of parliament yet in existence,* that Catholics, in the reign of Charles the Second, sate openly in both Houses of the Irish Parliament, and that there was then no law in existence disqualifying them from that privilege. It is true, that it was then supposed competent to require from any member that he should take the oath of Abjuration before voting on any particular occasion, and there are a few instances on record of such oath being tendered accordingly. Doubts, however, were always entertained of the legality of such a proceeding; and at all events, we have seen that these were finally cleared away by the Ninth article of the treaty now under consideration, which expressly declares that no oath but that of allegiance shall be required from any Irish Catholic in all time to come. In the *next* place, Bishop Burnet, not only a contemporary, but almost an actor in the scene, and in close connexion with all the great actors, has recorded it as quite certain and indubitable, that 'those of Limerick treated not only for 'themselves, but for all their countrymen then in opposition to 'the government;—and that they were thus admitted *to all the 'privileges of subjects,* upon taking the oath of *allegiance* to their 'Majesties, without being bound to take the oath of abjuration.' In the *third* place, in the terms originally proposed by the Irish

army to the English commander, and upon the admission of which the treaty was ultimately concluded, it is expressly stipulated, 'That the Irish Catholics shall be *capable of holding all 'offices, civil and military, under the Crown,* and of exercising all 'trades, professions, and callings whatever;'—and especially, 'that they may *be members of all corporations, and exercise all 'the corporate functions and immunities.'* In the *fourth* place, and with regard to the military especially, it had been previously announced by King William, in his famous Proclamation issued after the fall of Athlone, and uniformly referred to as the basis of the subsequent articles of Limerick, 'That all those 'enjoying rank or dignity in the service of King James, shall 'be *continued in the same rank*, or advanced to higher posts.' *Finally*, the industry of Mr O'Driscol has here presented us with various extracts from pamphlets and other political publications, in the latter part of Charles the Second's reign, which uniformly, and without any exception, recognise the Irish Catholics as then in possession of all the privileges to which we have here alluded. In particular, in a very celebrated pamphlet, entitled, 'An Answer to the Coventry Letter,' published in 1687, by a decided advocate of the settlers under Cromwell, it is stated, as a known and admitted fact, that the Catholics, though they might have been treated severely by the republicans, 'had, since *the restoration of King Charles II.*, no occa- 'sion to complain. They have been equally protected by the 'law. They have had parish priests in every parish. All free- 'holders, without distinction, have been admitted to pass on 'juries, and *to be electors, or elected parliament men;* and *none* 'excluded *out of the House of Lords* for their religion. The 'artificers, tradesmen, and merchants, have also been freely ad- 'mitted to follow their respective callings *in corporations.*' It seems, therefore, to be perfectly clear, that all the rights and privileges for which the Irish Catholics have ever, in our day, contended, were most solemnly assured to them by the Articles of Limerick,—which held out to them, indeed, the promise of still farther privileges; and that all the incapacities to which they were afterwards subjected, have been in direct violation of that most onerous and important treaty.

On the other hand, it should never be forgotten that, by the same solemn instrument, the Irish Catholics, as a body, and by their accredited representatives, finally ratified to the English and Protestant leaders, all those possessions, however and whenever acquired, for the restoration of which they did not stipulate upon that occasion. 'The treaty of Limerick,' as Mr O'Driscol has observed, with his usual candour and acuteness,

'gave the English settlers a title to their estates, which the 'Crown could not bestow. If the Catholics could appeal to it 'for political rights, the Protestants could appeal to it for a 'confirmation of title; and a better, indeed, could not be, than 'this solemn and voluntary compact between the great parties 'which then divided the nation.'

The fate of the gallant army itself, with whom the negotiation was concluded, is curious and characteristic—and there are not many passages in history at once more graphic and more interesting than Mr O'Driscol's account of the scene that followed the pacification. By the leading terms of it, all the soldiers of the Irish army were to be at liberty to pass, with the same rank, either into the English or the French service, as they thought fit—or, if they preferred it, to receive their discharge, and retire altogether from the military profession. The generals of the rival nations severally harangued the brave men they were so anxious to recruit; and each presented them with a moderate banquet. They were then all mustered as for parade, and directed to march in column up to a certain point where a flag was fixed, on reaching which, those who were for France were to file off to the right, and those for England to the left. The whole ceremony was performed under the eye of the staffs of the contending parties, and of the Lords Justices of Ireland, in decorous and solemn silence, and with something of a melancholy pomp. 'A more extraordinary scene,' indeed, as Mr O'Driscol has well observed, 'could not be, than this eager 'contention of the two great powers of Europe for the army of 'Ireland. That army itself was in a strange predicament. 'James's kingdom of Ireland was now to be broken up; and all 'the fixtures and furniture of the establishment were to be disposed of. The army was the most valuable commodity of this 'great household; and when it was put up to auction at Limerick, the zeal and anxiety of the bidders proved the high opinion entertained of its worth.' Of something more than fifteen thousand men, little more than two thousand volunteered for England, and about nine thousand for France; the rest accepted their discharges, and went home. Of the French party, however, many deserted before their embarkation.

'The love of country,' says Mr O'Driscol, with a truth and simplicity which, to us, is deeply pathetic—'the love of country had its usual effect upon the Irish. The men quitted their ranks every mile they marched, and went to their own homes, or to look for homes amongst their friends and relatives. This army had been chiefly raised between Cork and Limerick, and every man, as he passed his native village or hamlet, or the tree by the road side, or the stream that he remembered in his infancy, felt the irresistible influence of these as-

sociations, and rushed into the arms of his kindred. The regiments reached Cork with less than half their numbers; and many who arrived there found themselves at length overcome by the influence of the soil, and did not embark.'

The ultimate fate of those brave men, too, is pitiable; and should operate as a fearful admonition to such of their countrymen as may still look to foreign powers for their deliverance from domestic injustice.

'The last of the Irish troops for the French service were not shipped, when accounts arrived of the reception in that country of the first division that had sailed. These accounts spread dismay throughout the Irish army. The first division had arrived at Brest; and the troops, both French and Irish, had been received with all the dishonour due to a defeated army which had betrayed its trust. Lewis sent the French commander, D'Usson, to the Bastile; and when the Irish landed, no quarters were assigned them, and they were suffered to lie in the fields and under the hedges in the neighbourhood of Brest, for several days and nights.

'Orders at length arrived from Paris to break the regiments and reduce the officers. The soldiers were drafted and scattered amongst all the French regiments of the line. The officers were reduced, the colonels to captains, the captains to lieutenants, these to sergeants and corporals, and the latter to the ranks. The superior officers were not received at court; and everything showed the displeasure and disappointment of the French government.'

It may serve to enforce the lesson which this statement is calculated to convey, if the same persons to whom we have now recommended it would calmly ponder the following deliberate and dispassionate remarks of our historian, on the discomforts of a French alliance.

'The extravagant pretensions of the French had offended the Irish, especially as they were not sustained by substantial performances. The French had hardly been in battle since their arrival in the country, and never showed any anxiety for the post of danger. Their manner of making love was as little to the taste of the country as their mode of making war. The Irish were not sufficiently polished to understand or to relish that light, general, and contemptuous tampering with the sex, called gallantry. The ladies could not comprehend how the champion of the church, and the great pillar of the faith, could be a man of levity and intrigue. Though the Irish have several points in common with the French, they could never much respect or value the French character as a whole, and although they differed almost in every point of character from the British, they associated better with them, and esteemed them more highly. The difference of character between the people of the two islands was not a reason against their being united in one empire, but rather an argument in favour of such a union; and the similarity of character in some respects, in the French and Irish, did not at all tend to encourage or promote a political connexion between the two countries.

'The Irish, like the French, are a gay people, but the gaiety of the former is the joyousness of the heart, that of the latter is mere levity or play of the fancy, often cold or superficial. In another particular the contrast was stronger. The Irish were as remarkable for their melancholy as for their gaiety. The gaiety of the French had no flow of melancholy, for it was unconnected with feeling. It was natural in the Irish, as in any people of much feeling, to prefer the pride and gravity of the British, to the levity and insolence of the French; and accordingly the former defects, if they be such, were much more tolerable to them.'

We have room now but for one more extract, and we take it from the concluding sentences of the work before us, which at once embody the general views and principles which it is the object of the author to enforce, and illustrate the calm and dispassionate temper in which he seeks to recommend them.

'The war of the Revolution settled finally the question of property in Ireland, which had been the root of all the wars of that country for ages past. It was a great misfortune that the Anglo-Norman invasion, under Henry the Second, was not powerful enough to effect a change in Ireland, as complete and as immediate as took place in England under the invasion by the Conqueror. The Saxons, at the time of the Conquest, underwent a change of property in Britain similar to what was effected by a long and tedious process upon the Milesians in Ireland. But they submitted, or were subdued, speedily; the Irish struggled long and painfully. Unluckily, too, when the question of property could no longer be connected with the distinctions of race or nation, it took a new shape, and became entangled with the still more difficult question of religion. But whatever might be the nature or quality of the material it adhered to, it maintained its own character invariably, and never ceased to be substantially a question of property.

'The enormities perpetrated in Ireland by both parties during the civil wars, but chiefly by the prevailing party, did not proceed so much from uncommon or extraordinary barbarity, as from fear. Fear is the cruellest of all passions; it spares nothing; it has no relentings, no compassion. It is restrained by no principle; it is deaf to the pleadings of religion, and is incapable of Christianity. The British settlers were, in every conflict in Ireland, a small minority. They waged the war with all the energy and ferocity of fear. Their safety depended generally upon the address with which they could divide and distract their enemies. The sword was suspended perpetually over their heads; the least chance, the slightest breath of ill fortune, might bring its edge upon them. It was the peril of their situation that made them dip, not their hands only, but their arms, to the shoulders, in blood. It has been so in all such cases, and in every age and country of the world.

'The benefit which Ireland derived from the introduction of British government, and the destruction of her own system of petty principalities, was one of incalculable value, and might have been worth

the calamity it cost. Great national changes are rarely effected without great misery; and, perhaps, what accompanied the changes destined to take place in Ireland, was not greater than what followed the fall of the heptarchies in England, and the Saxon and Norman invasions of that country. But it is nearer our own times. We know more of it, and it makes a stronger impression upon us; and, above all, a fragment of that ponderous code which crushed millions, is still permitted to subsist and keep alive the memory of past calamities.

'Undoubtedly this fragment will, like the other portions of that penal code, be broken and scattered by the increase of knowledge; and the political union of Great Britain and Ireland will, at length, be identified with the interest and happiness of the Irish people. When this takes place, we would confidently pronounce, that, great as have been the sufferings under which the political connexion of the two islands has been accomplished, and the civil and religious liberties of the people, of all sects and parties, secured, the result has been glorious for both nations, and fortunate for mankind, and may even be regarded as not too dearly purchased.'

We cannot end this long though imperfect account of the work before us, without recommending it as a most safe and useful guide to all those who are conscious either of redundant zeal or deficient knowledge on the subject of Irish affairs. It is easily read and understood—for it is short, for the quantity of matter it contains, and agreeably and clearly written. The author, we feel assured, is not only an intelligent, but a good man—and he has done good service, in a season when it was urgently wanted. We hear, with great satisfaction, that his book has been very favourably received, and very extensively read, among the middling and most important classes in Ireland, of both persuasions; and we earnestly hope that all those who concur in the leading views of the author, will use what influence they may possess still farther to promote its circulation. The popularity of such a work must be a matter of rejoicing to all the intelligent friends of that unhappy country, not only as promoting the dissemination of moderate and conciliatory sentiments, but as affording the clearest evidence that they are even already prevalent—men always seeking after the books in which their own opinions are advantageously reflected, and which help them forward in the ways on which they have already entered.

Art. VIII.—*The Parliamentary Writs and Writs of Military Summons, together with the Records and Muniments relating to the Suit and Service due, and performed to the King's High Court of Parliament and the Council of the Realm, or affording Evidence of Attendance given at Parliaments and Councils.* Collected and edited by Francis Palgrave, &c. vol. I. Folio. 1827.

It has been long a just reproach to the English Government, that, possessing the most ample materials for a Legal and Constitutional History of the kingdom, instead of collecting and printing them for general use, it has suffered them to moulder and waste in obscure and unsafe repositories, where many of them have perished from accident, or, from neglect, have become illegible. To this culpable indifference in our Government, it is owing that no satisfactory history of England has yet appeared. Abilities have not been wanting in our historians; but when they attempted to write the history of their country, they found no adequate preparations for the work. The same impediments still subsist; and, till the materials of English history have been brought together and published in a convenient form, till they have been examined, analysed, and discussed by men competent to the task, our histories, however valuable from the reflections they contain, or agreeable from the manner in which they are written, must be considered as mere essays towards a greater and more perfect work. The utmost we can aspire to at present, is to amass materials and design plans for posterity. Some future Hume may perhaps arise, in some distant age, to rear the structure which we can only contemplate in imagination.

Many of our early chronicles remain still unpublished; and where any of them have appeared in print, we are indebted to private persons for the obligation. Saville, Camden, Twysden, Gale, and other editors of our ancient historians, deserve thanks for their gratuitous labours, which do credit to their public spirit and love of letters. But, however meritorious their exertions, it must be owned that the editions they have given us are incorrect, and often imperfect, deficient in method and arrangement, and destitute of the advantages they might derive from sufficient indexes, glossaries, and chronological tables. These defects, indeed, are less to be blamed than lamented. The editors were private individuals, without aid or encouragement from the Government, limited in their means and resources, unequal to defray the expense of giving perfection to their works, unacquainted with the existence of manuscripts

that ought to have been collated with those from which they printed, or unable to have recourse to them in the distant or jealous repositories where they lay useless and concealed.

It was therefore with great satisfaction we learnt that the Record Commission, established by Parliament in 1800, had ventured in 1821 to give authority to Mr Petrie, keeper of Records in the Tower, to print an uniform edition of all our ancient Chronicles, published and unpublished, carefully collated with all existing manuscripts, illustrated with notes, critical and geographical, and supplied with suitable indexes, glossaries, and chronological tables. Mr Petrie was, at the same time, instructed to reprint the Saxon Laws and Chronicles, with an English translation, and with such additions to both as had been discovered since the publication of Gibson and Wilkins. He was also directed to collect and publish all Charters and legal proceedings before the Norman conquest, with selections from the Lives and miracles of Saints, and all other contemporary works, which could throw light on the state of manners and history of society in that remote period.

It does infinite credit to all parties in the House of Commons, that this resolution of the Record Commissioners, though not strictly within their powers, met with the unanimous approbation of that assembly. Those most jealous of the public purse gave their hearty concurrence to a measure that reflected honour on the persons who brought it forward, by taking away the stigma long attached to our Government, of indifference to our national history and literature.

It is understood that the preparations for this great work are in a state of forwardness—but no part of it has yet appeared. Mr Petrie is naturally desirous to make his collections as complete as possible before he begins to print; but, when once committed to the press, it is to be hoped his work will advance with rapidity, and that no mistaken economy in our rulers will now arrest or retard its progress.

In the meanwhile, the excellent and venerable Dr O'Conor has been enabled, by the munificence of the Duke of Buckingham, to print his collection of original Irish Historians, a work long called for by the curious in ancient history, and which we really believe that no one but the learned editor could have executed with the same critical knowledge of the subject. We are at length possessed of the works of the ancient Irish historians, divested of modern fable and romance; and, whatever opinion may be formed of the early traditions they record, satisfactory evidence is afforded, that many facts they relate, long anterior to our earliest chronicles, rest on contemporary autho-

rity. The work of Dr O'Conor is comprised in four volumes quarto, and, where necessary, a Latin translation is subjoined to the original text. In a preliminary dissertation of great learning and research, the editor investigates the age of the manuscripts, and authenticity of the works he has published. Some of his readers may hesitate to admit the degree of culture and prosperity he claims for his countrymen; but no one, we think, can deny, after perusing his proofs, that the Irish were a lettered people, while the Saxons were still immersed in darkness and ignorance.

The documents for a Legal and Constitutional History of England are still more scattered and inaccessible than the materials for the general history of the kingdom. Being chiefly in the hands of Government, or in the possession of corporate bodies, jealous of their privileges, and, from ignorance, suspicious, it was impossible to collect and publish them without the consent, and hardly without the active assistance, of Parliament. They were, besides, less inviting to ordinary collectors, because they had fewer attractions for common readers, who are better pleased with stories of battles, and histories of court intrigues, than with complaints of grievances no longer felt, or with accounts of Parliamentary proceedings to redress them, no longer interesting. But, if the want of general curiosity has deterred private individuals from devoting their labour and attention to this pursuit, national disputes have, from time to time, given it interest and importance; and, careless as our Government has shown itself in general with respect to our national history, it must be owned that at intervals it has manifested a laudable disposition to promote and assist inquiries into the history and progress of the constitution.

Lambard, in the reign of Elizabeth, was one of the earliest of our Constitutional Antiquaries. Spelman and Selden followed, in the reign of James. The struggles between liberty and prerogative under that prince and his son, gave consequence to researches concerning our ancient constitution, both parties appealing to antiquity in support of their claims. The restoration revived the disputes to which the unfounded pretensions of the Stuarts had given rise; and many learned tracts and histories were published, elucidating from records the ancient form and constitution of our government. In the reign of Queen Anne, the magnificent collection of Rymer was printed at the public expense; and, after a long interval, the publication of Domesday, and that of the Rolls of Parliament, followed, in the reign of George III. Madox, in the meantime, had exposed, in his History of the Exchequer, the shameless injustice and rapacity of the Plantagenets, and many other private individuals had

contributed, by their labours, to illustrate the ancient laws and institutions of their country. At length, in 1800, a Record Commission was appointed by the Crown, at the request of the Commons, to examine into the state of our ancient records, and to publish such as might either be of practical utility to private persons in legal questions, or tend to illustrate the ancient state and constitution of the kingdom. To this Commission we are indebted for the first complete edition of English statutes ever published, beginning with the confirmation of Magna Charta by Henry III., and ending with the death of Queen Anne. To the same Commission we owe a most accurate edition of the Scotch statutes, from the accession of James I. of Scotland to the Union with that kingdom; and from the same press have proceeded many other works of great convenience and utility to the public, such as Catalogues, Calendars, and Inquisitions of various kinds.

But of all the publications by authority of Government, that of the Rolls of Parliament has been the most important for our constitutional history. Till that work appeared, hardly any knowledge was to be obtained of Parliamentary proceedings before the commencement of the Journals, without consulting manuscripts, or having recourse to the meagre, and often erroneous abridgement of the Rolls, printed by Prynne from a manuscript in the possession of Sir Robert Cotton. But, though valuable from the historical information it contains, the edition of the Rolls, printed in the late reign, is not only incomplete, but defective in accuracy and fidelity. With a carelessness that cannot be too severely reprobated, great part of it was printed, not from the original Rolls in the Tower, but from transcripts in Lincoln's Inn Library, and in other private collections; and, though said to be corrected from the originals, it was found, on collation, to be full of clerical errors, that obscured and sometimes altered the sense. Many Rolls and much additional matter had also been discovered since the date of the first publication; and these additions, it was calculated, would extend the work to twice its original size. After mature consideration, it was therefore determined to reprint the whole, correcting the text of the first edition from the originals in the Tower, and inserting the new materials in their proper places, so as to give a clear and connected view of the proceedings of Parliament, not only in its legislative, but in its judicial and remedial capacity. The task of collecting and arranging these materials for publication, was fortunately confided to Mr Palgrave, barrister-at-law, a gentleman eminently qualified for the office, by his zeal, diligence, and thorough knowledge of the subject.

In preparing for this publication, it became necessary, in the first instance, to inquire into the constitution of the Parliaments and Great Councils in early times, to collect the writs by which they were summoned, and to ascertain the members of which they were composed. On these points the writs of summons edited by Dugdale, and the Parliamentary writs collected and published by the indefatigable Prynne, were the chief printed authorities. But the former was an incomplete work, giving no account of the returns to the House of Commons, and the latter so miserably deficient in arrangement, that the trouble of consulting it, is hardly less than that of examining the original records. Many new writs and returns had also been discovered since the time of Prynne, some of them published, and others still remaining in manuscript. It was therefore thought advisable to publish the whole in an uniform edition and convenient form. An order to that effect was accordingly issued by the Commissioners in July 1825, of which the volume before us is the first result.

This volume, containing the Parliamentary writs and writs of Military Summons in the reign of Edward I., may be considered as a specimen of the manner in which the work is to be conducted; and from the industry and intelligence with which it is executed, it gives a very favourable impression of what is to follow. Mr Palgrave has collected a great body of records and other documents, and arranged them in chronological order, with an abstract of their contents, a calendar of writs and returns, an alphabetical digest of persons, and index of names, which make his work easy to be consulted for every purpose of use or curiosity, for which it may be wanted. His chronological abstract gives a concise but clear and accurate analysis of every document he has printed. His calendar affords a more complete catalogue than has yet appeared of the knights, citizens, and burgesses returned to Parliament. His alphabetical digest recapitulates shortly whatever is related of any individual in the preceding records and documents; and the index of names supplies the inevitable defects, uncertainties and errors in the digest, arising from the vagueness of ancient orthography, and from variations in the surnames or other appellations, by which the same persons at different times are designated. As far as we have examined the references from his abstract, calendar, digest, and index to the records and other muniments, which form the body of his work, we have found them correct, and by their assistance we have been able to indulge our curiosity in various researches, with a facility which no other work could have afforded.

In comparing this volume with the corresponding period in

Prynne's Parliamentary writs, we find it not only more convenient for consulting, but infinitely more full and accurate. It enumerates many Parliaments, with the names of the knights, citizens, and burgesses returned to them, of which there is no mention whatever in Mr Prynne's collections. Many names printed incorrectly by that author, are restored to their proper orthography. The numerous additions made by Mr Palgrave, in the returns from the counties, cities, and boroughs, and in the list of Parliaments to which the Commons were summoned in the short period of which he treats, cannot fail to strike the most careless reader, who will take the trouble to inspect his calendar, and compare it with the catalogues of Mr Prynne. In the county of Bedford, for instance, Mr Prynne gives only five returns of knights in the reign of Edward I. Mr Palgrave gives ten. From the town of Bedford Mr Prynne has six returns, Mr Palgrave eight. For the city of Bristol, Mr Prynne has only two returns, Mr Palgrave six. For Cambridge, Mr Prynne has three returns, Mr Palgrave seven. For Oxford, Mr Prynne has four returns, Mr Palgrave eight. On the whole, more than twice the number of returns are contained in Mr Palgrave's calendar, that are to be found in Prynne. Most of these additions, it is true, are to be found in the Notitia Parliamentaria of Willis; but there are many errors in that work, both in dates and names, which Mr Palgrave has avoided, by his constant reference to the original documents before him.

Besides the Constitutional information which the completion of this work must afford us, it will be of no small practical utility in many questions of daily recurrence. Exact calendars of the returns from cities and boroughs, with references to the original documents where the returns are to be found, will save infinite time, labour, and expense, in all election cases before the House of Commons. It will be seen at a single glance, by inspection of the calendar, at what times any particular city or borough sent members to Parliament, and where any question arose concerning the right of voting, by whom the members were elected.

In legal questions where researches into family history are required, much cost and labour will be spared by the alphabetical digest annexed to this work. An abstract will there be found of the public services, in which every man of note throughout the kingdom was employed, with references to the original documents where the particulars of his services are commemorated.

To genealogists, pedigree hunters, and family historians, the digest will be of singular utility. It will very much facilitate their harmless and sometimes useful labours, and not only save

them a world of trouble, but among the numerous claimants for particular notice, direct their attention to the persons most worthy of that distinction.

To the compilers of local history, it is needless to remark, that the whole work will be of the most essential service, by the valuable and authentic information it contains with respect to every city or borough that ever sent members to Parliament.

The present volume embraces a short, but a most important period of our constitutional history. Though knights, citizens, and burgesses had been occasionally summoned to Parliament before the accession of Edward I., it was under that prince that the House of Commons became a regular integrant part of the legislature. Experience had shown, that the Great Councils or Parliaments of the Norman and early Plantagenet kings afforded no adequate security against the abuses of power; and during the stormy and turbulent reign of Henry III., various attempts had been made to substitute a new scheme of government in place of the defective system which had hitherto prevailed. There is reason to believe, that it was at this time the practice began of summoning particular Barons to Parliament, omitting others of the same rank, which gradually led to the formation of a separate House of Peers. It was during the same reign that the great innovation of introducing knights, citizens, and burgesses into Parliament was first tried on an extensive scale; but the plan was not matured, nor brought to a permanent system till the time of his son. In the beginning of Edward's reign, we meet with Great Councils or Parliaments, assembled for the despatch of national affairs, in the form used by his predecessors. We have next irregular convocations from counties, cities, or boroughs, of representatives chosen by these several communities, acting in co-operation with that portion of the baronage which was convened for legislative purposes: But, after various experiments and occasional recurrence to ancient usage, which show the unsettled state of our legislature, we find, before the death of Edward, our Parliament composed of King, Lords, and Commons, as at present. The Commons, indeed, had not the weight or authority they afterwards acquired; but from the time of Edward I., they may be considered an essential part of the legislature. If they were ever omitted afterwards, it was on rare occasions; and gradually it became a fundamental maxim of the constitution, that no statute was valid, to which they had not given their assent.

The transition from our ancient to our modern Parliament occupies, in the history of England, the space between the con-

cession of Magna Charta and the death of Edward I. It was during this period that separate grants of money from cities, boroughs, and other communities, fell into disuse; and that one supreme government for purposes of taxation was extended over the whole kingdom, with the exception of the counties Palatine of Chester and Durham. It was during the same period that the ancient Norman Parliament disappeared, and while the House of Lords seemed to fill its place, that another House of Parliament rose into view, destined at a future period to become the chief instrument of government. The history of this transition is curious and important; but from the loss of documents, or rather from the neglect to search for them, and publish them, it has not yet been traced with accuracy, and is therefore still imperfectly understood. Many records of the reign of John and Henry III., remain concealed in the mass of unexamined materials still buried in the archives of the Exchequer; and till these have been carefully and diligently examined, we ought not to despair of this obscure, because neglected, part of our history. Mr Palgrave has shown, in his present publication, what may be achieved by zeal and industry; and if the researches he has so happily begun, should be continued with the same diligence and spirit, confident hopes may be entertained, that the great revolution, which took place at this period in our government, will at length be distinctly traced, and satisfactorily accounted for.

In the cursory view we have been able to take of Mr Palgrave's collections, the bearings of many of the documents he has published, must have escaped our notice; but in justice to his labours, we cannot avoid alluding to some of the constitutional questions, on which, in our opinion, his researches have thrown no inconsiderable light.

It has been a question among our legal antiquaries, of what description of persons the Knights of the shire returned to Parliament were originally composed. The greater part of our historians consider them to have been representatives of the Barones Minores, chosen exclusively by the tenants in chief of the Crown, and not by the freeholders of the county at large. Others have been of opinion, that, from the beginning, they were elected by the whole freeholders of the county, whether holding in chief or by mesne tenure. Mr Palgrave has promised us farther information on this point in his next volume; but in the meantime he has published some documents that seem to us decisive of the question.

In one of the Sheriff's returns from the county of Lincoln, the electors are described as 'Senescalli et Sectatores prædicti 'comitatus,' plainly implying that they were the same persons

who owed suit and service to the county court; and in a very singular return from the Sheriff of Sussex, stating, that the electors, when convened by him in obedience to the King's writ, had refused to make any election at all, they are styled 'milites 'et libere tenentes,' words that seem to include all freeholders of the county, whether holding in chief, or by mesne tenure.* Evidence still more decisive is afforded from the County of Northumberland. Among the freeholders of that county, returned by the Sheriff as persons possessing lands of the value of twenty pounds a-year, not held of the king in chief, but of a mesne lord, we find Richard de Horseley and Roger Mandut, both of whom were afterwards knights of the shire for Northumberland. Horseley served in three parliaments, in 1300, in 1305, and in 1307; and in 1282 he is stated to have performed military service against the Welsh in the place of Walter de Huntercomb, who was probably his mesne lord. Mandut served as knight of the shire for Northumberland, in the Parliament held at London in 1297.†

Everything relating to the commencement of our Borough representation, is involved at present in the greatest obscurity. Mr Palgrave promises, in a future volume, some documents on the subject. From those he has already published, we collect that, in the city of London, elections were sometimes made by the mayor and aldermen, assisted by four or six of the most discreet citizens from every ward.‡ But it would be rash to infer from this practice, that the citizens at large had not then a right to vote, if they had chosen to exercise it. A seat in Parliament was considered, at that time, as a burden; and when members were reluctant to serve, it is not surprising that few electors took the trouble to vote. A return from the Sheriff of Hertfordshire states, that the burgesses of Hertford had been elected 'per communitatem burgensium;' and one from the Sheriff of Nottinghamshire expresses, that the burgesses for Nottingham had been chosen 'assensu communitatis:'§ but from these general words, no positive conclusion can be drawn. It might be still a question, of whom the 'communitas burgen- 'sium' was composed. It is a point, at least, that has been much contested. From a return of the Sheriff of Somerset to the

* 23. No. 15.—60. No. 36.

† 215. No. 12.—101. No. 41.—148. No. 30.—187. No. 12.—229. No. 6.—60. No. 32.

‡ 49. No. 41, 42.—80. No. 7.—85. No. 8.

§ 70. No. 16.—73. No. 27.

same parliament, it appears, that in that county, not only the knights of the shire, but the citizens and burgesses, were elected in the county court—'in pleno comitatu, per totam communitatem.'*

Wherever the returns of the Sheriffs to the writs of summons could be found, they have been published at length by Mr Palgrave. This is an excellent practice, and ought to be continued. The Sheriffs' returns often contain incidental notices of importance, calculated to throw light on that most obscure of all subjects, the anomalous composition of the House of Commons. In a return from the Sheriff of Somerset, for example, we are told, that he had transmitted the King's orders to the bailiffs of the franchise of the Bishop of Winton, 'de Tantone, in quam non habeo ingressum, qui nullum mihi inde dederunt responsum.'† The Sheriff of Lincoln having, in like manner, issued his precept to the bailiffs of the Queen in Grimsby, they made no answer nor election.‡ These instances show how widely they are mistaken, who contend that no boroughs were originally summoned to Parliament, but those in the King's hands. Cases frequently occur, where the Sheriff states, without comment, that he had received no answer to his precept. On one occasion, the Sheriff excuses himself for not constraining the member to attend, by the usual sureties, because he lived out of his jurisdiction, and had no property within his bailliwick.§

These irregularities show that our representative system was yet in its infancy; and still more decisive evidence is afforded by the varieties we discover in the composition of Parliament itself.

Under Edward 1st, we have Parliaments composed of the King and Barons, that is to say, of the Lords spiritual and temporal, to whom writs of summons were issued in name of the King. The persons to whom these special writs were addressed, varied exceedingly in different Parliaments; and though we can sometimes explain particular omissions, the variations are greater than can be accounted for. On one occasion, the writs of summons were confined to the Archbishop of Canterbury and four other bishops, with four earls and four barons; and yet the instrument is docketed 'de Parliamento tenendo.'‖

Under the same prince we have a Parliament composed of the temporal lords only. Seven earls, seventy-five barons, nine mi-

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* 74. No. 33. † 152. No. 138. ‡ 190. No. 12.

§ 1. No. 1.—28. No. 2.—78. No. 2.—80. No. 9.—112. No. 5.—160. No. 158. ‖ 81. No. 12.

lites, and four of the judges, were summoned to this assembly, but none of the clergy.* This omission arose out of a dispute with the clergy, who had refused in two successive Parliaments, on pretence of a Papal bull, to contribute to the King's necessities. As a punishment for their contumacy, he seized their lands, declared their persons out of his protection, and gave public notice, in the courts of law, that no redress should be afforded them for any injuries they might sustain, while every complaint against them should be listened to. By this harsh treatment, Edward broke their spirit, and made them glad to compound for his protection. But in the following autumn they had ample satisfaction for the wrongs they had suffered from their imperious master. Taking advantage of the difficulties in which he was involved by his wars with France and Scotland, they coalesced with the temporal lords, and extorted from him the Confirmatio Chartarum. Archbishop Winchelsea, their leader on both occasions, is, of all churchmen after Langton, the one to whom the liberties of his country are most indebted.

We have, in the next place, Parliaments composed of the King, and Lords spiritual and temporal, with knights of the shire, chosen by their respective counties.†

We have one Parliament composed of the King, Lords spiritual and temporal, and knights of the shire, with citizens and burgesses from particular cities and boroughs, to which special writs of summons were addressed.‡ This Parliament met at Shrewsbury in 1283, and is the second in the reign of Edward, to which citizens and burgesses were called.

We have also Parliaments like the present, composed of King, Lords, and Commons, the last chosen, in their respective counties, by the freeholders, citizens, and burgesses, in pursuance of writs to that effect, addressed to the Sheriffs.§

In one very singular instance, we find the archbishops, bishops, abbots, and priors summoned to appear before the King and Council at Westminster, in order to grant an aid for knighting Edward, Prince of Wales, not by particular writs sent to them individually, but, like the Commons, by the general writs addressed to the Sheriffs.‖

So little fixed, in the reign of Edward, was the constitution of our legislative assemblies, that we find citizens and burgesses convoked for making ordinances, as well as for imposing tax-

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* 51. No. 3. † 26. No. 3.—56. No. 12. ‡ 16. No. 21.
§ 29. No. 4.—65. No. 4.—84. No. 5.—115. No. 11.—138. No. 5.—164. No. 1.—182. No. 5. ‖ 167. No. 21.

es, without the presence either of the lords or the knights of the shire. A Parliament having been summoned to meet at Bury on the 9th of November 1296, writs were issued on the 24th of September to twenty-four cities and boroughs, directing them to elect and send to the King, at Bury, four citizens from London, and two citizens or burgesses from each of the other places, 'qui melius sciant quandam novam villam disponere et ordinare, 'ad majus commodum nostri et mercatorum ibidem acceden-'tium, et aliorum quos ibidem habitare contigerit et morari.' This new town appears to have been Berwick-upon-Tweed, then recently taken from the Scots; for, after this consultation, a second set of writs were issued from Bury, on the 15th of November, to twenty cities and boroughs, commanding them to make an election of citizens and burgesses, to appear before the King, 'super dicta ordinatione (in villa nostra de Berewyce su-'per Twedem facienda) colloquium habituri,' engaging that they should not be detained longer 'nisi per tantum tempus, infra 'quod dicta ordinatio per vos et illos fieri valeat competenter.'* The business to be transacted relating entirely to trade and municipal privileges, it seems to have been thought unnecessary to have any advice concerning it, except from the cities and towns. The meeting at London, like that at Bury, appears to have ended without any final arrangement of the affair; for we have writs of the 11th of January, addressed to the sheriffs, commanding them to distrain certain citizens and burgesses therein named, to be at Berwick-upon-Tweed on the 21st of April, 'ad 'ordinandum et disponendum de villa nostra prædicta.'†

We are not informed how this matter terminated; but on another occasion, we find the King attempting to increase the customs in his sea-ports, by means of his cities and boroughs, without the concurrence of the lords and knights of the shire.

The foreign merchants, trading in England, having agreed to pay certain new customs for their merchandise, in consideration of various exemptions and privileges granted them by the King, he was informed that divers of his English merchants were disposed to do the same, whereupon he issued writs to the sheriffs, commanding them to cause two or three citizens from every city, and two or three burgesses from every borough, to come before him in his Exchequer at York, on the 25th of June 1303, with full powers from their respective communities 'ad facien-'dum et recipiendum' what should be there ordained by the advice and assent of the King, and of the said citizens, bur-

* 49. No. 43. 44. 45.

† 51. No. 2.

gesses, and merchants. In obedience to this writ, eighty-four c[illegible] and burgesses appeared before the King and Council, at the time appointed; but they unanimously declared, for themselves and their several communities, that they would *not* consent to the increase of the *maltolte,* nor submit to the customs granted by the foreign merchants, nor pay aught but their ancient and customary dues.*

This affair is a strong proof of the sturdy and independent spirit of the citizens and burgesses in the time of Edward, even when they were assembled alone, without the support and countenance of the lords and knights. It is a proof, also, how little the principles of taxation were at that time understood. For, though the customs conceded by the foreign merchants, to which no objection was made, were, in the first instance, paid by themselves, the slightest reflection must have suggested, that they would repay themselves from their customers, and that the tax would be ultimately levied on the consumers of their merchandise.

In the early part of the same reign, it appears that what were then called the new customs, were granted by the great men of the kingdom on the petition of the community of merchants over all England, who must have been assembled by themselves, or their representatives, for the purpose, though there is no record of such a convocation. That the consent of the merchants, who were, in the first instance, to pay the tax, was not thought immaterial, appears from a writ to the Justiciary of Ireland, directing him, by such means as he thinks expedient, to obtain a similar grant from the archbishops, bishops, abbots, priors, earls, barons, communities, *and merchants* of that kingdom. In another writ, the grant is said to have been made 'opensu mag- 'natum et voluntate mercatorum;' and what appears singular, it is not authenticated by a writ from the King, but by separate deeds poll from the great men who had given their consent to it.† This tax, it ought to be observed, was imposed before the Confirmatio Chartarum. The unsuccessful attempt, mentioned in the last paragraph, was not made till after that statute.

But it is not only in the diversities of the classes of persons summoned to Parliament, that we find proofs of the unsettled state of our Constitution at this period. We find varieties as extraordinary in the Numbers summoned at different times from the same communities.

The knights from each county were sometimes four, some-

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* 134. No. 4. 5. † 1. No. 2. 3.—2. No. 7. 10.

times three, but, in general, as at present, two. The citi[illegible] and burgesses from each city and borough were someti[illegible], sometimes three, sometimes two, sometimes only one, and sometimes they were permitted to send one or two, as they pleased.

We have a still more striking illustration of the irregular forms of our Legislature at this period, in the existence of *two separate Houses of Commons,* sitting in different places at the same time, and communicating their resolutions to *a third assembly* of barons at a distance from both. In January 1283, the knights, citizens, and burgesses from the counties south of Trent, were convoked at Northampton, and those from the counties north of Trent at York, in presence of commissioners from the King, severally deputed to both. In these assemblies the 'prudes homones,' as they are called, of the realm, granted to the King one-thirtieth of their movable property, 'dum tamen magnates id duxerint concedendum.' That the magnates ratified this grant, appears from the writs, directing in what manner it is to be assessed and collected; but at what time or place their ratification was obtained, does not appear. The King was at Rhuddlan, in Flintshire, while the Commons were assembled at Northampton and York before his commissioners; and, as it is from Rhuddlan his writs are dated, stating that the magnates had ratified the grant, it is probable that a council of lay peers, present with the army, had been held at that place for the purpose.*

We shall add but one other instance of these irregularities, evincing the unsettled state of our government. After the dissolution of a Parliament held at London in Lent 1299, instead of proceeding to a new election, the same knights, citizens, and burgesses, were summoned to another Parliament at Lincoln in January 1300, unless any of them happened to be dead or disabled, in which case others were to be chosen in their room.†

In all these changes and innovations, the King and his ordinary Council, from their position in the state, were the prime movers, so as, apparently, to possess the right of altering and new modelling the constitution at their pleasure. But the necessity in which the King was placed, of resorting to such expedients, shows the limited, though ill-defined, extent of his prerogative. So far from being an absolute prince, we find, that in many acts of his executive authority, the concurrence of his ordinary Council was necessary. A record, stating certain per-

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* 10. No. 1.—11. No. 6. 7.—12. No. 10. 11.—13. No. 12. 13. 14.
† 90. No. 5.

sons [illegible] been appointed judges in the King's Bench and Co[illegible]eas, and others to have been named judges in Eyre, calls it an ordinance made by the King and others of his Council.* The King's ordinary Council, composed of certain prelates, barons, and lawyers, was invested in early times with extraordinary powers; and if, on the one hand, it had control over the King in many acts of his executive government, so, on the other hand, when no Parliament was sitting, it often trespassed, or attempted to trespass, on the supreme authority of the State. We find, for instance, an ordinance of the King and Council for the seizure on purchase of 8000 sacks of wool, to be sold on the King's account, and the owners to be reimbursed from the proceeds of a pretended grant by Parliament;† and soon after, we meet with a heavy tax imposed on the clergy, by the same authority, with the insulting remark, that as they did not fight for the state, it was but fair they should contribute largely to its necessities.‡ But these proceedings were considered and treated as unjust and illegal exertions of arbitrary power. The Earls of Hereford and Norfolk, with other barons, appeared at the bar of the Exchequer, and protested against the 'price' of wool, and the commissions for collecting the pretended grant from Parliament. Edward temporised, made excuses for his conduct, and issued a proclamation, that these exactions should not be turned to a precedent. The matter ended in the grant of an aid to the Crown, for which was obtained the important statute, called Confirmatio Chartarum, the most valuable after Magna Charta, for the liberties and property of the subject.

The changes in the mode of obtaining aids and supplies for the Crown in the time of Edward, were not less remarkable than the alterations in the constitution of Parliament.

Among the feudal incidents recognised by the law of England, were aids due to the King from his feudal vassals, for making his eldest son a knight, and for the marriage of his eldest daughter. Edward, about the middle of his reign, claimed the latter, and obtained it from a Parliament composed of his military tenants only.§ Sixteen years afterwards he required an aid for making his eldest son a knight; but such was the change in that interval in the principles on which his government was administered, that to procure it, he thought it advisable to summon a Parliament, with knights, citizens, and burgesses.‖

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* 382. No. 4. † 394. No. 36. ‡ 396. No. 37. § 20. No. 2.
‖ 164. No. 1. &c.

Before the accession of Edward, aids or tall[illegible] cities, boroughs, and royal demesnes, had b[illegible] judges in Eyre, or other commissioners appoin[illegible] pose, who made the circuit of the kingdom, an[illegible] torted grants from the cities and boroughs, ind[illegible] practice was, in some respects, advantageous [illegible] Where there was any reluctance to comply with [illegible] opposition made to its will, it had to contend with each city and borough separately; and in a contest of the strong with the weak, it was sure to have the upper hand. But the process was slow and ill-suited to the exigencies in which the ambitious projects of Edward were continually involving him. To save time, therefore, he convoked his cities and boroughs by their representatives having full power to act for their respective communities; and by this device, he was able to procure, in a few days, what would otherwise have cost him months to obtain. But, in bringing his subjects together, he taught them their strength, and sacrificed to his necessities the power of his successors. While insulated, the cities and boroughs were accessible to fear and flattery. When united, they felt their consequence, and learned to set the unjust pretensions of the Crown at defiance.

Before this great revolution was effected, which finally consolidated England under one Supreme Government, instead of being divided into separate communities, distinguished by the manner of taxing them, though united by their allegiance to the same King, and submission to the same Legislature, we find instances in the reign of Edward, of the ancient practice of sending persons through the kingdom, to procure money from the cities and boroughs, by treating with them individually. While engaged in preparations to resist the unexpected insurrection of Lewelin and his brother David, Edward despatched from Chester Sir John de Kirkeby, Archdeacon of Coventry, and one of his Council, with letters of credence, dated the 19th of June 1282, addressed to the Sheriffs, communities of the counties, cities, boroughs, and merchant loons throughout England, enjoining them to give full credit to the propositions he was authorized to make to them on the part of the King, and urging them to expedite the business on which he was sent; and by other letters of the same date, John de Agmondeshan was associated with them in this service.* The object of their joint mission is not explained in their warrant; but from subsequent entries, it appears that it was to raise money for the King's ser-

* 384. No. 10.

[illegible] subsidies from the towns and counties to which citizens [illegible] There is a writ from the King to the Mayor [illegible] Hereford on the 28th of October following, [illegible] the subsidy they had granted, of which a [illegible] made to him by Sir John de Kirkeby, whom [illegible] hem for that purpose, urging and entreating the King in [illegible]t of the necessity of his affairs, to make payment of the money with all expedition.* Other writs follow of 24th of December, directed to the sheriffs, citizens, burgesses, merchants and others, giving authority to four clerks of Chancery to act as deputies of Sir John de Kirkeby, in collecting the subsidies he had obtained.†

Notwithstanding Kirkeby's success, it appears that either the money promised him came in slowly, or the subsidies he procured were insufficient; for, on the 20th of January following, Edward assembled his first Parliament of knights, citizens, and burgesses, the Commons from the counties south of Trent meeting at Northampton, and those from the counties north of Trent at York; and having obtained from them a thirtieth of their movables, he issued writs for the collection of the money, with a declaratory clause, that the sums received through Kirkeby should be allowed as part of the subsidy, on proper acquittances being produced. This clause connects the money procured by Kirkeby with the subsidy from the Commons, and shows they were considered as parts of the same grant; the one having been obtained in the ancient manner, the other by common consent in Parliament.

Kirkeby's negotiation is not the only instance in this reign, of subsidies granted by separate communities for themselves, independent of general grants in Parliament.

It appears from a writ published by Brady,‡ that in the 23d of Edward, the citizens of London having granted him a sixth of their movables, commissions were issued to Robert de Ratford and others, 'ad *petendam* hujusmodi sextam partem in 'singulis dominicis civitatibus et aliis villis regiis;' and from a memorandum printed by Mr Palgrave, we learn that the community of London having granted a ninth of their movables for the confirmation of the charters, collectors were appointed to levy the same in the other cities and boroughs of the kingdom.§ How the community of London came to possess a right on this occasion, of taxing the other cities and boroughs, we are not

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* 387. No. 17. † 387. No. 18.
‡ Boroughs, 66. 8vo. § 64. No. 43.

informed; but that they were in the practice of taxing themselves in an assembly of aldermen and citizens, and it appears from two instances, where, not without opposition, they consented to furnish military aid to the Crown at their own expense.*

There was a tallage, it is true, in the 32d of Edward I. on all cities, boroughs, and royal demesnes, with no mention in the record of the authority by which it was imposed;† but from the silence, unusual it must be owned, of the letters patent, appointing commissioners to assess and levy this exaction, it would be rash to affirm that it was imposed by the sole authority of the King.

Voluntary grants, independent of Parliament, were not confined to cities and boroughs. We meet with letters patent thanking the knights and others of the counties of Salop and Hereford, for the aid they had given against Lewelin, though not bound to it by their tenures;‡ and we have similar acknowledgments to several of the Lords marchers, for subsidies within their franchises for the same object.§ At a subsequent period, we find an instance of voluntary aid from the county of Northumberland against the Scots, granted by common assent, in a meeting held at Felton, in presence of the King's treasurer.‖

Subsidies from the counties Palatine of Chester and Durham are not strictly in point, as neither was represented in Parliament till many ages afterwards; but we have examples of both in three documents, which it may be worth while to extract, as illustrative of the ancient practice that prevailed before the cities and boroughs were summoned to Parliament. Edward, in the early part of his reign, having obtained a subsidy from Parliament, addressed a writ to his 'fideles' in the county of Chester, requesting a similar grant 'de vestra curiali-'tate,' and appointed his justiciary of Chester to explain to them his wishes.** At a subsequent period, we have notice of a subsidy which the 'probi homines,' and community of Chester had granted him 'sicut ceteri de regno nostro.'††

From letters patent to the knights, good people and community of the liberties of St Cuthbert in Durham, it appears that they had granted, by common consent, military aid to the King in his wars in Scotland, to which they were not bound by their tenures.‡‡

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* 278. No. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17.
† Rolls, 1. 266.
‡ 190. No. 7.
§ 190. No. 26.—191. No. 27. 28. 29.
‖ 369. No. 10.
** 4. No. 13.
†† 391. No. 28.
‡‡ 370. No. 13.

The Welsh, who had been recently conquered, and who were still unrepresented in Parliament, seem to have been treated in the same manner as the inhabitants of the counties Palatine. Writs are extant to the justiciaries of Wales and Chester, enjoining them to solicit aids from the several districts in Wales for carrying on war against the Scots; and, from a subsequent document, it appears that the people of North Wales contributed 2000 marks for that purpose.*

We have only one further remark to offer. No one acquainted with our early history can doubt that the English monarchy was originally elective; and though the form of an election, if still kept up, had degenerated into a mere ceremony before the accession of Edward I., traces still remained of the ancient usage. A document referred to by Mr Palgrave † clearly proves that the accession of that Prince was dated, not from his father's death on the 16th of November 1272, but from his own recognition on the 20th of the same month. On that day Henry III. was buried in Westminster Abbey; and in the absence of Edward, who was then abroad, the nobles present at the ceremony took the oath of allegiance to him before his father's grave was closed.

We cannot bring these brief and desultory remarks to a conclusion, without again expressing our approbation of the present work. Mr Palgrave announces his intention of publishing, in a supplementary volume, records illustrating the constitutions of the county courts, and the customs and constitutions of boroughs, including, of course, the Inquisitions that show the tenure of lands, whether held by Peers, to whom special writs of summons were sent, or by knights of the shire returned from their counties. Such a collection of records, accompanied by the same useful digests as the present volume, will present us with a more complete and perfect view of the internal state of England under Edward I., than the most sanguine could have anticipated, before this curious and valuable work was undertaken. If continued with the same diligence by Mr Palgrave, and supported with the same liberality by the House of Commons, we have little doubt that it will be brought to a conclusion within a few years; and when completed, we shall enjoy more ample materials for tracing the growth and formation of our Constitution, than are possessed by any other country in Europe.

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* 343. No. 33. 34. 35. † Chron. Abst. 1. Note 1.

Art. IX.—*A Short Review of the Slave Trade and Slavery, with Considerations on the Benefit which would arise from cultivating Tropical Productions by Free Labour.* Birmingham, Beilby, Knott, and Beilby. 1827.

This valuable pamphlet comprises, in a short compass, a review of most of the enormities of the Slave System—from the capture of the natives on the coast of Africa, to their treatment in the West Indies. But by far the most important part of the work is comprised in the last fifty pages, which contain a more striking and original view than we have ever happened to meet with before, of the effects of the competition of free labour, in bringing slavery to a natural end: And it is chiefly for the purpose of explaining this to our readers, that we now call their attention to the publication before us.

There are many subjects which must be approached with caution, on account of the magnitude of the interests they are supposed to involve: But there are many also, as to which it ultimately turns out that the caution, so suggested, has only increased the hazards it was adopted to obviate, and embarrassed instead of facilitating the efforts it was expected to favour. The wise and philanthropic persons who struggled so gloriously for the abolition of the Slave Trade, were enemies of course to the state of slavery generally, and must have looked forward to its total abolition, as the natural consummation of their system. But, aware of the great influence of the West India proprietors, they feared that their whole scheme might be crushed in its outset, if they had ventured in the beginning to propose so extensive a reformation. They confined themselves, therefore, to the abolition of that detestable traffic; and trusted, we fear upon very insufficient grounds, to the effect of that measure in gradually mitigating, and at last extinguishing altogether, the miseries of servitude. Experience, however, has shown how completely this reliance has been disappointed; and instead of finding that the abolition of the trade has led to the mitigation or gradual extinction of slavery—the best-informed advocates of the negroes are now compelled to look to the mitigation of slavery as their best security for the substantial repression of the trade. This is distinctly stated in the 19*th Report of the African Institution.* 'As in the Abolition of the Slave 'Trade,' they say, 'we originally sought the mitigation of slavery, so are we now driven to consider whether any other efficient means are left us, *than that of reversing our course of* '*proceeding*; and whether we must not look henceforward to

'the mitigation and extinction of Slavery, as our only security 'for the abolition of the Slave Trade. We cannot, unfortunate-'ly, *compel* other nations to abandon it; and it seems too proba-'ble that they are not to be persuaded; but by a determined en-'couragement of free labour we may make it not worth pursu-'ing.' The error of the early abolitionists upon this subject, is well worth pointing out; for it still continues, we fear, to perplex our policy on this most important topic. They supposed that an advance in the price of slaves, and the impossibility of procuring fresh supplies by importation, would induce the planters to take better care of them. But this they would not have expected, if they had duly considered the nature of the system; for high prices of produce and of slaves, (which are in fact synonymous,) are, in truth, the very foundations of slavery, and enhance all its evils, by enabling the masters to pay for the luxury of cruelty and oppression; whilst, on the contrary, its approaching extinction is always announced by a gradually diminishing value, both of slaves and of produce, until it almost imperceptibly glides into freedom. Men will always maintain themselves more cheaply than they can be maintained by another; and will always do more work for their own maintenance and emolument, than for the mere profit of a master. Where-ever labourers can be had in abundance, therefore, and the produce of labour is consequently at its lowest price, it is impossible that slaves can be profitably maintained; and it is only an unnaturally high, or monopoly price, both of labour and its products, that can support that most unnatural and detestable institution.

We are disposed to attribute to a forgetfulness of these plain principles, the course which has been pursued by Mr Huskisson, who appears in some degree to have thrown the broad shield of his influence over a system completely at variance with his general principles, not only in the last debate upon the question of the East India trade, but also in a former debate on that subject, when he is reported to have said, that he 'knew opi-'nions were entertained *out* of that House, but he was happy 'to say *not in it*, that low prices of produce were productive of 'benefit to the slaves.' Now, if the competition of free labour has been the means of changing slavery into freedom, in all countries where that happy change has been made, and if it can only have had that effect by reducing the price of the article produced, to the great ultimate benefit, both of the labourer and his employer, we cannot but think that this statement gives a very unsatisfactory view of the principles both of the ministers and of the legislature. If true, however, it may serve to

abate our surprise at the late Report of the Directors [illegible] the British, Irish, and Colonial Silk Company, which [illegible] they had the sanction of the names of several members of [illegible] administration, and in which we find it stated, that 'The Directors had 'every disposition to extend this branch of culture to the *West* '*India Islands*; favourable arrangements were anticipated, both 'from the Government and the House of Assembly, and a large 'tract of country could have been obtained in the mountainous 'districts; *But after very minute inquiry, the price of labour was* '*found to oppose an insurmountable obstacle to any attempt in that* '*quarter.*' This, it must be owned, was a wonderful discovery, to have been made by such very minute inquiries, under the direction of the first ministers of state! It is well they did not also discover that the same means, (viz. bounties and prohibitions of all rival commodities,) which render the culture of *sugar* profitable, might do just the same for the culture of *silk*, notwithstanding the 'high price of labour.'

Some of the most enlightened statesmen of the United States, we observe, are patronizing a scheme for the colonization of free blacks, and contemplating the expenditure of very large sums of money to relieve their country in this way from the farther extension, and also to effect the ultimate extinction, of the acknowledged and enormous evils of slavery: And yet a fuller examination, we conceive, could not fail to convince them, that the increase of the slave population, which they seem so much to dread, and the competition of the free labour of those very black men they are now sending away, is the natural and certain means of extinguishing slavery, whilst their proceedings must tend to strengthen and perpetuate its bonds.

Even the little we have now said should be enough, we think, to prove the necessity of further investigation: and why is this not to take place? Because, forsooth, the great interest the colonists have in the question makes it impossible to discuss it without irritation. The corn growers, the ship-owners, and the silk manufacturers, all of them considered that their interests were involved in the monopoly enjoyed by their different trades; and yet this did not prevent the investigation of the subject, or an attempt to remove those monopolies. The only difference is, that, in this case, humanity calls for a change, as loudly as sound policy; and therefore, it seems, it must not be attempted, because there will be irritation if the subject be thoroughly discussed! If human suffering were not involved in the question, the case would be investigated sooner, and the system of slavery would sooner be abolished. This does seem to us very strange doctrine. In the beginning of the discussion,

many o[illegible]iends of humanity rejected all considerations of policy; [illegible] it seems as if they must turn round and reject all consi[illegible]ns of humanity, if they wish to hasten the accomplishment of their object. Whether this circumstance *ought* to occasion delay or not, it is an admitted fact that it *does* so: and, that we may now avoid this dreaded irritation, we shall take care [illegible] speak of slaves only as we would do of any other property. The question of free trade, as respects West Indian property, plainly need not involve any irritation, unless the West Indians themselves introduce it; and it would surely be carrying concession a little too far, were we to consent to the continuance of this odious system, and shrink from all investigation, merely because the parties interested might introduce into the discussion topics by which they would themselves be irritated.

In slavery man is held and considered as property; and this necessarily supposes that value is attached to the possession. Like all other property, however, its value fluctuates according to circumstances. Scarcity advances the price, and abundance reduces it. Commodities may be so abundant, compared with the demand for them, as to have no exchangeable value. This is actually the case with *men* in Ireland, where, by their abundance, they have not only lost their value, but are become so burdensome to the state that it is in contemplation to send them away, at the expense of millions. But where man has no saleable value, it is plain that slavery cannot exist with profit. On the contrary, where men are scarce, and good land is abundant and cheap, or where the price of produce is high, a man by his labour can raise much more than will maintain him. In such circumstances, therefore, if men are their own masters, they will either cultivate their own land, or they will demand high wages for their labour; and if a man is the property of another, his value will be high. But, by the laws of our nature, if men are placed in favourable, or even in ordinary circumstances, their numbers will increase; and, of course, their value will diminish, until they are *worth nothing*, to hold in slavery; and this is the natural and certain extinction of that state, by a course of events advantageous to all parties. If, therefore, it is desirable that its extinction should be effected in the natural course of things, there can be no reasonable ground of opposition: For surely it can never be supposed, that because we have permitted a particular investment of property, we are bound to make it a profitable speculation, in all time coming, by taxes laid upon ourselves for its support.

It may at first appear strange that the entire extinction of

the value of any property can be advantageous to [illegible]lder of that property; but this will be easily underst[illegible] it is considered that slaves are almost universally em[illegible] in the cultivation of the soil, (scarcely ever in manufactor[illegible]s, where they would have to contend with free labour,) the soil and the slaves belonging to the same person. Now both the land and the labour are necessary to give the produce; and th[illegible] price of the commodity raised comprises, of course, the valu[illegible] of both; whilst that price is unaltered, the price of land and labour, when taken together, must also remain the same; but though the *united* value of the two constituent parts are unaltered, there may be great relative changes in the value of *each* of them. As men have a natural tendency to increase, their value and the value of their labour diminishes; but whatever value labour or slaves may lose by this abundance, just so much will the land gain by its scarcity; for land is only scarce because people are abundant—or people (if employed in agriculture) are only scarce when land is abundant.

The master, therefore, would neither gain nor lose by the entire extinction of slavery, provided the power and will to labour remained unaltered by the change: But a free man will do more work for his own advantage, than a slave will do by coercion. This increased labour will no doubt be, in the first place, wholly for the advantage of the enfranchised man; but if we suppose that he perform *double* the quantity of labour, it is plain that this will have just the same effect as if the *number* of labourers were doubled, which again necessarily implies a competition for employment, and a consequent *reduction of wages*, followed by a corresponding increase in the value and the profits of land. The landholders would therefore ultimately reap a large proportion of the advantage derived from the increased quantity of labour performed by the free man. The fact accordingly is proved to be conformable to this anticipation: for we have never heard it surmised that a gradual change from slavery to freedom has been a disadvantage to any country, or to any individual; and it is impossible that it should be so, if that change follows in the natural course of things.

We have next to consider what would have promoted, or what has retarded this change,—and why this natural course of things has made so little progress in the British colonies, or the United States of America. In the United States, it is certain, that the increase of the Slave Population has been in full operation, and would have made *men cheap*, and *land dear*, long before this time, if this had not been prevented by the boundless extent of new and fertile land. Thus, when the soils of Virginia

had become exhausted by slave cultivation, (for when men do the work of cattle, and use little animal food, fertility is not kept up by green crops, and the soils invariably deteriorate,) then the Virginians became breeders of slaves *for sale ;* and the new and fertile soils in the South Western States found them an extensive market. In our West India Islands again, land capable of cultivation is in limited extent, and if the slaves in them had increased as in the United States, and the intercolonial slave-trade had always been illegal, or had been effectually prevented, the operation of natural causes must long since have converted the slaves, in most of the islands, into free men. What the boundless extent of fertile land has done to maintain slavery in the United States, bounties and prohibitory protections have done in the British Colonies; for it is just the same thing, whether a bad system is supported by the abundant production of a fertile soil, or by raising the price of the smaller produce, by bounties and protections.

So far we have endeavoured to consider slaves as like any other property. But the West Indians themselves now object to this view. They say, liberal prices only can enable the planters to treat their slaves well; while we, on the contrary, aver, that bounties and protections have paid for the waste and damage, occasioned not only by the absence of the owners, but by the cruelties and mismanagement inseparable from a delegated authority. The decrease in the number of slaves in the West India Islands, in the six years from 1818 to 1824, has been shown in the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, No. 26, to be 28,000 ; whilst an increase, proceeding at the rate of the United States, of Hayti, or of our own Bahama Islands, (being about 2½ per cent per annum), ought, on the contrary, to have added 112,000 to the slave population of our Colonies, making a difference of 140,000 in the short period of six years. If the value of this deficient number is taken at L.46 a-head, which is about the average obtained at sales in execution for debt, it will amount to L.6,440,000. Now the sum paid to the West Indians, by raising the price of their sugar by bounties during those six years, is estimated at L.7,200,000;* and hence it appears that nearly the whole sum paid in bounties, &c. has been thrown away, in the de-

* The bounty on the export of refined sugar, was estimated to raise the price of all sugar in the British market about 6s. per cwt.—but this has lately been reduced to about one-half this sum. The protecting duty paid on East India sugar, over and above what is paid on that from the West Indies, still remains at 10s. per cwt.

struction of slave life through neglect or ill treatment. The planters complain of an unprofitable business, even with all the advantage of bounties and protections! Could they, then, if these had been withdrawn, have continued the system of absence and all its attendant evils? If not, the question whether the slaves would be injured by reducing the price of the produce of their labour, and of course the profits of their masters, is completely set at rest. When the profits of the business will no longer afford the present allowance for cruelty or mismanagement, the cruelty and mismanagement will be discontinued—and not till then!

In America also, it is a fact generally admitted, that the treatment of slaves is most mild in the northern and middle States, where the profits of slave cultivation are less, and more severe in the south, where its profits are greater. The *decrease* of slaves where their value is L.86, as in Demerara, the most fertile and profitable of our colonies—and their rapid *increase* in the Bahamas, the least productive, and where their value is only L.21, is a further confirmation on this point.

In whatever degree, then, the advancement of knowledge may have increased the happiness, or improved the condition of mankind in general, in this particular, we fear, there has been no progress. We have, on the contrary, retrograded; and our slaves are faring worse than they did many centuries ago; for it cannot be denied, that the same means which now maintain slavery in the West Indies, would also have maintained it in this country; and that if the produce of our soil had been obtained by the hoe in the hand of the slave, it might have been so still, if we had taken the same means to exclude the competition of the labour of *freemen, of cattle, and the plough*, in this country, as we are doing to exclude their competition in our western colonies.

Though these causes, to which our ancestors allowed their natural operation, produced the extinction of slavery in this country, and would in time produce the same effect in our West India Colonies, and in the course of their operation, would gradually ameliorate the *general* condition of the slaves; yet as they do not change the nature of the human heart, there would continue to be instances of individual cruelty, so long as man was suffered (whether with profit or not) to hold uncontrolled power over his fellow man. We are not, therefore, contending that this natural course of things should be alone relied upon; but, on the contrary, are anxious that every means should be taken which can hasten that happy event, consistently with the interest of the slave himself. We admit, also, that if, in the pursuit of these, we go so far beyond the natural course of

things, as to interfere with the holding as property that which the nation has sanctioned as such, then the question of *compensation* arises, and must be fairly met. But while we admit the necessity of other measures for ameliorating and for facilitating the ultimate extinction of slavery, we must contend that free scope should, *in the first place*, be given to the operation of those causes which have been at least one means of its extinction in all the countries of the world; and that every attempt to effect that object, whilst we leave its main supports in full operation, is in the highest degree absurd, and must be ineffectual. It is like professing a desire to lessen crime, but, at the same time, giving a bounty on stolen goods, and encouraging theft by a high protecting duty on all goods honestly obtained.

ART. X.—*Journey from Buenos Ayres, through the Provinces of Cordova, Tucuman, and Salta, to Potosi, thence by the Deserts of Caranja to Arica, and subsequently to Santiago de Chili and Coquimbo, undertaken on behalf of the Chilian and Peruvian Mining Association, in the Years* 1825-26. *By Captain* ANDREWS, *late Commander of H. C. S. Windham.* Pp. 665. London. Murray. 1827.

THE extravagant rage for Mining, which formed a prominent feature, or paroxysm, as it were, in the morbid state of this country five years ago, was of very short duration. But it lasted long enough to occasion much unprofitable investment of capital, and more incurring of ruinous liabilities. When the cold fit came, again, everything relating to Mines, with everything involving the mention of South America, was shunned as fatal, or abandoned with a horror fully as undiscriminating as the fervour of the preceding calenture. That a little more patience and steadiness might have borne many of the projectors through their difficulties, we have no doubt. But what could be expected from mobs of ignorant shareholders, collected by public advertisements, and called upon to decide in favour of further advances of capital, and a postponement of profits, when many of them only took shares upon the calculation of a rise and a transfer? The last thing to be looked for, assuredly, was calmness and wisdom in such circumstances—and the thing least likely to be coolly considered, the real merits of the concern in which the parties had embarked with so little reflection. Perhaps no country ever showed itself in colours less suitable to its general character, either for good sense, or correctness

of deportment, we say it with grief, than England did during this irritation. Our extravagant folly, one season, could only be surpassed by our alarm and despondency the next; nor can any person, who reflects upon what took place, in 1807 in America, and 1810 in the North of Europe, feel the least confidence that the same errors may not again revisit us. These things would be the less painful to digest, if we were not all the while so intolerably addicted to praising ourselves, and extolling our prudence and good sense, above those of other nations. The recollection of this makes what has happened doubly humiliating; but, we fear, will cure the fault of self-praise, just as little as it will the fits of over-trading.

While the fever was at its height, Captain Andrews, who had been in the East India Company's service, and was acquainted with South America, received, very suddenly, a commission from 'The Chilian and Peruvian Mining Association,' for Peru alone would not satisfy the noble thirst of gold which had then seized on our truly sensible and thinking countrymen. After a few hours' conversation with 'two or three of the highly respectable individuals, who originally formed the scheme,' he was commissioned at 4 P.M., and at 7 was in the mail for Falmouth! whence he sailed to Buenos Ayres; 'where, after an agreeable passage, in company with the Commissioners of two other Associations, whose views were directed to the same field,' he arrived 26th March 1825.

These two volumes contain a very clear, sensible, and modest account of his journey, and subsequent proceedings in execution of his trust; and they are well worth any one's reading, both for the entertainment to be derived from them, and the information they occasionally convey. They are dedicated to the late Mr Canning, 'As a mark of respect for the political talent and foresight, which opened to Great Britain the full commercial advantages of the newly enfranchised States of South America, by the acknowledgment of their independence;' and certainly nothing can be more just than this tribute. But to praise that lamented statesman, for having been the first, or even for having been as early as he ought, to recognise these republics, is palpably absurd, and might be cited as an eminent example of that injudicious flattery, which certainly hurts its objects, and defeats its own purpose. His conduct on this question was marked by an extraordinary share of caution and circumspection; he dreaded committing England with Spain; he distrusted the sanguine views of our traders: he is liable to any charge, in short, rather than to that of rushing impetuously into the measure, which

could, when adopted, hardly be called one of mere recognition. To have had any share in aiding the South Americans, he must have repealed the Foreign Enlistment Bill; but this he could not attempt, without risking a war in Europe:—such was the inevitable consequence of the grievous impolicy which his predecessor had adopted, in compliance with the wishes of the Holy Allies, and in strict accordance with the sentiments of their friends, the Ultra Tories, in this country.

There is nothing which inspires more confidence in an author, than perceiving that he is not inclined to run into extremes; and we must say, that there is a tone of moderation and propriety throughout Captain Andrews' narrative, singularly calculated to win our assent to his opinions, as well as to obtain credit for his statements of facts. Without meaning at all to depreciate the merits of Captain Head's very entertaining 'Rough Sketches,' we have no hesitation in saying, that we believe the work before us gives a more correct estimate both of the inducements and the obstacles to Mining speculations in South America—fully admitting, as it does, the magnitude of the latter, which Captain Head holds to be, not great, but insurmountable. The prejudice, indeed, under which that gallant officer wrote, and probably saw, may be gathered from such contradictory passages as the following, occurring within a few pages of each other:—

'A small solitary hut was before us, and we were accosted by two or three wretched-looking miners, whose pale countenances and exhausted frames seemed to assimilate with the scene around them. The view from the eminence on which we stood was magnificent; it was sublime: but it was, at the same time, so terrific, that one could hardly help shuddering.'—*Head's Sketches*, pp. 220, 221.

'And I then sent out for one of the apires with his load—I put it on the ground, and endeavoured to rise with it, but could not, and when two or three of my party put it on my shoulders, I was barely able to walk under it. The English miner who was with us was one of the strongest men of all the Cornish party, yet he was scarcely able to walk with it, and two of our party who attempted to support it were altogether unable, and exclaimed " that it would break their backs."'—pp. 226, 227.

Surely Captain Andrews has a good right to ask, how superior physical strength corresponds with the wretched appearance and exhausted frames of those workmen? He also notes Captain Head's list of insuperable impediments to working the celebrated Mines of San Pedro Nolasco, viz. fatigue, cold, hard beef, melted snow water, and terrific natural scenery; and adds, that a friend of his own has furnished the best proof of those obstacles not being insurmountable, by actually working the Mine at a very great profit. We subjoin a note on this matter.

'While the foregoing pages were in the press, a letter was received by Mr William Hodgson, from Captain A. Robson, from which I have been allowed to publish the following extract, which *substantiates the opinion I have repeatedly expressed, of the great value of the mines at St Pedro Nolasco, and the severe loss which the association has incurred in this district, by Captain Head's conduct.* It may be remarked, that both the writer of the letter and his correspondent are perfectly *disinterested*, neither of them being connected, directly or indirectly, with the Rio de la Plata Mining Association.

'Santiago de Chili, Feb. 8th, 1827.—I have lately been, with Mr Humphrey Bunster, to his mines of St Pedro Nolasco; Mr Bunster has got out ores, that will give him upwards of 400,000 dollars.'—*Lieutenant Grosvenor Bunster's Observations on Captain F. B. Head's Reports relative to the Failure of the Rio de la Plata Mining Association*, p. 146.

To be sure, if any man ever dreamt of working to a profit, the Mines of Peru, with day-labourers sent out from Cornwall or South Wales, at 9 or 10 shillings a-day, when the natives are thankful for 2, and will take 1, he has himself only to blame for his disappointment. Our author's friend has, like a man of common sense, employed only natives, who know the country, are inured to the climate, and yet can follow a master's directions as well, perhaps better, than an Englishman; and, at all events, much better than an Englishman can accommodate himself to the new circumstances of his situation, after he has been exported to the Andes. If labour be cheap, so are the cattle wanted in such works; the ordinary priced Mules selling for two, the best for six pounds. That there are rich Mines, which the Spaniards never had skill to exhaust, cannot be denied; for it is known, that with wretched machinery, the Mint coinage of Chili alone was between L.4 and 500,000 sterling; though the dislocation of capital consequent upon the revolution, had reduced it to between a fifth and a sixth of that sum in 1824. There is surely nothing more wanting to prove that those speculations afforded a very fair and rational opening to the employment of capital, and must have yielded a large profit, had they been set about deliberately, pursued with judgment, and persevered in with steadiness and patience.

Our author has not landed many hours at Buenos Ayres, before he finds proofs of that cordial and unaffected hospitality, which so eminently distinguishes the natives of every part of South America. He did not, however, stop longer than to make the necessary arrangements for his journey; and while so engaged, he found that the knowledge of our Mining mania had reached America before him, so that all the speculators there were busily occupied in buying up Mining property, with a view to make our joint-stock-companies pay sufficiently dear

for their adventures;—a notable illustration of the natural consequences of trade being carried on by members of public meetings, the dupes of newspaper puffing. The reader may desire to see in what manner Captain Andrews crossed the Pampas.

'April 16th, everything being ready for my departure, I started for Cordova across the Pampas, My company consisted of a gentleman, an *hijo del paiz* of that city, and Mr Menoyo, my assistant upon the business upon which I went out. Our vehicle was well calculated to bear the concussions from stony roads, and pantanos, but in appearance old fashioned enough to exhibit as a curiosity of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. An additional horse was saddled occasionally, and we pursued our journey with five, each having a peon, at a most rapid rate. I calculated our progress at ten miles an hour. An immense body of baggage was stowed away both before and behind the body of the carriage, which was suspended upon straps of hides. Underneath was hung a hide apron, carrying four four-dozen cases of the Cordovese's wine, and a quantity of viands, sweetmeats, and other useful articles; in short, it was a cellaret and larder combined.

'The inside of the foregoing carriage was cushioned, and crowded with pockets of all shapes and sizes, to receive guns, pistols, swords, books, and other items belonging to the traveller, while writing desks, baskets, and even trunks, bespoke the internal capacity of this waggon-loaded machine, to be equal to its external, and it had been made fully as useful.'

The account which he gives of the society and politics of Cordova, the place where he first stops, is exceedingly interesting. The partisans of the old system are, as might be expected, constantly on the watch to foment insurrection; and they are faithfully assisted by their fast allies, the priests, who take every means, by intrigues, threats, and anathemas, to *improve* any opportunity that presents itself into a handle, for restoring, what our author well terms, 'their old wealth without service, and 'uncontrolled power without responsibility.'—I. p. 62. It must give comfort to all friends of humanity and of true religion, to find such signs of that priesthood's approaching downfall, as the following account of a poor bishop's treatment contains. It must be observed, too, that Cordova is noted for having retained far more respect towards the church than any other place in that country.

'It was impossible not to remark the want of personal attention observable on the occasion of the Bishop of La Paz passing through the city on his route from Upper Peru, whence he had been driven to embark at Buenos Ayres for Old Spain. If it were reasonable to feel regret for the decay of any church, the object of which was its own temporal ambition and emoluments, and the oppression, and superstitious misleading of its people, it must have been felt here. The doctors, canons, and friars, more especially the Franciscans, to which or-

der the prelate belonged, swelled his train, and did their best to inspire respect. Every effort of the expiring influence of the church was exerted. A grand Bishop's Mass was celebrated, with all the pomp, parade, and circumstance of the Romish ritual, the impressive grandeur of which was overawing to the senses; but the people were far more intent on examining the person of this mean-looking little ecclesiastic, during the ceremony of mitring and robing, than on any act of devotion. It had been so long since a service of this nature had been performed at Cordova, that the master of the ceremonies had become rusty from disuse. He was several times at fault in attiring the bishop, at which the latter was evidently embarrassed. At the close of mass, he hurried from the edifice, as if mortified with receiving no other show of deference, than a sly glance or two of adoration from an old *Beatifica*, and the beggarly implorings of some palsied kneeling Incurables. He was followed across the Plaza, by a few boys, yelping "El Obispo! El Obispo!" a degradation which the prelate should have been spared, by the provision of a carriage.'

But the poor bishop was doomed to undergo worse marks of disrespect; for having sent to a scrivener's to exchange fifty ounces of gold, that worthy *enfrancisado* put him off from day to day, pretending not to have collected the small coins, and, at last, being obliged to depart without either his gold or his change, when he sent a servant to beg a part of it, the knave returned him for answer a profane application of a text in Scripture; nor was his conduct at all reprobated; on the contrary, he was extolled for having tricked a *Godo*, a Loyalist.

After a stay of two months at Cordova, as Upper Peru was wholly cleared of the Royalist troops, by the defeat and death of Olancta, our author set out for that province. In the course of this journey, the 'plague of locusts' came across him in very formidable array.

'On the 26th we breakfasted upon goat's milk, and started early in the morning. After a few leagues were passed, we got into a fertile country, though now barren. This seeming contradiction is explained by my stating that a flight of locusts had laid it waste. I had never before witnessed such a sight. Of all the plagues of Egypt, I now think that of locusts must have been the most horrible. This pest, which we had previously seen before us like a dense cloud upon the horizon, became, upon our arrival in contact with it, a serious impediment to our progress. The locusts struck the faces of our horses and peons with such force and in such numbers, that they could scarcely grope their way along. Every bush was alive with them, and in an instant looked dried up and dead from their devastations. Their appearance, three or four feet above the ground, resembled corn under the action of the wind, when glowing in a meridian sun, or the undulating vapour of the mirage, or the prismatic waving of a summer's sea. Our landlord had told us in the morning that a flight of locusts had passed by without visiting him, forgetting that his ground afforded nothing for them to settle upon, but rocks, and the prickly pear,

and torch thistle, upon which these giant grasshoppers showed no inclination to impale themselves, not even for a collector of natural history, or the miller's amateur friends in that line of study!

'What an awful visitation to the country over which they pass, is the flight of these insects; before whose baleful influence

> "The full-blown spring
> Through all her foliage shrinks,
> Joyless and dead, a wide dejected waste!"

A scene in the morning rich in verdure, and bursting into blossoms, is at night a dreary, profitless, hideous waste.

'On the next morning not a green blade nor a leaf meets the eye, where yesterday nature revelled in luxuriance of beauty. Happy is England which this scourge never visits! It cost us full three hours to get clear of these marauders. We calculated that they must have extended fully twelve miles from north to south; how far in the lateral direction, "quien sabe!" as our capitaz said. We came to a patch of sterile, hilly country again, and there we parted from the insects, who seemed passing to the westward, preferring the valley. Never had I before seen, and I hope I never shall again see, such a district of utter desolation as we passed this day, during which we travelled sixteen leagues.'

A journey of nine days brought him to Santiago del-Estero, a distance of 115 leagues. The same kindness and hospitality awaited him here as everywhere else; but the city is reduced from its former grandeur, to a state of poverty and comparative depopulation. Its inhabitants are described as sunk in gross ignorance; and the priests are roundly charged with having sedulously kept them uninformed, and helped the other old Spaniards to introduce among them all the worst vices of Europe, without any of its refinement. Though our author treats this subject in a somewhat declamatory tone, we take for granted, from his manner of expressing himself in the following passage, that he has in his recollection facts, the details of which would justify the warmth he shows. He has just been reprehending the indecency of the dances 'encouraged and 'countenanced by the old Spaniards and their priests'—and which he witnessed with disgust.

'All that could pander to their own sensual appetites in the aboriginal manners, they suffered the natives to retain, and where the glimmering light of nature had infused a consciousness of right and wrong—a conduct open and candid, they laboured to obliterate every trace of the manly virtues by enveloping the mind in the net of hideous superstition. It is impossible to reflect without horror on the cold, calculating vices of the Spanish clergy in the new world. Had hell let loose her worst fiends upon society, they could not have proceeded more deliberately to eradicate from the human soul every relic of that kindly and virtuous feeling, of which the most untutored have some share by nature. The conduct of the Spaniards in America, from the beginning, was a tissue of vice and cruelty, the details of which would be incredible, were there not too many damning evidences of the truth left, to blot the name of their country

with infamy. Let those who wish to be masters of the subject, read the "Noticias Secretas," &c. of Ulloa, and see if language has epithets of disgrace too strong for these demons. I observed much, and heard more, respecting manners with which my pen must not stain the paper—manners which they formed.'

Upon his arrival at Tucuman, Captain Andrews entered into a negotiation with the executive on behalf of the Company, his employers, and the terms of the treaty became immediately the subject of discussion in the Assembly. It was supported by the liberal or Government party, and opposed by the personal antagonists of the Governor, aided, of course, by the priests, partly because it was a Government measure, and therefore to be opposed by all true Ultras and Apostolicals, partly upon the avowed ground of preventing any foreigners, and especially the English, from holding any beneficial intercourse with the country. The debates which our author was permitted to attend, in order to explain any difficulties that occurred, are described as extremely well conducted,—animated, and extemporaneous, yet managed with great decorum and regularity. Our Royalist or Loyalist party (as the friends of antiquated abuse and despotic power have the assurance to call themselves, they being all the while the worst enemies of the Crown, and their adversaries its best friends) will be interested in seeing how faithfully their opinions are reflected in the Ultra-Oppositionists of the new world. It is not stated whether the venerable old gentleman described in this passage was one who had formerly been in office; but if he had grown grey in power, and been, in an unlucky moment, deprived of it, he could not have more accurately played the part of his fellow-sufferers among ourselves.

'During these sittings an old Jesuit, said to be the only one left in the country, came to the Chamber of Representatives, and falling on his knees, beseeched the members most fervently, that if they valued their property, their wives and daughters, or had any respect for their holy religion, they *would put a stop to all innovations*, and prevent the admission of the English heretics. He added, that under the pretence of mining, they would play the same game in America which they had played in India, and subjugate the whole country. The chamber, on the other hand, in despite of the supporters of the wisdom of their ancestors, and the ecclesiastics, upheld the question on the proper basis and on the sound moral consideration, 'that the sooner the English settled among them, the earlier the body politic would be benefitted by their industrious habits and wholesome example.' It however became necessary to compromise matters, by withdrawing the more objectionable articles.'

It is a further affliction to the good old Jesuit, that he meets with no sympathy out of doors, any more than his suffering

brethren of England; for the name of Englishman, formerly a term of reproach, is now one of respect, according to Captain Andrews, whose arrival seemed to intoxicate the inhabitants with joy. The royal opposition were therefore left to mourn, unpitied, the progress of liberal, and sound opinions, under a just and paternal, as well as enlightened government.

Tucuman seems to be a very delightful province, though of moderate extent, being only about forty leagues square—lying between the twenty-fifth and twenty-eighth parallel of south latitude. It has an endless variety of the finest soils, and, consequently, of vegetable produce of the most useful as well as delicious kinds. From these the inhabitants have derived whatever manufacture they are calculated to yield, and accordingly possess wines, spirits, and sugar in perfection. The luxuriant woods are filled with every kind of game; and all the animals most useful to man are produced in unlimited abundance, and of the finest breeds. The indolence of the Spaniards, even in Europe, where they have, in so many parts of their territory, a hard climate and unfavourable soil, became, as might be supposed, far worse in this natural garden; and the monks employed their influence only to encourage habits of ignorance and sloth. The priesthood is now overthrown; and here, as everywhere else, the priests, being the declared opponents of liberty, are regarded as the common enemy, and religion, for a season, suffers with its only regular teachers. In the city of Tucuman, however, the personal character of some of these ecclesiastics has preserved their possessions; and there was always less of clerical power, and less intolerance, there than elsewhere, in so much that the proposition was entertained of allowing foreigners the open enjoyment of their religious rites, and was only rejected finally by the influence of an old Jesuit, and one or two others.

The mountainous districts of this fine country are rich in mines; these, however, have been abandoned for many years, partly owing to a great earthquake which destroyed the works, partly to the abundance of all other produce, easily obtained without the toils and discomforts of a mountain life. When, however, the rage for such speculations broke out in England, it extended to Tucuman; and parties and subscriptions were speedily formed to explore the mines and re-establish the neglected works; but the cold shivering fit that succeeded at the end of 1825, was sure to be felt there with the same rapidity.

In his excursions through this province, our author is enchanted with the delights of the climate and the woodland scenery, in which the nights of travellers are necessarily passed.

He becomes, indeed, quite romantic, breaking out even into rhyme, which we will not quote; and then goes on as follows, after saying that the luxuries of the London Tavern or the Tuileries are poor to the forest fare:—

'After a glorious field fire-side, made for mere pastime in this liberty inspiring region, and in the bosom of nature, we retired, not, reader, to a feather bed, to bury ourselves in the down, but to a deliciously refreshing snore on a rancho floor. They who have been accustomed to the woods, in those parts of the temperate climates that border upon the tropics, well know the fact, that, what with being awoke by the rich piping of birds of every note and tune, inhaling the serene cool air of the most delightful atmosphere on earth, with nature reposing around in stillness of beauty, there is an exhilarating sensation experienced, which language cannot describe. It is as though the soul and body had at the moment reached perfect happiness, and no wish of earth or heaven was left ungratified. It is as if sin and sorrow were only a name, and the soul was pure of transgression. There is no enjoyment on earth can surpass this feeling. Rising thus, it is not extraordinary that the temper should remain affected by it, that everything throughout the beautiful day which follows such a dawn so witnessed, should cheer and gratify; that homely fare, if we have no other, should be eaten with a zest at breakfast, and soul and body be happy. Those who rouse from soft beds, in carpeted rooms, and in varying climes, know little of this most exquisite of earthly sensations.'

But the prodigious timber trees of the new world remain to be marvelled at.

'The approach to the coverts of the forest, resembles much the outskirt plantations or game preserves of an English gentleman's domain, except that the trees, shrubs, and plants, are infinitely more varied. There are many, which are trained in our green-houses, and some which we have introduced on our lawns. Our advance, for many a league, was through gradations of trees, the branches of which, ascending higher and higher up the side of the mountains, reached at length the heights where the walnut, lime, and oak grow, and the red cedar begins to spread wide its majestic foliage.

'My friend, Don Thomas, now brought me suddenly upon a grove of those stupendous trees, which throw up a clean trunk of a hundred feet, and I am afraid to say how much more, but still many feet beyond that elevation. I could not repress my admiration from Don Thomas any longer, nor keep back the just tribute of my applause. Such vegetative magnificence I never before saw. I gazed until my eyes ached at these forest patriarchs, mossed with age, encircled with creepers, and studded with parasites, like stars, in all parts, trunk and branch. They seemed coeval with old time, and supplied such associations of age, as the castled ruin inspires in Europe, but which would be vainly looked for here. Could these trees, like those of the poets, have spoken, I should have demanded of them, as I felt an almost irre-

sistible desire to do, how long they had stood? whether from creation's dawn? Whatever they might have answered, they must have trembled, had they known my thoughts, and found that their end was well nigh come; for Don Thomas and myself were calculating, that a few years of a company's employment of capital, would make desperate havock among them. Timber, as before remarked, even for Buenos Ayres, is in demand from this spot. Fate willed it otherwise, and these patriarchs are still growing, though their doom was then looked upon as almost certain.'

The province of Salta, whither our traveller proceeded next, resembles Tucuman in extent, climate, fertility, and population. The inhabitants, now that the spirit of national independence and of public liberty have been attended by their natural concomitants, active industry and liberal feeling towards other countries, regard the English as their best friends, whom, before, the priests and the godos (Royalists) had made them consider as natural enemies, and execrate as infidels. But it is lamentable to think what a shock has been given to the rising commerce of these magnificent regions, at the moment most important to its growth. The English speculations, if temperately and judiciously carried on, would have both hastened prodigiously the growth of the American resources, and knit indissolubly the people of both countries in the bonds of mercantile, as well as political union.

The author's course towards Potosi now lay through a very different tract of country; he was to travel among lofty mountains, and suffer the extremes of heat and cold, with the privations of food and comforts incident to such climate and situation. The first part of their progress was over a country of singular formation.

'We journeyed along through basins and their connecting straits. Now in a huge bowl of vast circumference, arched over by the cloudless blue heavens which rested upon snow-capped mountain ridges of amazing elevation, circumscribing the eye to an apparently limited view. Towards the latter part of the day these vast basins assumed a more continuous chain as we ascended. Through the bed of these an impetuous torrent raged towards a narrow outlet, the strait that conducted it into the next basin. Its turbid and angry violence in the deeper parts, while crossing it, occasioned a giddy sensation, by no means pleasant, and not lessened by the reflection, that if swept down into them, salvation was quite problematical. We made this day eight leagues, and bivouacked on a green patch by a torrent side, pretty well fatigued from the sun's heat, which operated with intense power; indeed the more enclosed places were literally ovens.'

'On the 26th, we continued to ascend gradually through the same singular character of country. Basin followed basin, link after link, still connected by corresponding straits. The sight was overwhelmed with

astonishment at these stupendous excavations. No language is adequate to describe the mighty magnificence of their conformation, nor its effect upon the mind. What must have been the volume of the waters which formed them? for that they were hollowed by such an agency no one can doubt. As they now exist, nothing can be more admirably adapted for receiving and guiding to an outlet the mountain floods. But none of the floods known to have flowed through them, could have scooped their profound depths, or rounded their vast circumferences. Step after step we mounted through them, and marked the projecting slips or tongues at the entrance of each, overlapping one another with mathematical precision, forming a gloomy strait, which being passed, a fresh basin, without a visible passage out, save that by which we entered, still burst upon the sight. We seemed again locked up from the world, in a gulph from which there was no escape; above us the cloudless heaven as before; around the steep concave sides of the hollow, and over its edge above the peaks of the eternal mountains. How and when these were formed, let the geologist tell. They certainly are even now a protection to the lower country from the mountain torrents, by confining their course to a specific channel; but the deepest stream that disembogues itself through them now, is a rill, infinitely diminutive, to the ocean that must have first poured through, and hewn out these gigantic channels and basins. All the snows of the Andes, simultaneously melted, and rolling onwards with a mighty head at once, could scarcely be supposed equal to the forming such enormous excavations. Up to the loftiest summits of the mountains, however, the action of water is visible, as though the sea had broken upon them, or flooded and retired alternately on them, for thousands of ages.'

With the very name of Potosi is connected every image of wealth which the fancy can create; but when seen, it has the aspect only of desolation. Although we have not left ourselves room to make many more extracts, we shall give the author's lively description of his approach to the place.

'A considerable descent from Satagambo or Châquilla, brings the traveller to an inclined plane, in the horizon of which the long expected hill of Potosi rises. By a succession of steps, ascending, you at length reach it; but a feeling of tedium is experienced almost unsupportable, so slowly do you seem to approach its base. On the plain at its foot innumerable Llamas and Alpachas browse, and a part of it is irrigated by a delicious spring; little in quantity, it must be confessed, as the source is not larger than a gallon kettle; but parched as we were, the water was to us perfect nectar.

'From a declivity on the south-east side of the hill the city breaks first upon the view, but with no very inviting aspect, even to a weary-worn traveller, having a sombre, dreary appearance which can scarcely be described. The view of this hold of Hell and Mammon is panoramic; it is without fire and brimstone, perhaps from lack of fuel. The turrets and edifices rise heavily and ominously, while not a bush or streak of green enlivens the neighbourhood of this ugly and crime-stained capital. It looks like the city of a prince of sin,—strange, desert, solitary, mysterious: a place of evil enchantment.'

The city is said to have had a population of 130,000 before the revolution, and to have now less than a twelfth of that number. The mountain is, at the peak, 14,000 feet above the sea; its circumference, at the base, is about nine miles. The riches of this ground were discovered by an Indian, who, in running after some sheep, slipt, and to save himself took hold of a shrub, which, coming away from the ground, laid bare the silver at its root. At one time the mines yielded 30,000 ducats a-day; and for a long period, nine millions of dollars annually. All the mines in South America have been abandoned as soon as the ground springs became troublesome, even if the mine happened to be at its best point of working. The tools of the Indian miners are clumsy and wretchedly contrived; and from want of metallurgical skill, the richest ores have yielded, comparatively speaking, the least metal. But, independent of old works, ill conducted and quitted needlessly, there is said to be at Potosi full three-fourths of virgin ground. Captain Andrews shows how a little blasting, to which the ground is well adapted, would expedite mining operations in this territory.

The following passage is striking and curious.

'The mountain of Potosi, when viewed from the city heights, with the hill in its front, called the Younger Potosi, inclosed to the eye within the circumference of the great cone without, is in shape like an extended tent, and if the mind of the observer can separate the sum of moral evil it has inflicted on the world from the bare view, no sterile object in nature can be more truly magnificent. Leaving out of the question its conformation, the numerous metalliferous tints, with which the cone is patched and coloured, green, orange, yellow, gray, and rose colour, according to the hues of the ores which have been scattered from the mouths of the mines, are singular and beautiful in effect.'

'The number of the mines is reckoned by some Spaniards at five thousand. This is an exaggeration at first appearance, but it must be understood by the reader that it refers to portions of mines called "Estacas," or individual shares, consisting of so many square "varas," (yards, or feet,) which each proprietor holds by virtue of what is called "denouncement," as prescribed in the old Spanish code, or "laws of the mines." Whatever may have been the quantity of these Estacas once at work, not more than a hundred were in activity when I was at Potosi, and probably not one half that number until General Miller became the Governor, when affairs began to wear a brighter aspect, and the country to recover a little from its distresses. This was seen to be the case in all the different branches of employ. Previous to the revolution the river before alluded to turned the barbarously constructed machinery of ninety* "ingenios," or stamping mills,

* In the year 1577, there were one hundred and thirty-two at work.

for breaking the ores. By the most recent accounts only twelve are yet re-employed; but many of the emigrant proprietors have obtained leave to return and claim their property. These persons, however, have not a shilling to set the works going again, all their money having been swept away. It was here that British capital might have been so well, and so profitably employed, and where the failure of the hopes created by England will be bitterly felt.'

This city exhibited, at that time, a grand moral spectacle, which, for us, we own, has far higher charms than any scenery; and, for the world, a value not to be bought by all the ores that Potosi ever poured forth. The illustrious Bolivar was then within its precincts; the man whose genius and whose virtues, after overthrowing the detested tyranny of the Spaniards, are destined to compensate to the human race the dreadful misery which, for ages, it has spread over the fairest portion of the world.

We will not detain the reader from the sketch which these volumes present of the *Libertador*, and only regret that our limits prevent us from including those also of his brave companions in glory.

'It was on the 18th of October, that I was introduced to Bolivar. I cannot say that I felt not, at the moment of introduction, the peculiar sensation which the presence of a character who had filled the world with his deeds, naturally inspired. If, however, I had any sentiment approaching to humility on the occasion, arising from awe inspired by the moral influence of the man, it was speedily dissipated by the mode in which he received me, with a cordial, downright, English shake of the hand. It is the historian's business to do justice to his general character; I can only describe how I saw him at a short interview, when not under the influence of excitement of any kind. As a man, he had, in my view, achieved more than Washington. He had delivered his country without foreign assistance, and under every possible disadvantage. No France had tendered her armies and her wealth to aid him. No Franklins, and Henrys, and Jeffersons, were at his right hand, nor the stern, uncompromising virtues of a New England race. The ignorance and utter want of experience of those around him, both in civil and military affairs, threw everything upon his genius; he dared nobly, and succeeded! His talent in the field, and his invincible perseverance in spite of every obstacle, do not surpass his skill in raising resources for war, and impressing his fellow-citizens with confidence in his ability, and respect for his government as a chief of the people. How he kept down and controlled faction, quelled mutinous dispositions, and having sacrificed every shilling of his fortune in the cause of his country, persuaded others to follow his example, is a problem difficult to solve. In these respects no one ever surpassed him. In the movement of larger armies, with better formed materiel, he may have been excelled; but in the passive qualities of the soldier, the rarest found united in the military character, few,

or none, have equalled him. Hunger, thirst, torrid heat, mountain's cold, fatigue, long marches (in respect of distance, from Caraccas to Potosi, from the centre of the northern half of the torrid zone almost to the extreme limit of the southern, on one occasion) in desert and burning sands, all were borne by him and his followers with a patience never outdone by similar, or any other means, and crowned with complete success. He has been accused of ambitious views towards absolute power—time can alone settle this point. He has as yet shown no such disposition, but rather the reverse.

'The person of this extraordinary man has perhaps been before described; he is in make slender, but of an active and enduring frame, about five feet seven inches in height; his features rather sharp, nose aquiline, and expression firm, but not striking in the way of intellect: moreover, his face generally bears marks of hardship, and is care-worn. His eyes are penetrating rather than intelligent, and he seldom suffers a stranger to get a direct view of them; at least I found in the interviews I had the honour to hold with him, that this was the case so much, that it even lessened him in my estimation, as the habit of any one not looking you fairly in the face in society is apt to do. His brow is wrinkled by thought and anxiety, so much, that a scowl seems almost always to dwell upon it. In giving audience, sitting, as was his custom, he seemed to want the easy carriage and deportment of persons in such a situation, and had an awkward custom of passing his hands backwards and forwards over his knees. His delivery was very rapid, but in tone monotonous, and he by no means gave a stranger an opinion favourable to his urbanity. The qualities of a stern republican soldier must, however, be expected to differ from those of the courtier of the European school, who is seldom a hero; and it would be strange enough if the person of Bolivar should not have been tinctured with the stormy, warlike, and singular character of the chequered scenes he had encountered.

'Notwithstanding appearances are as I have stated, and the disappointment as to air and aspect which I experienced on seeing him for the first time, his shake of the hand was cordial and frank, as a soldier's should be, and in matters of business I found him without etiquette to the foreigner, easy of access, and very prompt in decision. He was remarkably quick in his perception of any subject laid before him, anticipating the narrator in the circumstances, and coming rapidly to the intended conclusion, by a sort of intuitive perception. His sense of justice, and his liberality to individuals who have suffered in the cause of independence, are well known. A Mr W. Henderson had adventured a ship and cargo with his capital, and it was lost at Guayaquil; he was remunerated by the Libertador for his loss: this fact stands recorded in the books of a London house.'

The other great men described are General Sucre, who gained the decisive battle of Ayacucho. General Alvear and General Miller, formerly known to Captain Andrews as an officer in our marines. He does not seem to have met Colonel Wilson, son of the celebrated individual whose services, in all parts

of the old world, have been so well known and so ill requited, a most promising officer; and though young, yet high in the confidence of the *Libertador*.

At Potosi our author received letters from England, which showed that he might soon expect a period would be put to his services, and which induced him to return. He accordingly crossed the Andes to Tacna where he found many of his countrymen. The account of the sublime and often terrific scenery of these mountains, and of the storms encountered in traversing them, is interesting; but we cannot afford room to extract any part of it. But the following passage describes picturesquely enough the coming upon the view of the Pacific Ocean:—

'At 8 P. M., after five hours' travelling, we gained the summit of a continuous range of mountain land, hoping each eminence we reached was the last and highest, when all at once, from this grand elevation, a vast expanse of the Pacific burst upon the sight, to our inexpressible joy. It was distant from us thirty leagues, according to our guide, or ninety English miles. Being somewhat in advance of our party, I got off my mule to enjoy this glorious, this stupendous scene of grandeur. Never was a mightier mountain view presented anywhere else to the human eye. It was a picture to be gazed upon in silence, for language would have ill broken in upon the deep admiration in which I felt absorbed. We were thousands of feet above the intervening land, and the sweep of ocean as well. I gazed upon those blue rolling waters that compass so much of the globe, from a height, I should think, at least of 12,000 feet, forming a lower elevation of the Andes; and never shall I forget the impression made by the picture on my senses. The table land far below us was probably as high above the sea as the lofty Pyrenean chain of mountains in Europe, and upon that we looked as if it were a valley far below.

'My journey through the night was still by a succession of mountain and vale, along a deep strait, in which the moon only occasionally befriended us, when in some winding of the pass, she suddenly broke upon our gloomy road. I much regret not having had daylight in travelling through this scenery. At one deep strait the Pacific arose full in front, across me, like a dark wall, though twenty leagues distant. It seemed to be piled up into the clouds, a vast barrier to my progress. Upon it, or rather apparently hung against it, and close to me, was a round, black object, which had the appearance of a hat in shape, and so near, I could almost touch it, as I fancied. This, my guide told me, was an island, in form exactly like a friar's hat, and called therefrom Sombrero del Freyle. I could scarcely imagine I was not close upon the ocean; so marvellous was the illusion from the hollow where I stood; it was no less grand than extraordinary.'

From Tacna Captain Andrews proceeded to Arica, and there embarked in an American ship. Though our seamen are, generally speaking, a sufficiently prejudiced and national race of men, this author really speaks of the rival powers of the Ocean most

fairly and impartially. 'The more,' says he, 'I see of an Ame-'rican ship's company, the more am I pleased. The manage-'ment and general economy are admirable; and I am induced 'to think that Jonathan, in the merchant service, very far sur-'passes his island brother.'

This vessel carried him to Valparaiso; from whence he journeyed to St Jago, and found the Company's affairs gone wrong in all directions, from faithless agents, and powers sometimes conflicting, and sometimes too restricted. Embarking again, he sailed to Coquimbo, and finding there a respectable agent in whom he could repose confidence, he seems to have done all that was in his power, in the circumstances of the case, to retrieve their affairs and put them in a way of thriving. It is true, that the splendid task of digging for pure silver, and finding lumps of gold, which the Welsh and Cornish miners had been sent round Cape Horn to engage in, was reduced to working a lime-pit, a kiln, and a stone quarry; and that this humble labour, to do which they had compassed the globe, gave rise in its progress to much bickering among themselves. But a smelting-house was the result of this ordinary employment, and some copper ore was assayed, which produced well, though only the refuse slag of an old working. But when things, though upon a limited scale, were going on prosperously, and most economically, the other agents, having a general interest against such savings as our author honestly resolved should be made, thwarted him in every direction: he found so little support in any quarter, that he resolved to leave the place; and there arrived at the moment he was meditating his departure, a letter from London containing his recall. Left free, therefore, to follow his own inclinations, he accepted the obliging offer of a passage in Sir M. Maxwell's ship the Briton: but, before embarking, he gives some account of Coquimbo. Its growth, since the opening of foreign intercourse, is described as very rapid; and three mining companies, lately established there by English speculation, gave its trade extraordinary activity. It is our author's decided opinion, that by joining the occupation of land with their mining concerns, those associations might have carried on a sure and lucrative business. These two branches were always joined by those of the old inhabitants who prospered in their pursuits; and men who go from their own countries to cultivate others, whether they be Scotch farmers to England, Ireland, and France, or English miners to South America, ought never to neglect the established practices of the place; because, though often barbarous in the execution, they are, for the most part, suggested

by circumstances of climate and soil, absolutely necessary to be kept in view by all who would work successfully.

The sudden rise of Coquimbo was fated to receive a serious check by the reaction that soon took place in England. The following particulars deserve our attention :—

'It is a piece of justice due to the inhabitants of Coquimbo, to state, that on the news of the failure in England to meet the bills of acceptance, drawn by the commissioners abroad, they offered to undergo any possible inconvenience, in respect to time, in awaiting the event, so certain were they that the companies in England had committed an error, which they would rectify on cool reflection, when the panic had subsided. An intelligent commissioner of the Anglo-Chilian Company lately returned, Captain Charters, told me that nothing could equal the distress of the people, except their liberality. They were dismayed to find their glowing hopes destroyed at a blow, without, as it appeared to them, the slightest reason. Nearly all the companies had obtained, notwithstanding the extravagance and mistakes into which they had been led, from a want of knowledge of the country, and the system to be pursued, as much property by grant or purchase, as was in real value more than equal to the monies expended. The three companies in Chili might at least have united their interests—what a property and prospects have been prematurely sacrificed!

'On the 3d of April I left Coquimbo. I took my leave with a mixture of joy and regret—of joy, to return home and vindicate my conduct to the Company, and of regret, that operations commenced with good prospects, and certain of success, with proper management, should be baffled and abandoned, as I foresaw they must be from the mode pursued, and the contra-interests, to those of the Company, suffered to influence local measures.

'I have already said that mining in South America is a certain source of profit, if properly and economically conducted. The mode is to begin on a limited scale, and extend the operations slowly and cautiously. The very extensive means of the different companies in money, managed as they were, contributed to defeat their own ends, and the mode of action, not the principle of the thing, is implicated in the recent failures.'

From Coquimbo he sailed in his Majesty's ship Briton, and doubling Cape Horn, touched at Santa Catharina, and then came to Rio Janeiro. He saw marks, not very edifying, of the moral discipline of Don Pedro's court, which he places far lower on the scale of propriety even than that of Louis XIV. The journal, which ends with his arrival at Portsmouth 14th of August 1826, is followed by a sketch of the South American Revolution, and an appendix of documents, explaining his official proceedings in furtherance of the object of his mission.

The impression left upon our minds by the perusal of these volumes, is every way favourable to the conduct of this honest and respectable man, whom his employers cast off, to their own

very great detriment, although they publicly acknowledged his 'zealous and economical services,' and 'acquitted him, collectively and individually, of all blame.' Economical, in truth, they might well be called, even if he had saved no money to his employers by regulating the expenditure of their other servants. For we find by the statement of his expenses, that the whole charge he makes for his own, his son's, and two other gentlemen's voyage, and journey, and residence, all over the vast route through which we have followed them, during nineteen months, did not exceed one thousand pounds.

ART. XI.—1. *Natural Theology, or Evidences of the Existing Attributes of the Deity, collected from the Appearances of Nature.* By WILLIAM PALEY, D.D. *Illustrated by a series of Plates and Explanatory Notes.* By JAMES PAXTON, Member of the Royal College of Surgeons, London. 2 vols. 8vo. pp. 523. Oxford. Vincent. 1826.

2. *Animal Mechanics, or the Design Exhibited in the Mechanism of the Bones, Muscles, and Joints of Animals, from the Library of Useful Knowledge, published under the Superintendence of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge.* 8vo. pp. 32. Baldwin. London. 1827.

A QUARTER of a century has elapsed since the publication of Dr Paley's admirable work, in which he applied the learning of Ray and Derham to a far more argumentative use, than they had been equal to, and brought their physical statements down to the present improved condition of our natural knowledge. We gave an account of this useful work in the Second Number of this Journal; and, of course, it is no part of our present purpose to say anything further of the original work. But it seems singular that a work so popular as the author's great name, and its own real merits, made it from the day of its publication, should not, until now, have received the aid and ornament of those illustrations which, with so little trouble, and so moderate a portion of learning, might, at any time, have been bestowed upon it, and which the nature of the subject in many places required. Dr Paley, as is well known, relies entirely upon the attention and fancy of his reader to follow him in his descriptions, both of structure and functions. When a complicated contrivance, therefore, in animal and vegetable nature is to be unfolded, there is frequently some difficulty in keep-

ing steadily before the mind's eye the picture which his unassisted language, how plain and graphic soever, presents. Readers unacquainted with the sciences are, above all, apt to be embarrassed by this; and even those who are generally possessed of the requisite information, unless they happen to recollect the form of the thing described, from having actually seen it represented before, cannot attain so clear and precise a notion of it, as if they had it pictured before them. Now all this could be remedied with great ease, by a few drawings, and some notes referring to them. Mr Paxton has first thought of supplying the desideratum, and he has executed the task, in a manner so satisfactory, as well deserves the thanks of the public. So much of the subject belongs to anatomy and physiology, that it was plainly desirable that it should be done by a surgeon; and, if the difficulty of finding one disposed so to occupy himself was considerable, the obligation he has laid us under is proportionably great.

Mr Paxton very properly begins with the outset of Paley's argument, where he makes that plain and homely, but powerful and characteristic statement, of the different conclusions drawn by an observer from a Stone which he chances to pick up, and a Watch, should he, for the first time, find one. A plate is then given, of the various parts of watchwork taken to pieces, with their names and uses very curiously stated in a note. Sections and figures of the eye and ear follow; then extremely good drawings of the skull and vertebræ, the ribs, bones, and joints of the legs and arms, muscles and tendons of the various parts, the heart, stomach, and other principal organs of the trunk, with the leading vessels separately. There are also two figures, exceedingly well contrived for showing the parts in their connexion, the one enabling us to trace the course of the food from its reception through the alimentary canal, to its final elaboration and reception into the thoracic duct, and the other exhibiting, what Paley calls the *packing* of the body. After illustrating by appropriate figures of the infantine gums, and the fœtal heart and arteries, the extraordinary provisions of a prospective nature—the preparations made before hand, with a view to a use which is to spring up or arise after a considerable interval of time, there are excellent plates of the duck's bill, the air bladder of fishes, the fangs of snakes, and several other subjects in comparative anatomy; and a plate exhibiting the structure of the sting and proboscis of insects of various kinds, as seen by the microscope. Some very neat figures are also given of the parts of plants; and some fine drawings, in four plates, of the *vallisnera spinalis*, the *cuscuta Europæa*, the *Dionæa muscipula*, the *colchicum autumnale*. There

are also diagrams in one plate showing Saturn and his ring, and illustrating the statement of the planetary motions.

We are the more particular in recounting the nature of the illustrations, because we are very desirous of recommending Mr Paxton's book; and knowing the reluctance of most purchasers of a work, to take a new edition, which thereby seems to render their former purchase useless. But our author has very properly accommodated these unwilling buyers, by publishing the series of his prints, with letter-press descriptions in a separate form. It is, therefore, to be hoped, that no reader of the original book will be without it.

Without any wish to detract from Mr Paxton's merits, we shall throw out a few criticisms, rather by way of hints for the improvement of subsequent editions.

Some of the references are not correct, and the reader is thus puzzled to follow the description. Thus in vol. II. p. 66, note, the reference should be to plate XXXV. not XXXIV. In vol. I. p. 138. note, *a b* are called a tendon of the extensive muscles of the toes, instead of *b c*; and *c* is said to be the flexor of the foot instead of *d*, and *e* is called the annular ligament, instead of *a*.

Several of the plates give important parts too small, perhaps in order to represent their true proportion to the others. Thus in XIX. the *receptaculum chyli*, and the letters of reference in the figures, are sometimes invisible; a great but very common fault; and in popular works a very inexcusable one. Thus some of the letters in XIX. are not to be observed, and those the most important ones. This can always be remedied by drawing out the reference *to the side* of the figure, and connecting the letters there with the parts they apply to, by means of lines, as our author has frequently done.

Some useful additions might be made to the book; but of these we will mention but a few. Plate XIX., one of the most important, if not the most important of the whole, instead of being merely an exposition of the course taken by the secretion of the blood, might very well, and without any confusion, pursue some of the other secretions, as the urine and bile—of the former of which we have a very excellent drawing separately. The course of the blood might also be given through the main vessels in the trunk, and to the points where these supply the great limbs. But this would require a separate plate. Perhaps, too, the brain should be given, and the singular variety in the channels of circulation there, adapted to the exigencies and risks of that important viscus.

The notes are, except to explain the figures, somewhat scanty,

and do not point out the defects of the text in almost any material instance. Thus, there are very good figures in Plate IV., and a fit description for explaining the curious mechanism of the nictitating membrane; but the great omission of the text is not supplied, namely, that the contrivance is mathematically exact for giving a great augmentation of velocity, according to the most ordinary principles of dynamics. This could easily have been shown by a few lines, and a single diagram on the plate now referred to. So in Chapter VIII., the text having omitted to note the reason for the different bones of the skull being placed and joined in the way we find them; a very scanty addition is made to this by the single remark, that the *vitreous* tablet being so brittle is not joined by dovetailing. In discoursing of the eye, Paley falls, we apprehend, into an error in supposing that Dolland was led to his discovery of the different dispersive, which he calls refractive, powers of glasses, by considering the composite structure of the eye. The ingenious papers of that great optician, in the Philosophical Transactions, give the history of his discovery, and they make no mention of this fact—and, indeed, give a quite different history of the discovery, vol. iv. p. 733. At all events, he certainly was not the person who first reasoned to the improvement of glasses, from the construction of the eye, as Paley represents, in vol. i. p. 20, when he says; 'at last it came into the mind of a sagacious optician to 'inquire how this matter was managed in the eye,' &c. For David Gregory's Treatise (*Catoptricæ et Dioptricæ Sphæricæ Elementa*) published in 1713, concludes thus: 'Quod si ob dif'ficultates physicas, in speculis idoneis torno elaborandis, et po'liendis etiamnum lentibus, uti oporteat, fortassis media diversæ 'densitatis ad lentem objectivam componendam adhibere utile 'foret, *ut a Natura factum observemus in Oculi fabricâ* ubi 'christallinus humor (fere ejusdem cum vitro virtutis ad radios 'lucis refringendos) aqueo et vitreo (aquæ, quoad refractionem, 'haud absimilibus) compingitur, ad imaginem, quam distincte 'fieri potuit, a naturâ nihil frustra molienti, in oculi fundo de'pingendam.' Neither Paley nor his commentator have remarked that the eye is not, in fact, an achromatic instrument, without an adjustment; and that if that be altered, or if objects be viewed by one-half of its lenses, the different refrangibility is not correct, and colours are produced—as any one may see, by viewing an object, as a candle or the bar of a window, and covering part of his eye. As he draws the obstacle near the bar, the sides of it will be, one blue, and the other red or orange. Nothing is said too of the singular artifice, on the purest principles of optics, by which the crystalline humour is made more

dense in the centre, its substance actually varying. We may note another plain omission under the head of the Bee. Neither under the head of instinct, nor when he is describing the convenience of the comb under that of insects, does Paley give by far the most extraordinary of all instincts and of all the accommodations of the comb; the size of the angles, and their being discovered by mathematicians (through the resource of the fluxional calculus) to be the precise size, which makes the greatest possible saving of room and of materials. This omission, the present edition does not supply.

We have noted these in passing, as a few instances of defects. We should certainly hold it none, that any one branch of the immense subject under discussion was wholly left out; for its vastness, coextensive with all creation, makes a selection the very essence of such a work. But where any subject is introduced, and a very important consideration belonging to it is left out, nay, as in the case of nictitation and of the honey-comb, by much the most striking illustration, it becomes proper to request the learned author's attention to the matter, for a future edition.

When we first gave an account of Paley's work, in 1803, we observed that Natural Theology was a subject which admitted of no originality, and on which we never expected discoveries to be made. We doubt if we should have said so, had we then known that the work which stands next to Mr Paxton's was, after so considerable a lapse of time, to make its appearance. The Treatise on *Animal Mechanics* possesses very great originality; and may be regarded, not in principle, perhaps, but in applying principles to facts, as having made discoveries.

This is one of those admirable works for which we are indebted to that very important Institution, among the best fruits of the enlightened times we live in, the *Society for Diffusing Useful Knowledge*, whose proceedings formed the subject of an article in our last Number. The Treatise before us has appeared as a kind of appendix, or practical application of the doctrines of Dynamicks, unfolded in some previous works of the Society, composing portions of the Library now published by them periodically;—and none of these publications has, we believe, given greater satisfaction. By an extraordinary union of profound anatomical and physiological knowledge, with the power of striking illustration, and plain, perspicuous writing, the learned and ingenious author of this work has lent a much more scientific aspect to the doctrines of Natural Theology, than they before had possessed. Indeed, with the exception of Mr Ray, a great naturalist, and Dr Derham, a respectable one, most of the writers who treated on final causes, were divines or moralists,

and not natural philosophers. Hence they were often found ignorant of details; and frequently were misled by imaginary relations, not the result of scientific inquiries, but of speculative theology. The consequence was, that real philosophers got a prejudice against a topic, which, to be treated safely, requires to be managed very delicately; errors of no little absurdity were committed; and it is hard to say if scoffers did not, upon the whole, gain more than worshippers, by many of those well-meaning, but ill-qualified authors. Mr Stewart (*Outlines*, § 283,) justly remarks, upon the abuse, as well as the use of the speculation concerning Final Causes; and regards an explanation of both, as still being a *desideratum* in science. But he observes, that it is no longer so necessary as formerly to banish this inquiry from Physics, because the true method of philosophizing is generally understood, and the danger of confounding Final with Physical Causes, is far less imminent. He remarks, most properly, that in Anatomical inquiry, every one proceeds upon the maxim, that nothing in any animal's body was made in vain, and refuses to rest satisfied, as long as the use of any part or function remains unexplained; thus admitting, that Final Causes may not only be sound inferences from the known truths of philosophy, but may be guides in discovering new ones. The anecdote which Mr Boyle gives respecting Harvey's grand discovery, is a striking illustration of this doctrine; and might far better have served the purpose of Paley's argument, than the remark which he makes on Dolland's discovery, which we have above commented upon. 'I remember,' says Mr Boyle, 'that when I asked our famous Harvey what were the things 'that induced him to think of the circulation of the blood? he 'answered me, that when he took notice that the valves in the 'veins of so many parts of the body were so placed that they 'gave a free passage to the blood towards the heart, but oppo-'sed the passage of the venal blood the contrary way; he was 'incited to imagine, that so provident a cause as Nature had not 'placed so many valves without design; and no design seemed 'more probable, than that, since the blood could not well, because 'of the interposing valves, be sent by the veins to the limbs, it 'should be *sent* through the *arteries*, and *return* through the '*veins*, whose valves did not oppose its course that way.' It is not, indeed, to be wondered at, that the structure of the body should turn men's thoughts towards these speculations, in modern times, when even the ancient philosophers, averse as they were to the inductive methods, were led by it to philosophize far more soundly than on almost any other subject. 'Faciliusque 'intelligetur, a diis immortalibus hominibus esse provisum,' says

Cicero, arguing against the Epicurean doctrines, 'si tota homi-'nis fabricatio perspecta, omnisque humanæ naturæ figura at-'que perfectio.' (*De Nat. Deorum.* Lib. ii.)

That the subject, then, is as strictly scientific, as it is noble and delightful, there can be no doubt; and it is truly gratifying to find it treated according to its high deserts. The treatise before us is not the work of a declamatory moralist, or a sentimental enthusiast, or a narrow-minded bigot; but of a man of profound science, who does homage to the truths of religion, because they cross the path of his philosophic inquiries; who bears the testimony of facts to the doctrines of a sublime theology, which those facts inculcate, along with the other lessons he had gone in quest of. It is not the priest who leaves the temple to gather flowers for its adornment; but the sage who brings to the altar his offering, from the fruits he has so richly collected, of an all-pervading and supreme intelligence.

It is inconsistent with our present purpose to offer any analysis of this admirable Paper. It is divided into six chapters, after the Introduction. In these are successively treated, the *Architecture* of the *Skull;* the *Mechanism* of the *Spine;* the structure of the *Bones*, and *Joints* of the *Extremities;* the *Cordage* of the *Tendons;* the *Muscles* and *Muscular Motion;* and the *works* upon such subjects which have *before appeared.* We shall do no more than give a specimen or two, rather to exhibit the manner in which the discourse is conducted, than to show even a sample of its contents.

The following passage is the beginning of the Chapter upon the Skull:—

'It requires no disquisition to prove that the brain is the most essential organ of the animal system, and being so, we may presume that it must be especially protected. We are now to inquire how this main object is attained?

'We must first understand that the brain may be hurt, not only by sharp bodies touching and entering it, but by a blow upon the head which shall vibrate through it, without the instrument piercing the skull. Indeed, a blow upon a man's head, by a body which shall cause a vibration through the substance of the brain, may more effectually deprive him of sense and motion than if an axe or a sword penetrated into the substance of the brain itself.

'Supposing that a man's ingenuity were to be exercised in contriving a protection to the brain, he must perceive that if the case were soft, it would be too easily pierced; that if it were of a glassy nature, it would be chipped and cracked; that if it were of a substance like metal, it would ring and vibrate, and communicate the concussion to the brain.

'Further thoughts might suggest, that whilst the case should be made firm to resist a point, the vibrations of that circular case might

be prevented by lining it with a softer material; no bell would vibrate with such an incumbrance; the sound would be stopped like the ringing of a glass by the touch of a finger.

'If a soldier's head be covered with a steel cap, the blow of a sword which does not penetrate will yet bring him to the ground by the percussion which extends to the brain; therefore, the helmet is lined with leather, and covered with hair; for, although the hair is made an ornament, it is an essential part of the protection: we may see it in the head-piece of the Roman soldier, where all useless ornament being despised as frivolous, was avoided as cumbrous.

'We now perceive why the skull consists of two plates of bone, one external, which is fibrous and tough, and one internal, dense to such a degree that the anatomist calls it *tabula vitrea* (the glassy table.)

'Nobody can suppose this to be accidental. It has just been stated, that the brain may be injured in two ways; a stone or a hammer may break the skull, and the depressed part of the bone injure the brain; whilst, on the other hand, a mallet struck upon the head will, without penetrating effectually, deprive the brain of its functions, by causing a vibration which runs round the skull and extends to every portion of its contents.

'Were the skull, in its perfect or mature state, softer than it is, it would be like the skull of a child; were it harder than we find it is, it would be like that of an old man. In other words, as in the former it would be too easily pierced; so, in the latter, it would vibrate too sharply and produce concussion. The skull of an infant is a single layer of elastic bone; on the approach to manhood it separates into two tables; and in old age it again becomes consolidated. During the active years of man's life the skull is perfect; it then consists of two layers, united by a softer substance; the inner layer is brittle as glass, and calculated to resist anything penetrating; the outer table is tough, to give consistence, and to stifle the vibration which there would be if the whole texture were uniform and like the inner table.

'The alteration in the substance of the bones, and more particularly in the skull, is marvellously ordered to follow the changes in the mind of the creature, from the heedlessness of childhood to the caution of age, and even the helplessness of superannuation.

'The skull is soft and yielding at birth; during childhood it is elastic, and little liable to injury from concussion; and during infancy, and up to the period of maturity, the parts coming in contact with the ground, are thicker, whilst the shock is dispersed towards the sutures (the seams or joinings of the pieces), which are still loose; but when, with advancing years, something tells us to give up feats of activity, and falls are less frequent, the bones lose that nature which would render concussion harmless, and at length the timidity of age teaches man that his structure is no longer adapted to active life.'

He thus, in the second chapter, describes another provision for the protection of the brain, namely, the curved form of the spine—

'A steel spring being perfectly straight, if pressed betwixt the hands

from its extremities, will resist, notwithstanding its elasticity, and when it does give way, it is with a jerk.

'Such would be the effect on the spine if it stood upright, one bone perpendicular to another, for then, the weight would bear equally, and the spine would yield neither to one side nor another; and, consequently, there would be a resistance from the pressure on all sides being balanced. We, therefore, see the great advantage resulting from the human spine being in the form of an italic *f*; it is prepared to yield in the direction of its curves, the pressure is of necessity more upon one side of the column than on the other, and its elasticity is immediately in operation without a jerk. It yields, recoils, and so forms the most perfect spring, admirably calculated to carry the head without jar, or injury of any kind.

'The most unhappy illustration of all this is the condition of old age; the tables of the skull are then consolidated, and the spine is rigid; and if an old man should fall with his head upon the carpet, the blow, which would be of no consequence to the elastic frame of a child, is to him fatal; and the rigidity of the spine makes every step he takes vibrate to the interior of the head, and jar on the brain.'

The third chapter thus beautifully opens:—

'That the bones, which form the interior of animal bodies, should have the most perfect shape, combining strength and lightness, ought not to surprise us when we find this in the lowest vegetable production.

'In the sixteenth century, an unfortunate man, who taught medicine, philosophy, and theology, was accused of atheistical opinions, and condemned to have his tongue cut out, and suffer death. When brought from his cell before the Inquisition, he was asked if he believed in God. Picking up a straw which had stuck to his garments, 'If,' said he, 'there was nothing else in nature to teach me the existence of a 'Deity, even this straw would be sufficient!'

'A reed, or a quill, or a bone, prove that strength is given with the least possible expense of materials. The long bones of animals are, for the most part, hollow cylinders, filled up with the lightest substance, marrow; and in birds the object is attained by means (if we may be permitted to say so) still more artificial. It must have been observed, that the breast-bone of a fowl extends along the whole body, and that the body is very large compared with the weight; this is for the purpose of rendering the creature specifically lighter and more buoyant in the air; and that it may have a surface for the attachment of muscles, equal to the exertion of raising it on the wing. This combination of lightness with the increase of volume, is gained by air-cells extending through the body, and communicating by tubes between the lungs and cavities of the bones. By this means, the bones, although large and strong to withstand the operation of powerful muscles upon them, are much lighter than those of quadrupeds.'

Let these few extracts suffice for the object of directing the reader's attention to the original Treatise, a perusal of which will amply repay him, whether he be a man of science, or a novice.

We have been prevented, by want of figures, from giving any specimen of the scientific portions of the work. These must be enjoyed by a recourse to the Treatise itself.

We cannot, however, dismiss this subject, without expressing our delight at the perfect success of the Society's great design of covering, as it were, the country with knowledge, even as the waters cover the sea. Here lies an instance before us, worth a thousand arguments, to prove the practicability of this scheme, and the triumphant removal of all the obstacles that were expected to oppose its execution. The work we are contemplating, is profoundly scientific, and yet perfectly popular; any attentive reader may follow, and comprehend, and remember its contents. The treatise appears at its regular time, each month having seen two published. Then its cheapness exceeds all former experience. Compare it with Mr Paxton's edition of Paley. Three of his pages go into one of the Library; consequently, his two volumes can be printed in five of the treatises, and a little more—or, allowing for the figures, in six. His book costs four-and-twenty shillings; the six treatises would cost three—or they are *eight times cheaper*. The figures in the *Animal Mechanics* are beautiful; the drawing is very spirited and fine, indeed evidently by a master's hand, and far superior to the figures of Mr Paxton—the engraving, though in wood, is full as good. There are about thirty of these figures—so there would be 180 for three shillings. Mr Paxton's thirty-seven plates contain 123, reckoning every single thing a separate figure, though sometimes four or five would go into the space of one; but even counting them all, there are half as many more in the Library. The page of Mr Paxton, too, contains a good deal more than the ordinary sized octavo page; for we have cited one book in this article, one hundred and forty of whose pages go into the space of the sixpenny treatise lying before us! To all this let it be added, that these treatises are published periodically;* a circumstance which, in every other case, makes the volume dearer instead of cheaper—and it will surely be allowed, that never difficulty was more completely removed than the one of price, which was at first expected to be a fatal impediment in the way of this grand design of Universal Knowledge. The circulation of the Library, accordingly, proceeds rapidly increasing. Al-

* Even page for page, the Library is far cheaper, independent of its superior quantity of matter. A number of the treatises equal to Mr Paley's book, that is 16, would cost only eight shillings, that is a third, and would contain 480, instead of 123 drawings.

ready, we understand, it amounts to near twenty thousand; while of the Preliminary Discourse many more have been sold, and a fine edition, illustrated with drawings, is in the press—but confined to that treatise exclusively, the principle of cheapness not allowing any difference in the prices of the others, which all readers of all ranks use alike.*

It is not a trivial addition to the pleasure which these important proceedings afford, to discover, that in far distant lands, at the same time, the progress of improvement is going rapidly onward. A singular proof has just reached us. It is the first four numbers of a Newspaper, published last December, *in Van Diemen's Land*, and, as we perceive, it is called after the navigator who discovered it in 1642, *Tasmania*. The advertisements present a picture of the wonted bustle of trade; sales, lettings, clearings inward and outward, freight and passage to all quarters of the world. A meeting of the inhabitants is described—its proceedings recorded, for obtaining a representative constitution, and jury trial, from the mother country. But the following article of intelligence is, above all others, interesting, and we copy it in the words of the original journal.

'Mechanics' Institute.—A meeting of several gentlemen, favourable to the establishment of a Mechanics' Institute, in Hobart Town, took place on Tuesday evening at the British Hotel. Dr James Ross was called to the chair, supported by W. H. Hamilton, Esq. J. P.; G. W. Gunning, Esq. J. P.; W. Gellibrand, Esq. J. P.; James Scott, Esq. J. P.; Edward Lord, Esq.; J. T. Gellibrand, Esq., and several other gentlemen of respectability. The rules and regulations for the establishment of the Society were read and adopted. Above fifty individuals have become members, and there is every prospect of the institution being considerably extended; and as the object of the Society is the diffusion of useful knowledge and mechanical science, in its most extended sense, we are confident it will have the support of all classes.

'The donation of books, for the *immediate* establishment of a Library, was urged upon the gentlemen present, many of whom promised to contribute; and we trust every individual favourable to such a laudable establishment, will contribute to it as far as possible.'

The reader is aware that Van Diemen's Land is the souther-

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* We have seen stated, though by able and candid critics, some objection to the title. They have not sufficiently reflected on the analogy upon which it is founded. The title of Laplace's celebrated work is, *Celestial Mechanics*, or, *Mechanics of the Heavens* (*Mécanique Celeste.*) A literal French translation of Animal Mechanics would be, *Mécanique Animale*.

most point of the vast continent of New Holland, in 43° 33′ south latitude, and 147° 28′ east longitude—on the opposite side, therefore, of our globe. It is just half a century since our great navigator, (for it had not been visited during a hundred years after its discovery,) described the natives as 'having less genius than even the half-animated inhabitants of Terra del Fuego, who have not invention sufficient to make clothing, though furnished with the materials;' as living 'like fauns and satyrs, in hollow trees,' barely acquainted with the use of fire, but existing on the sea-coast, without canoes, or even rafts, to attempt the water. 'They received every present we made them without the least appearance of satisfaction. When some bread was given, as soon as they understood that it was to be eaten, they either returned it, or threw it away without even tasting it. I had brought two pigs ashore, with a view to leave them in the woods. The instant these came within their reach, they seized them as a dog would have done, by the ears.'—(*Third Voyage*, Book I., chap. 3.)

The exertions of man can claim no higher praise than to have effected the revolution which has changed the face of such a country; nor can his contemplations bestow a purer gratification than to witness it. As our chiefest duty on this earth is to labour for the happiness of our fellow-creatures, so is it our best reward to witness the success of those endeavours.

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From May to October.

*** *It will be obliging in those, who wish the title of their Publications to be inserted in this List, to address their notice to the Publishers, and not to the Editor, in whose hands they are sometimes unavoidably mislaid.*

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